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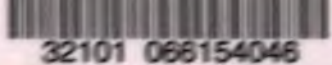
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THE GREAT EXPLOSION

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HARPER'S PICTORIAL LIBRARY OF THE WORLD WAR

In Twelve Volumes
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VOLUME I

THE GREAT EXPLOSION

**Backgrounds and Origins
of the World War**



Painting by Frank E. Schoonover

Joan of Arc

HARPER'S PICTORIAL LIBRARY OF THE WORLD WAR

*In Twelve Volumes
Profusely Illustrated*

FOREWORD BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, PH.D.
President Emeritus, Harvard University

VOLUME I

The Great Explosion

*Backgrounds and Origins of
the World War*

Edited by

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of Harvard University
and

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of Smith College

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FOREWORD

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT

President Emeritus of Harvard University

THE causes of the World War are many in number and various in intensity and effectiveness. Some of them, like the dull but vigorous and belligerent quality of the Prussian people, may be traced back for centuries. The continuance into the nineteenth century of many features of the Feudal System in Central Europe was a contributory cause; as was also the too common acceptance there of autocratic dynasties that claimed to rule by divine right. Another cause was the existence among all the nations of Central Europe of a professional military class that gained greatly in power when military service was made universal; all able-bodied men were brought early into military service and kept late, and were at the call of autocratic rulers and a military ruling class. European armies ceased to be comparatively small professional bodies, and became huge masses of trained men which could be suddenly thrown against neighboring nations less well prepared.

When the new German Empire was constituted in 1871 at the close of the highly successful war against France, the German people and their rulers were filled with a new ambition. They had just learnt that war might yield them, first, territories rich in mining and manufacturing material capable of supplying highly profitable German industries; next, that the whole cost of a brief aggressive war, and indeed much more than the cost, might be exacted from the conquered nation; and thirdly, that the German military power was greater than that of any other nation in Europe. Building on these foundations, the German government and ruling classes set out to win new powers and fresh triumphs in the industrial field; and this object they achieved to an astonishing degree within forty years. These large successes inspired new and confident expectations. The German government, the military class, and the financial, manufacturing, and commercial classes all made up their minds that war "paid." In the meantime the German ruling classes and the government saw that the military and industrial strength of France were both stationary like the population, that Great Britain maintained only a small army of an antique pattern, and was losing ground industrially and commercially, and that Russia was making no progress in military organization, and only slow progress in manufacturing and in popular education.

Before the unification of Germany in 1871 Bismarck had tried in 1864 a little war against gallant but feeble Denmark, from which Prussia gained some valuable territory, and had, in 1866, inflicted in

a few weeks a heavy defeat on her recent ally Austria, from which Prussia reaped a large profit in military and political prestige. Only four years later, Bismarck and Moltke decided that they could advantageously attack France without danger of interference by any other European power, France being under the weak and unacceptable rule of a nondescript Emperor who said he ruled "by the Grace of God *and* the national will." Their diagnosis of the European situation proved to be correct, and their military victory was colossal. This victory with the accompanying creation of the German Empire started the extraordinary financial, manufacturing, and commercial development of Germany during the following forty-three years. It soon appeared that the German government was fostering in every possible way this development, and that the object it had in view was an expansion of German influence in Europe and power throughout the world.

Here is the primary and sufficient cause of the World War which broke out in August, 1914. Without the support of Germany, Austria-Hungary would not have been so overbearing towards Serbia. Without the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, which infected Russia and the Balkan States with so many malignant germs, the attack of Austria-Hungary on Serbia would not have lighted the fires of war in the Near East so promptly as it did in 1914.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

IN 1914 Germany had no Bismarck and no Moltke, and nobody approaching them in capacity and insight. Germany underestimated the resisting power of republican France and the morale of the French people. She also had no conception how quickly Great Britain could organize a huge and effective army capable of acquiring rapidly all the new methods of fighting which Germany was prepared to spring upon her adversaries. As to the United States, the German military and political leaders thought that the American people neither would nor could do any effective fighting from across the Atlantic,—a serious, and as it proved, a fatal error of judgment on their part. That is, Germany overrated her own strength and the advantages of surprise, and underrated the number, resources, and resolution of her probable adversaries.

Among the causes of the War must therefore be set down the German misunderstanding of the state of mind and the character of the French, British, and American peoples. Moreover, there never was a more vivid illustration of the truth of the Biblical proverb—"Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall."

The sudden invasion of Belgium by the German Armies in violation of treaty obligations, and the barbarous conduct of the German armies toward the Belgian people caused the immediate entry of Great Britain into the War, with the cordial support, so unexpected to Germany, of all the British colonies, dominions, and commonwealths. This cause of the immediate expansion of the War was not so much material as moral. It revealed in the German government and ruling

classes a shocking lapse from every principle of honesty, fidelity, and honor, and a hearty acceptance of the intolerable doctrine that might makes right. One of the most satisfactory points in the issue of the War is that in the present state of the Christian world the violator of those principles is likely to suffer condign punishment.

Another cause of the outbreak of the War and of its long continuance was the supreme confidence the government and ruling classes of Germany felt in their new and concealed applications of science to the work of destruction and death in war. The German educated class apparently did not know that the main work of the German engineers and inventors for many years had been the application and improvement of discoveries and inventions made by the freer and more alert peoples, and particularly by the Italians, French, British, and Americans. Their Zeppelins, airplanes, submarines, high explosives, gas clouds and bombs, automobiles, machine guns, and hand grenades were all modifications or developments of inventions and discoveries made not by them but by the freer nations of the world, just as their telephones, telegraphs, sewing machines, and steam machinery were. They were not at all prepared for the rapid manufacture among the freer peoples of all the new German instruments, and the quick invention among them of means of defense against the new German means of attack. In short, the Germans did not anticipate the superiority in inventing and manufacturing, in initiative and spontaneous energy of the democratic nations over those ruled despotically. They could not imagine how efficient a democracy can become, when the whole heart of the people is put into the work which their government has undertaken.

All the world can now see how this mental and moral defect in the German people contributed to the outbreak of the War, then widened its range, embittered it, and caused it to be ultimately lost by Germany after her armies had twice come near to victory. On the other side, it was superior mental and moral powers, as well as physical, which ultimately gave victory to the freer nations of the world after a desperate struggle which lasted for four years and a quarter. Even now, when Germany is completely defeated and is in the throes of a sudden political and social revolution, it is doubtful whether the German people understand that the prime cause of the War was the state of mind of their government and ruling classes, or realize how deep and universal was the abhorrence which the policies and behavior of Germany in going to war and conducting the War excited in the minds of all the peoples that were accustomed to constitutional government based on the consent and participation of the governed.

From the causes of the War let us now turn to its results.

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR

THE results of the World War are prodigious, wholly unexampled, and for the most part unforeseen at its beginning. The first in time though not in importance was the complete destruction of a form of

political government which had prevailed in most parts of the Christian world for many centuries, namely, government by rulers who imagined themselves commissioned by God, and who were supposed to exercise power not by virtue of any human laws or customs, but by divine right. This form of government had been shaken in Holland by its resistance to Spain, in England by the seventeenth century Revolution, in France by the Revolution of the eighteenth century, and in Italy by the Unification movement in the nineteenth century; but in the rest of Europe and in the greater part of Asia, with insignificant exceptions, it was the accepted theory and practice in government. Only a few generations had passed since it was the commonly accepted theory of government in England, France, and Italy. When the War ended in November, 1918, that theory of kingship had disappeared from Christian states, an immense deliverance accomplished by the War. With it went the maintenance of royal and ducal families at high cost to the mass of the people, and the breeding in-and-in among the royal families to the great injury of such families, and hence of the people who were ruled by their enfeebled or crippled descendants. Rulers or public servants should always be chosen from fresh, strong family stocks, not from families enfeebled by inbreeding, idleness, or luxury. In an experienced democracy leaders are likely to be men of bodily and mental vigor and toughness.

The War and its accompanying revolutions have wiped out most of the survivals of the Feudal System in Europe. The fading remnants need no longer be regarded as having political or governmental significance but only as socially decorative or agreeable for people accustomed to them. Since the emigrants from Europe to what is now the United States during the past three hundred years carried no features of the Feudal System with them, and had no desire to create any such legal and social system here, the people of the United States experience no deliverance themselves in this result of the War, and have only to rejoice in the disappearance from Europe of classes privileged by birth. Government by divine right, close connection between Church and State, and classes privileged by birth or caste will doubtless be maintained for many generations in Islam, and in Japan and other Oriental nations; but a majority of the Christian nations of the world have been delivered from these evils by the World War.

In place of the ejected governments by divine right, there have arisen in various parts of Europe as immediate results of the War, new democracies founded on broad suffrage and representative assemblies, but unskilled in the selection of leaders and in the creation of firm constitutional government. These new republics seek liberty, justice, and coöperative good-will, in the hope and expectation of improving the condition of the mass of the people. Their exemplar is America; but they lack American experience of free institutions. They need time for a safe development, and help from more experienced democracies. Their sudden creation is an immense gain for mankind coming from the War, but this unlooked-for gain will necessarily be accompanied by occasional losses or setbacks, now here, now there; so that it will

be two or three generations before this achievement of the War will be fully recognized and appreciated by international public opinion.

For more than a hundred years aspirations toward a better organization of political and social communities have been seeking practical application among the European nations. This searching for more equality of opportunity and a better distribution of wealth has borne the name of socialism, a vague term which covers many sorts of ideals and more sorts of practices. The World War has resulted in an extraordinary upsetting of socialism, both in its ideals or aims and its practices. Within less than two years Bolshevism has proved that its economic program is impossible, and that its social theories are not compatible with the adequate development of the good side of human nature. Within a few months it demonstrated that its doctrines of no private property and the government ownership of all the means of production, including land, were capable of invalidating the human motive power that had gradually raised mankind from barbarism to civilization. Bolshevism also proved in an incredibly short time that its theory and its practice reduced the productivity of Russia in the most formidable manner. It also demonstrated conclusively that a socialistic government could exhibit in practice degrees of cruelty and despotism which no divine right government has ever approached. The German socialists also demonstrated promptly that they did not know how to promote order, justice, and productivity in the new German commonwealth, or in other words, that their theories and their practices were destructive rather than constructive. Fortunately the Russian and German socialists seem to have convinced themselves that neither their original ideals nor their violent practices will answer any good purpose in the hoped-for reorganization of human society, and to have seriously modified both. The teachings of Lassalle and Marx have proved to be unsound when put into practice. This striking defeat of militant socialism is one of the most beneficent results of the World War.

The greatest of all wars in area, scope, and destructiveness has brought many peoples of widely different histories and experiences to certain conclusions with regard to the competitive armaments which have prevailed in Europe for nearly a century. The small peoples see clearly that they cannot compete successfully with the large ones, or the agricultural and pastoral peoples with the manufacturing and commercial. All the competitors in armaments, both large and small, see clearly that the extraordinary increase in the cost of warfare, due to the increased size of armies, the continuity of fighting throughout the year, and the reckless employment of vast masses of costly materials and supplies makes the burden of competitive armaments intolerable for all nations. They are, therefore, seeking the means of reducing armaments without exposing the weaker nations to invasion by the stronger, and without preventing the maintenance of national forces adequate to the preservation of order and security within each nation. This complete demonstration of the economic necessity of the reduction of armaments is an important result of the War. A successful reduction of armaments will mean the abolition in all states of the class

of professional soldiers who have no vocation except preparation for war, and war, and therefore no career in civil life. Militarism will not be abolished until the military class is abolished in all lands, and until all armies are like Swiss armies, that is, are composed of able-bodied men between twenty and forty-five who have all received the elements of a military training, and who are officered by men who follow civil careers in times of peace. In such armies both officers and enlisted men will serve at much personal sacrifice solely from a sense of duty to the country. They will unanimously hate war, and do their best to prevent it. They will support by their votes and by personal service any international organization which holds out a reasonable hope of preventing war in the future.

Not a single nation which took part in the recent war seems to see as yet that militarism will not be conquered and abolished until each nation has its own citizens' army drawn in annual classes from a population which has received at school universal physical training, and gives its young men universal military training for short periods which do not interfere sensibly either with education or with the national industries. At this moment even the United States is threatened by Congress and the Administration with a considerable Regular Army in which all the officers and some of the enlisted men will be professional soldiers without any civil occupation. The citizen armies of the world will be usually in reserve, but will be kept always ready for active service at home or abroad. They will receive only nominal pay when in training or on active service, but they will be fed, clothed, armed, and equipped by their respective national governments, which will also make provision for the dependents of soldiers on duty. The universal physical training at school, followed by short periods of military training in camp and field, will impart to the rising generations a discipline, and an experience of energetic coöperative action under intelligent command, which neither family nor school has supplied in democratic societies for some years past. When the armies of all the Christian peoples shall have been converted into citizens' armies, and competitive armaments shall be regulated by a competent international authority, all thinking people will see how great a debt humanity owes to the few free nations which, though surprised and ignorant of the kind of warfare Germany waged, overcame Germany in the Five Years' War, and proved that the democratic *régime* is more effective than the autocratic for all purposes, military, industrial, and humanizing.

THE BIRTH OF INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION

THE War brought into existence by main force some degree of coöperation among the freer nations in regard to finance, commerce—especially shipping—and an equitable distribution of foods, fuels, and raw materials among several manufacturing nations, in order to the development and maintenance of military and industrial efficiency against the common enemy. Out of this limited but indispensable coöperation gradually grew the idea of a permanent coöperation for

the preservation of peace in the world and the promotion of all common interests among the nations which had resisted German aggression. The first common interest was obviously to reduce Germany and her allies—the Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey group—to a condition of comparative weakness, both military and industrial, the British navy having demonstrated during the War that, with some assistance from the United States, it could control the German and Austrian naval power. The treaties of peace with Germany and Austria were designed to perpetuate in Europe this comparative feebleness of both Germany and Austria. The dismemberment of Austria-Hungary yielded one permanent result in this direction. The withdrawal from Germany of the mineral resources of Alsace-Lorraine, and the destruction of the German expectation of controlling the mineral and oil resources of the Balkans and a large area of Russia accomplished the desired result as regards Germany. Another common interest, not yet fully realized, is the gradual creation of coöperative action between the twenty-two nations or peoples, whose representatives signed the treaty of peace, to secure arrangements for international commerce or trade, which will be for the advantage of all parties concerned, and will therefore promote the continuous action of the League of Nations which will result from the Covenant and Treaty.

The advantages which may be won for the world from the gradual development of the new international institutions set up by the Covenant and Treaty will be a work of time and patience; but the potential advantages to mankind are so great that the ratification of the Covenant and Treaty and the undertaking of the international action which they contemplate must be counted the supreme achievement of the War. It is the first time that a large group of nations have agreed that they will attempt to regulate international relations the world over on universal principles of liberty, justice, and humanity. It is the first time that twenty-two peoples have agreed that they will attempt to decrease armaments, keep the peace, prevent the exploitation of backward people, and abandon secret treaties, secret diplomatic negotiations, the Concert of Europe, and hostile international competitions which provoke war.

The World War produced certain changes in the moral tone of several nations, large and small, in respect to both internal and external policies and expectations. France lived for fifty years in a state of great alarm about the intentions of powerful neighbors, doubtful about her own power of resistance to military aggression, and unable to bring about any firm and patent alliance with her most natural supporter, Great Britain. Within her own borders political groups were discordant and political dissensions more and more bitter. The outbreak of the War united the whole French people in the defense of their soil; and under their free institutions the French have exhibited a wonderfully united and indomitable resolution which has commanded the respect and admiration of the entire world. The French will be counted upon hereafter by all the freer nations to defend liberty, order, and justice at home and abroad. In Great Britain the War at once

supplied unexpected evidences of the strength of the bonds which united the British dominions, commonwealths, and colonies in all parts of the world to the mother country; and this demonstration was of great significance in respect both to the efficiency of the British Empire in war and its vitality and strength when peace should come again. Since the British Empire is the strongest organization in the world, except the United States, for the propagation of public liberty and international justice, this demonstration of British unity must be counted one of the most beneficent results of the War. In the United States the War has convinced every thinking man that the protective isolation of the country is at an end, and must be replaced by glad assumption of its grave duties and responsibilities as a world power which is to be always on the side of liberty—political, industrial, and social—of progressive comfort and well-being for the mass of the people, and of progressive resistance to the physical and moral evils which beset the human race, particularly the preventable evils. Dirigibles, air-planes, submarines, and the great convoys of steam vessels crossing the Atlantic in safety in spite of the utmost efforts of a skillful and resolute enemy prove that America's physical isolation has ceased to exist. The Covenant and Treaty prove that America has noble comrades in her traditional campaign for human rights and for the peace, order, and prosperity which general respect for mutual rights and impartial law brings. The morale of all three of those free peoples has been greatly strengthened by their terrible experience during the past five years. Never was more convincing testimony given to the worth of common human nature than the moral exaltation in which the American people went into the fearful War in April, 1917.

THE COVENANT AND TREATY A GREAT GIFT TO MANKIND

SOME of the fruits of the War will not ripen for several years to come; nevertheless their blossoms are an inspiring and delightful vision. To inspire hope and give grounds for the expectation of future joy is a great gift to mankind.

The Covenant and Treaty which have already resulted from the War not only right old wrongs committed in Europe by despotic governments in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, but hold out to mankind the hope of deliverance from international war and hence of new security for the weak against the strong, and of the small state against the great state. They provide the institutions through which a body of international law can be gradually built up by courts whose decrees will be enforced by an international constabulary. They provide for delay, consideration, discussion, and mediation when two nations are approaching war, and also means for impartial arbitration when a case of dissension has been formulated by each of the parties concerned. These immense improvements on the present methods of international intercourse are not yet realized; but any reasonable prospect of such blessings is in itself a source of new happiness for which mankind must thank the War of 1914-19.

The League of Nations through its assembly and council proposes to prevent hereafter the horrible persecution and massacres of Jews by Christians and Christians by Moslems, which have disgraced the so-called civilized world for centuries. What a mercy that will be for the populations which are even now liable to persecution, and what a satisfaction to the rest of the world to look forward to the probable ceasing of such horrors!

The Covenant and Treaty which have resulted from the War provide for the first time means of protecting the backward peoples, and of preventing stronger peoples, singly or in combination, from oppressing and robbing them. A large source of misery in the world has heretofore been the selfish and unjust treatment of the backward peoples of the earth by the so-called civilized peoples. What a new hope for humanity is here! What a present benefit to be permitted to cherish such a hope!

It should be one of the results of the Covenant and Treaty that the productiveness of the world in foods, fuels, clothing, and building materials should be greatly increased to the common advantage of all mankind. One of the fruits of peace should in time be plenty.

The Covenant and Treaty promise a large development of democratic government in the world, and this promise is already in part fulfilled. When the institutions set up by the Covenant and Treaty really get to work, orderly and stable democracy will become the form of government under which far the greater part of civilized mankind will live. Who can measure the moral and material value to humanity of the change involved in that statement? The only people competent to give an answer to that question is the American people; and they only because they have been enabled to form some idea out of their own experience of the beneficent influence of democracy on their national life.

So the suffering world to-day may wisely count among the great results of the War the happy hopes and cheerful anticipations which the adoption of the Covenant and Treaty will reasonably inspire.

As contemporary observers, who have lived on the alert through the last five years, look back on the immense undertakings and rushing events of the period, they cannot but be struck by the great number of new things that went on in the world; the new kinds of armies enlisted, and the new ways in which they were used; the extraordinary novelties in naval warfare and in warfare in the air; and the novel articles that were manufactured in enormous quantities in new ways. Great Britain, France, and Italy all set up Cabinets, imperfectly described as Coalition Cabinets, which carried on the extraordinary business of the respective countries by unexampled methods. All the belligerents, large and small, underwent new restrictions with regard to their supplies of food, fuel, and clothing, and endured hardships and privations of which they had had no previous experience. The Relief Work of the War in all the countries involved was of unprecedented extent, and called into active service multitudes of civilians, who were not soldiers or sailors but who shared many of the hardships and

endured many of the fatigues which the soldiers and sailors endured. The medical and sanitary services of the principal belligerents kept down by recently discovered means the ravages of disease among their troops. Not only were government services for treating and preventing disease and curing wounds more active and more successful than ever before in all the world's experience of war; but there was a great outpouring of private generosity and good-will for the same ends. In all these works of mercy there were large elements of novelty which required from their administrative officers remarkable insight and enterprise, and unflagging energy. The horrors and cruelties, and the destructiveness of the War were on an unprecedented scale and range.

This gigantic drama has been contemporaneously described and recorded with unexampled activity and thoroughness, though often hastily and with frequent lack of proportion and perspective. It must be many years before the whole truth can be arrived at concerning many of the most important events of the War; because the testimony of the principal actors in them will not be accessible in many instances until after their death. The history of the World War cannot be written yet.

Nevertheless it is now possible to put into print, pictures, and maps, many of the great scenes, deeds, lessons, and results of the War, and to describe the emotions, passions, and motives of the masses of men who worked, suffered, and died in it. The armies that fought in this War contained a larger proportion of men of thoughtfulness and intelligent and humane purpose than any earlier armies; because they were drawn from all classes of society. There were priests, ministers, teachers, artists, and poets in the ranks. The camera became one of the most serviceable and trusted record-makers and story-tellers. In all the belligerent nations the people that stayed at home worked eagerly in support of the armies in the field; so that the entire mind and strength of each nation was devoted to the winning of victory. Both the political and the industrial leaders talked and wrote much about what they did. So did their critics. Many public documents of importance have been already published; others have been published in part; while others are still concealed. This contemporaneous material for a comprehensive picture of the World War is accessible in overwhelming mass and variety. By careful selection from this material, and by the addition of numerous summaries and commentaries by participants or other experts in the important phases of the War, Harper's has prepared for reading Americans of the generations following the War—men, women, and children—a picture of the wonderful period more comprehensive, vivid, and inspiring than any that was accessible to the contemporary generation.

The Great Explosion

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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PART I. THE CONDITIONS¹

THE GREAT EXPLOSION—ITS CAUSES

Twenty-seven Nations Are Brought Near to Destruction by the Force of Europe's Volcanic Eruption

I

THE MOUNTAIN AND THE ERUPTION

A DISTURBED and uneasy part of the world, those Straits of Sunda—a region scarred here and there with pumice stone and lava reefs. In the midst, on an insignificant island, the little volcano of Krakatoa, hardly regarded among the larger mountains nearby, giving forth their pillars of cloud by day and fire by night. Krakatoa was enjoying a little fête of gas and dust, thunderings and tame earthquakes on August 25, 1883.

August 26, 1883, Krakatoa burst out, a demon of force and destruction. Great part of the island was blown into space; where there had been cliffs, there was a deep; where once were rocks, a flame; where the sea waves rolled yesterday, to-day new islands arose. The atmosphere was filled with volcanic dust. Fire from the sky and tidal waves from the sea destroyed 36,000 persons. The sound was heard 2,000 miles away, and a giant breaker dashed to Cape Horn 8,000 miles off. Millions of tons of matter was torn from the depths of the earth and flung upon the neighboring islands. The little world of Sunda, almost in the twinkling of an eye, was changed from its tropical peace and tranquillity into a vortex of frightful

tempests, leaving behind them desolation and death.

So on July 22, 1914, the world that we inhabit was at peace. Nowhere at that moment did armies rest in conquered territory or vessels of war seek to destroy. Certain areas of disturbance there were,—notably in a far corner of Europe, where a war among brethren had recently devastated the mountains and the plains of the Balkans. For the time being even those hostilities slept, though from Belgrade, the capital of the weak little kingdom of Serbia, arose political dust and ashes, and a close observer could see the glow of fires beneath the surface. It was nothing: the great powers of Europe combined to urge self-restraint and sobriety upon the Balkan states, and so far had been successful.

August 1, 1914, the pent-up forces in southeastern Europe roared their way through the alluvial coating of good will and hopefulness and interest in one's weaker neighbors, which had previously been expressed in a European concert that no longer concerted. The Serbian question was another Krakatoa, bursting forth with a concussion that overwhelmed the peoples nearest to it and appalled the rest of mankind. The reverberations of the great guns on the Serbian and Russian fronts were heard from end to end of the world. Disturbances of industry, of trade, of business, of intercourse, sped through all the oceans. The blast from the volcanic core of the Balkans reached to the United States, where in a few days lifelong friends disputed

¹ The author's study here presented, of the causes of the World War, was completed by him in the light of information available on July 30, 1919.

and divided, aided on one side by official trouble-makers, sent over for that purpose by the nation responsible for the war.

Month after month, the dust of the battle-fields floated through the world, just as the powdered pumice stone had been thrown out from Krakatoa's rim. The world was amazed, startled, fearful, anguished, overwhelmed. The explosion spread from country to country, till in the end twenty-seven different powers put on their uniforms ready for the fray, and the toll of deaths rolled up from thousands to scores of thousands, and so to millions and to scores of millions. The most tremendous war, the most awful cruelty, the most frightful losses, the most prodigious expenses, the greatest upheaval and destruction and ruin in the history of mankind since the fall of the Roman Empire, and that was a century a-dying, while Europe was reduced to poverty and almost insanity, in four years, three months and eleven days of fighting.

THE REASONS FOR WAR

What were the causes for this departure from the life of mankind, from the experience of nations? Why this cataclysm—why Krakatoa? The geologists inform us that "this prodigious evisceration was the result of successive violent explosions of the superheated vapor absorbed in the molten magma within the crust of the earth." Very lucid, but what light does it shed on the best way of preventing the next Krakatoa? Shall we simply accept it that Krakatoa is the kind of a mountain that must explode once in so often in order to give expression to its feelings? The only thing of which we can be certain is that Krakatoa was the final result of a vast accumulation of forces; that it is connected with other volcanoes in South America and Alaska. A volcano is not a malicious agent of destruction, it is a symptom of forces too vast and too complicated to be controlled.

Let us carry the simile over into the war. Manifestly Serbia, a country of 34,000 square miles and 4,600,000 inhabitants—not so large and about as populous as the state of Ohio,—had not the moral force to bring about a world war. Whatever the Serbians wanted, they did not intend to set the world on fire. Pashitch, the Serbian premier,—a good, able,

and patriotic premier, too,—was no Samson to pull out the basis of order and justice and civilization, all over the globe; nor was the immediate, vital, and malign influence of the German Empire sufficient in itself to bring such woe upon mankind. Reasons there were, near and remote, immediate and coming down from forgotten times; yet no one compelling and complete reason. In many ways the Austrian and Serbian statesmen, skimming over the surface of the Austrian ultimatum of July 23, 1914, had no more sense of what they were bringing on, than the cliffs of Krakatoa realized that they would disappear into cinders. In neither case were the reasons that people saw and heard and experienced the actual, vital, causative reasons which the world demands to know.

NEAR CAUSES AND FAR

When we come to the Great World War, we are beyond the figure of a physical volcano, belching forth forever fire and smoke. We are dealing with humanity; with sentient beings, born with inherited aptitudes, trained from childhood to see things through others' eyes; full of hates and loves, of desires and antipathies; grouped into great masses of individuals who communicate to each other a common point of view, a tendency to believe this thing right and that thing wrong. War and Salvation are both natural results of the existence of beings who have the power of decision, who may elect to act together, who possess the ability to gather into communities, to carry out their common aims and ambitions.

Such unions of men and women, which we call neighborhoods or communities or tribes or nations or empires, have the further power of joining in alliances with their neighbors, of selecting a national enemy and of carrying through the centuries the belief that that enemy is an evil thing which must be resisted and if possible destroyed. A community may flame up with the suddenness and the untamableness of a typhoon or an earthquake; but when thirty different nations come into a war, nobody can explain that war as mere unreasonableness; it is not a failure of two or three or half a dozen nations to talk things over. A world war comes from world causes;



The Archduke Franz Ferdinand and His Family

The heir to the Austrian throne, whose assassination in June, 1914, at the hands of an Austrian subject of Serbian race, served as the match that started the World War.

and the object of this work is to search for the causes, both obvious and deep-lying, which account for the catastrophe. This introductory volume is the opportunity to bring into view, so far as they may be discovered, the forces that combined to make the world war possible,—and which will make another world

as to the purpose and supremacy of the state and the political ideas which justify wars. We must look into their ideals of democracy and their practice of federal government. For no physical object is more adamant than a national belief. Men who will not fight for their lands will fight for their religion,



Serajevo

The Bosnian city where the bomb was thrown that caused the outbreak of the World War.

war equally possible, unless these causes can be removed.

To this end it will be necessary in the early chapters to review in brief the history of the peoples which have joined together into the group of active, coöperating nations which we commonly call "the world." We must see for ourselves how far the development of the race has brought about physical and external conditions which encourage the fighting spirit. Equally we must consider what have been the points of view of the various nations as to their governments, their place in the world and their relations to each other, and

or even, like the Greeks of ancient Constantinople, for the diphthong in the description of their god. One of the main causes for war has been the different and often irreconcilable political theories of the various nations. To find out what they believed on the issues that converged toward the World War is one of our tasks.

NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL CAUSES

Among those cogent beliefs are convictions upon the methods by which the various nations carry on their public affairs—that is, their

types of government. That there has been an age-long conflict between the idea of government by the few and government by the many, is the platitude of the school-room. In our time, we are living that conflict, and it has been the woof if not the web of the fabric that has been woven since 1914. Not for a thousand years has there been such havoc

worship in the same sanctuaries. The simple and easy case is where, as in Japan, all the inhabitants of the political empire are members of one race, one nationality. The other extreme is reached in such composites as the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire with its confusion of language, race, and religious groups.



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The Arrest of the Bomb-thrower at Serajevo

Princip, the slayer of the Archduke Ferdinand, being seized immediately after the crime.

in forms of government. When the volcano blew up, four mighty and ancient empires existed in Continental Europe; to-day, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey are smashed to fragments, and Germany has lost a tradition of royalty which goes back to Charlemagne. To understand the way we must take due account of the world's ideas of government.

Empire-building and world power have been much affected by those associations which we call nationalities—that is, the consciousness of a large number of men that they belong together, that they are all members of a group who recognize a common, racial origin, and who usually speak the same language and

Causes of war do not necessarily lead to war, because the final contact of armies comes only when certain powerful individuals give orders. We talk of the appurtenances of war, but tanks and zeppelins and mines and trench bombs are inert, till some human being gives them the breath of death. Whatever the responsibility of the strains and stresses which exist through the gathering together of people who are not in sympathy with each other, whatever the effects of race antagonism, the final impulse toward war comes from persons, things that think, speak, write, order, telegraph, who let loose the human forces of destruction.

Those individuals, whether united as a

nation, or acting as rulers by the Grace of God while they do not admit even their Creator to their councils, are moved by motives, partly of self-advantage, partly of the broad conception that where all nations are peaceful, and happy, and prosperous, every nation is more blessed. War may come about from a desire for more territory, or more

men and of nations, it is especially important to ascertain and put on record the responsibility for the original outbreak. Without exception every European power asserted that it went to war against its wishes and at a vast sacrifice, because so compelled by its neighbors. This problem is made easier because, within a few hours after the first hostilities, the great



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What Might Have Been

A map of Central Europe showing the Pan-German dream of Berlin to Bagdad.

trade, or more subjects, or more power; but in every case those interests are represented, pushed, and urged to the test by individuals who feel that they themselves, or their caste, or their associates, or their section, will profit by a change. That means, either that they will profit in the ordinary sense of money advantage, or that they will hold the broader view that the advantage of the world counts even more to the future nation than a personal or national advantage.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM

In the World War which still deafens the ears and weakens the clear sight of states-

part of Europe was broken up into two rival combinations, one or the other of which must take the blame for the war and its consequences. We of the United States have expressed our national conviction on this subject by joining the western European combination as against the Germanic combination. That conviction needs to be backed up by the proofs that we were fighting with the defensive, and for the rights of mankind.

To speak the truth is not so difficult as to know the truth. It was Taine who was moved by the study of the French Revolution to the profound generalization that "human affairs are very complex." How can the human mind take in all the immense area in



The Retreat from Waterloo

The final act in the drama of Napoleon's rise and fall one hundred years ago, when the world was swept by a cataclysm like that of 1914. Waterloo is in Belgium, and that little country and Holland have long been known as the cockpit of Europe, where many of the greatest battles of history have been fought.

which the war has been fought by land and sea? How can one comprehend the scores of nationalities? How shall the people of the great warring nations, who in the midst of the struggle were so confused and bewildered, express themselves so that we may understand them? It has been said that it will be fifty years before the facts about this war will be sufficiently known for a safe judgment.

Doubtless we lack much of the evidence that will in time come forward; nevertheless, the accidents of war have strangely opened up the vault doors of the archives. Some of the secret treaties of the Allies and the secret councils of the Central Powers have come to light. Men within the sacred circle of statesmen who aided in making decisions, have been moved to yield up their inside knowledge. Lichnowsky, the Ambassador, Muehlton, the man of business, Archibald, the spy, have let us into the closet; and the world now knows more about the outbreak of the war in 1914, than it has learned to this day about the inside history of the war between Prussia and France in 1870.

One of the pleasures of this search will be to run to earth some of the chief actors who have been caught with the lie in their teeth. Whatever we may know positively, we are sure negatively, for example, that England yielded to the desires of Germany in the matter of the Bagdad railroad; that Germany was informed of the content of the Austrian ultimatum served upon Serbia; that Ambassador Bernstorff was the head of a secret and disgraceful propaganda in the United States—these are matters in which the historian has an abundant entrance.

The essential difficulty in writing a history of the war is not so much a lack of data as a lack of perspective. When the Germans were flung back in the first battle of the Marne, we felt that France was saved, not realizing that there would be two more Marnes before the Hun battalions were forced back out of that valley. In civil and in military history things that seemed biggest have been overborne by bigger things. Once the Italians seemed to be on the straight road to Laibach; a few weeks later the Austrians were within range of Venice; and at the end they were fleeing across their boundary. Nevertheless the great events and results of the history of the war are done, are recorded, are visible. The terrific intensity of the fighting, especially in the West, the almost unendurable tension in the civil population of the fighting nations of Europe, the tightening of the bond of the Allies, and the final crushing in of Germany and of Austria, all these are facts as fixed as the execution of Louis XVI in the French Revolution, or the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo.

So with the causes of the war, ultimate and immediate. Time may add testimony but cannot overset the main, provable and proved result. In the interplay of national ambitions and expansions, Germany was the power that desired to disturb the existing conditions of the world, was willing to risk all in the attempt to conquer her neighbors, and to that end and for that purpose, brought on the conflict, little recking the moral and physical forces which would in the end unite to repel the attack and to break down the invader.

WORLD FIELD OF THE GREAT WAR

Never Before in History Were Such Vast Reaches of the Earth's
Surface at Stake

II

TERRITORY AS A BASIS OF ACTION

WITHOUT land there is no conscious life; without life there are no persons; without persons, no nations; without nations, no world war. Most of the questions which divide men into hostile camps and armies, which lead them to the struggle with nature and the fiercer struggle with other men, are directly related to the surface of the globe. The best coconut groves, the most fertile cornfields, the yellowest gold mines, the most alluring fishing banks—how many quarrels between neighbors, murderous rushes of tribes and big booming “civilized” wars have turned upon the possession or the desire for possession of those favored spots!

The very beginning of rivalries is in the inequality of nations. The desert tribe, scooping up a muddy drink from water-holes, looks with envy on the oasis tribe with its never-failing well of sweet water; while powerful and organized nations like Germany and France long for the coal pits and the iron fields of their neighbors. Even the well-off think they might be better off, on the general theory of the frontiersman that there is better land on an Indian reservation than he has yet experienced. In a world with every variety of soil and climate and rainfall and mineral wealth, there is always bound to be some area that the neighbors would like to take away from the owners. That means quarrels and often robbery within a state, and war between states.

In the ordinary community, if land goes into the hands of a few great proprietors—the feudal barons or the German junkers or the English dukes—part of the community is sure to challenge the principle that land is susceptible of sole ownership and use by a small part of the community. So among nations, if the Russians think they can make a better use of Persia than the Persians, they establish

a “sphere of influence” or take possession of the coveted area. If the Germans feel the need of a more direct access to the sea, why should a trifle like the age-long occupancy of Belgium by its own people stand in the way of conquest or annexation? A large part of international law is taken up with these perplexing questions of how to take other people's territory in a gentlemanly way, under the sanctions of international practice.

To understand the World War, therefore, it is needful to look abroad over the face of the earth and the breadth of the waters, to see what were the elements of the fierce rivalry and the determined effort to conquer territory. Was there anything in the geographical conditions of the earth to arouse national feeling, stimulate international hatreds, and lead to the application of force to bring about a redistribution of territory? For whatever the original purposes of the nations concerned, the result has been a destruction of the old landmarks, a breaking up of composite empires, the appearance of new nationlets, such as this world has never seen before.

LAND AREAS INVOLVED IN THE WAR

First of all, let us look at the continents and their relations to human history. The classical training of western nations has fixed firmly in their minds the belief that Europe is the only continent that matters, excepting always North America. People talk of world power and world powers, meaning the biggest and strongest nations that have a footing in Europe. Our history, our languages, our institutions, on both sides of the North Atlantic have been cast in the European mold.

In fact, however, the great continent, the mother of nations, the source of world religions, the seat of earliest culture, was Asia and not Europe. The difference is that in our times Europe has become a modern, up-to-date western town with the conveniences



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The Situation in 1916: the Status of the Northern End of the Berlin-to-Bagdad Dream

The keys to the Dardanelles and the Channel ports in German hands, assuring an unbroken line of communication from the North Sea to the East.

of civilized life. It is rich, enterprising, productive, rapidly advancing in population, and drawing to itself more and more of the vigor and the substance of the globe; while Asia is a decaying city, adorned with the temples and the statues of the past, still populous but running down, living in other centuries, and reciting ancient glories. Yet the number of Asiatics living in civilized communities, with their arts, their architecture, their literature, their traditions, their polity, their religions, is at the present moment fully twice as great as that of the persons living under similar influences in western Europe.

Africa, a dark continent, with feeble and

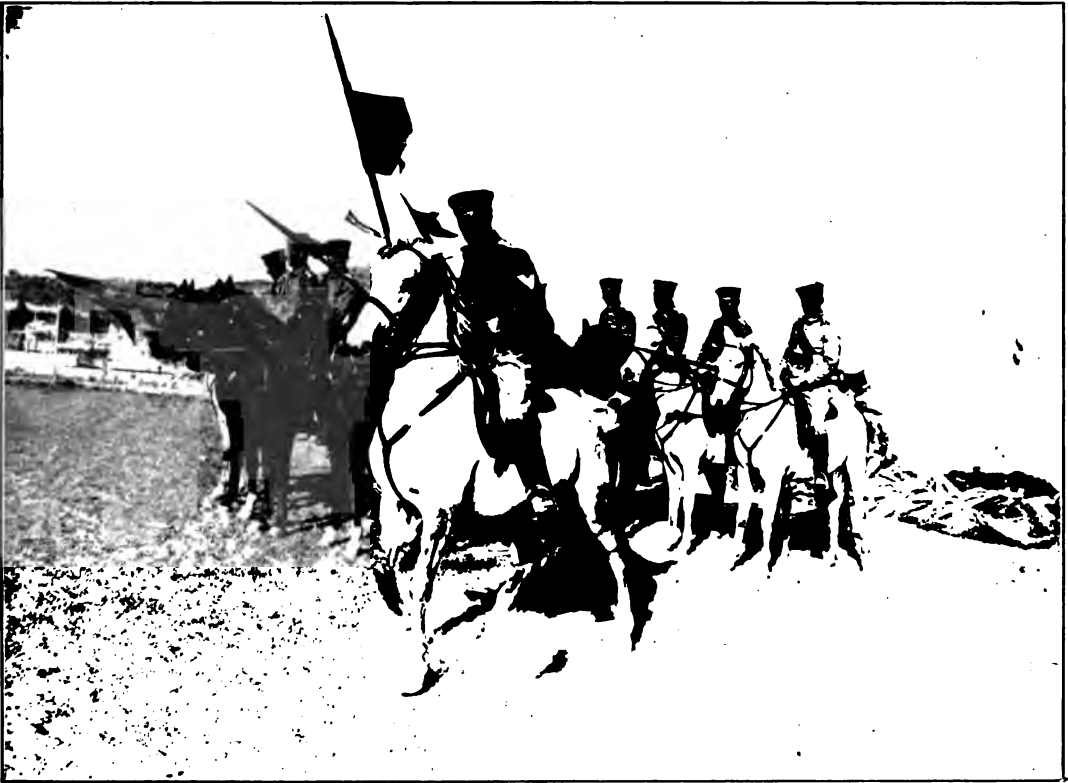
far separated glimmerings of the beacon light of Europe, seat in Egypt of one of the most ancient civilizations, teacher of Phœnicia and of Greece, commercial neighbor of Rome, of Lisbon and of London, Africa has lain outside the path of organized nations and the highways of conquest. Not Africa but Australia, newest of the continents to be developed, is the queen of the South Sea.

The two Americas lay for ages as remote and profitless as the Antarctic continent; for, excepting the two crude empires of Mexico and Peru, there were no American peoples or nations or heroes. It was the touch of Europe that brought them into the circle of

world lands. Immigration made them European, and the modern bonds of steam and electricity drew them closer into the society of the older continent.

As will be seen in the progress of this history, the World War raged in every continent, and in almost every civilized land. The conflict began where populous and highly organized nations lay closest together in the

That the war would spread to Asia was not self-evident at the beginning. Japan came in, not as a champion of Asia but as a partly Europeanized nation which desired to be included among the saviors of civilization. China was a late, reluctant, and ineffective sharer in the war. It was the adhesion of Turkey to the German combination that again brought European armies marching past the



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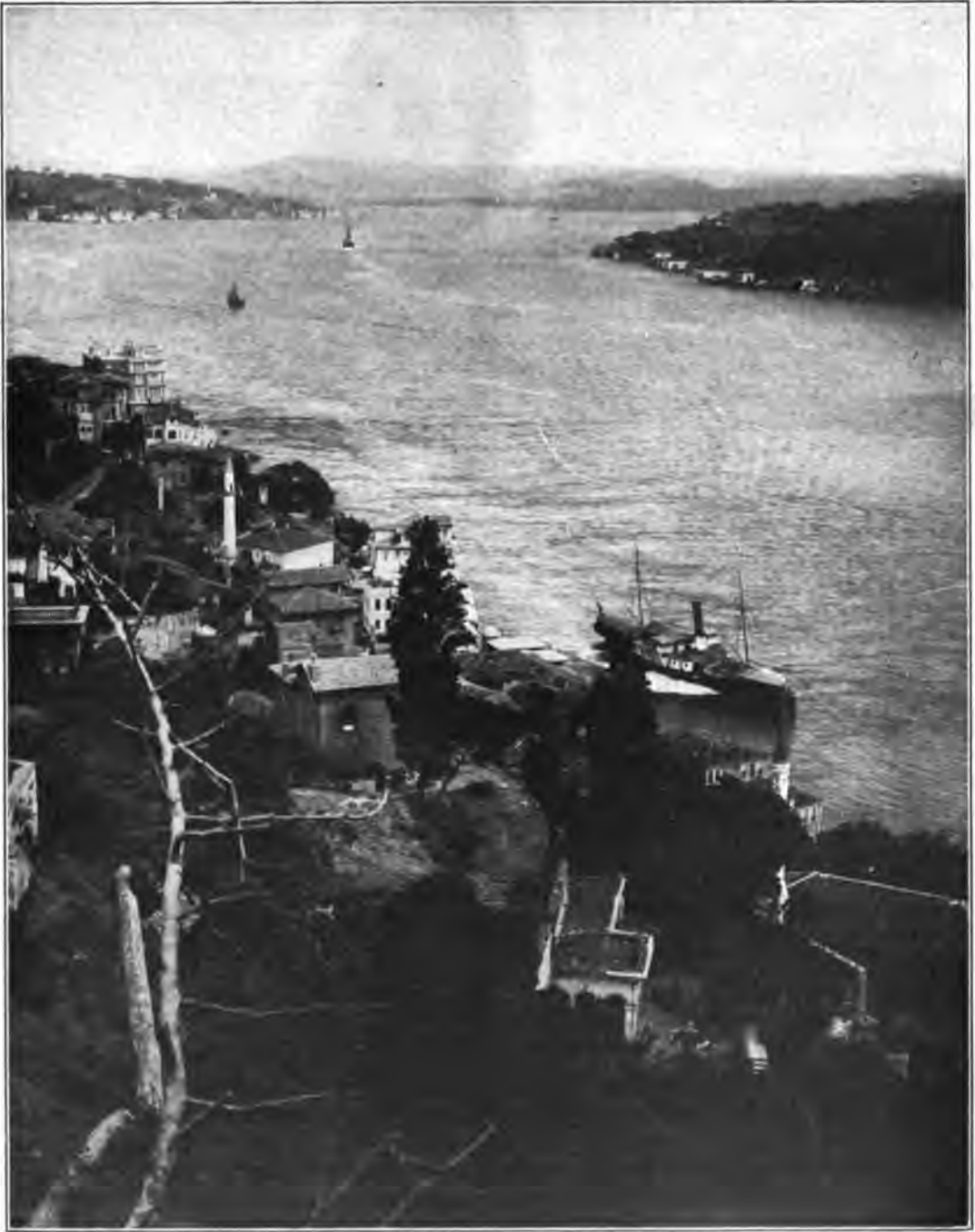
German Southwest African Cavalry

In formation for an attack. These men later were taken prisoners by General Botha, when Britain won this colony from Germany.

heart of Europe; it instantly spread to the confines of the continent—embracing the nations farthest north, farthest east, farthest south, farthest west. Europe became the vast slaughterfield of the war because there it was possible to assemble and hurl at each other the largest armies. The German-Austrian combination from the first suffered the disadvantage of tremendous attacks on two fronts, but at the same time had the steady advantage of a central position and unity of control.

ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, which caused a new fleet from Hellenized nations to attack on the Dardanelles the Asiatic Turks. It was Turkey's suicidal marriage with the Teutonic Empire that renewed the Crusades and broke the Moslem hold upon the holy places, a hold which had never been relaxed since Saladin took Jerusalem 832 years ago. In Persia, in Siberia, in Armenia, was renewed the battle between Asiatic and European which began more than two thousand years ago.

Other continents joined in the world strife.



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The Bosphorus

The strait that unites the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. The Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, commanding strategic positions, became the goals of mighty contending forces striving for world dominion.

In Africa the four German colonies were attacked and all subdued. From Australia poured forth men and ships to defend the British Empire and help put down the Hun. The Americans for a time held off, combining policy with geographical situation to keep free from the conflicts of the rest of the world. In the end the mighty United States dedicated its area, its resources and its manpower to decide the conflict; and eight of the Latin-American countries joined in formally declaring their enmity to Germany, while four more severed diplomatic relations.

THE SEA AND ITS INFLUENCE

From the dawn of history the chief maritime enemies of Europe were Europeans. Men of Asia often attacked by sea, but whether ancient Persians or Carthaginians or Turks, they failed to defeat the western sea dogs. It was those terrible Normans, in their shield-bedecked craft, who ravaged the coasts of their own continent. It was rival Europeans, the Englishman, the Dutchman, and the Spaniard, the Swede, the German, and the Italian, who learned at the cost of tall ships and strong sailors the art of sea warfare.

When the World War broke out, the ships of the world had overcome the distances and defied the storms of all the oceans. Wherever a merchant ship could go, a warship could pursue; and in time of war the cruisers and commerce destroyers of the various nations traversed all the seas and entered all the ports. The German Navy, prepared by thirty years of skill in building warships and in laying taxes to pay for them, quickly lost its grip; and after a few ship duels and small fleet engagements, the naval struggle was confined to the narrow North Sea and its approaches, and to the widely spread area of the ocean and the Mediterranean, where the German submarine was best known and most hated.

Throughout the war only one pitched naval battle on a grand scale was fought. Never again after Jutland did the Germans venture to take the sea in the teeth of the British—still less after the British and Americans became associates. Yet in no war for centuries has the Navy been a more significant part of the struggle: for by its control of the

seas, the British were able to shut in Germany and Austria-Hungary from imports overseas; and the desperate German effort to break that bulldog grip by submarines, operating alike on enemy and friend, aroused America to enter the war.

Till the Straits of Gibraltar and the Bosphorus are tunneled, the only land approach to Europe is through Russia. For four centuries Europe has been maintaining floating bridges of wood and of iron to reach the distant parts of the earth. Before there was any permanent settlement of Spaniards on the American continent, the Portuguese had gained a foothold in India. When the war broke out, there were still colonial empires of Portugal, of Holland, of France, of Great Britain, of Belgium, of Germany, and even of the United States of America, separated from the mother country by broad belts of sea. Had the Germans gained control of the sea they would have plucked these clusters from the various vines, to make a German Central Africa, a German Pacific Island region, perhaps a German India. The tables were turned and when the war ended, German colonial dominions were extinguished. The sea proved to be a bridge not only for traders and for colonists but for implacable enemies.

COLONIES IN THE WAR

Colonies have not been planted haphazard. They are placed where a rich but defenceless country has offered itself as spoils, as in the case of Burma; or among weak and barbarous native races occupying a fair land, such as North America. Colonies grew in proportion to the resources of the region where they were planted, to the energy of the colonists and to the resistance of the natives, who had the effrontery to look upon the European newcomers and Christianizers as ravaging wolves, coming to despoil or destroy them. The business of carrying on colonies was pursued with persistence and success by Spaniards and Portuguese a hundred years before other European races woke to the possibilities of colonization; then about the year 1604 the French absorbed Canada, and a hundred and sixty years later reluctantly turned it over to Great Britain, which found in it an es-

sential source of man-power and supplies in the Great War.

South Africa and Australia likewise proved towers of strength for the mother country. From India came that million of good and faithful soldiers who covered Egypt and took Bagdad and were the major force in Palestine. The British colonies gave back unstintingly to

at the chance of independence, while at the same time the Germans cannily laid plans for a more convenient use of the Australian lands and South African gold fields, and perhaps of the Canadian timber and silver.

In a different category are the tropical colonies, for here we approach one of the main causes of the war,—the conviction of the



A Bivouac of British Troops in German East Africa During the World War

their mother country in her hour of need. So did the French African colonies: the home country had only to protect a steam lane across the Mediterranean to draw thousands of soldiers and needed supplies. Even distant Annam sent a small relief force for the defence of Europe. So with Siberia, Russia's great Asiatic possession.

Of these colonies, Germany hoped that the three self-governing commonwealths of Canada, Australia, and South Africa would jump

Germans that the tropical lands from which came rubber and sugar and coffee, cotton and copra and jute, hemp and fruits and chocolate, were badly distributed. Why should Great Britain have India and Egypt and the Straits Settlements and the southern isles of the sea, while Germany had been able to lay hands only on four African colonies, of which none but German East Africa was of much account? For tropical products are the raw materials of many modern industries. Ger-

many was an industrial nation, and at the same time had a large and increasing merchant marine. The Germans held to the obstinate belief, also held by their rivals, that the only safe and permanent guaranty of a supply of these desirable products was to acquire the lands from which they came.

Nor had the Germans any moral or constitutional objection to colonies outside the tropical belt. In 1898 they lodged themselves in the bay of Kiao-Chau by an act of robbery. That holding the Germans were willing to enlarge wherever they could get a foothold in Asia. Or the simple annexation of Belgium would bring in the immense Congo basin in central Africa.

TRANSPORTATION AND ITS RIVALRIES

The idea of planting colonies and receiving their products involves the counter-idea of finding a market for home products in the colonies. That notion is tangled up with the modern method of drawing a large part of the food supplies for the country from outside its boundaries. The city of Rome was steadily supplied with food from over-seas; but no ancient or mediæval country deliberately built up an industrial system in supplies carried by a route perilous in time of war. Great Britain was the first large nation to venture on such a policy, and adopted it because of confidence that the British Navy could always protect the British food ships. France, Italy, and Germany followed in the same path, though without navies which could protect their channels of communication if Great Britain were an enemy.

Here was one of the chief dangers of war—how could a country like Germany enter on a great conflict knowing that not more than two-thirds of the necessary food for men and animals was raised or could be raised on German soil? Nothing could justify such a risk except the confidence that food would continue to be held as cargo which might

safely be carried to belligerent countries on neutral ships from neutral countries. That is, Germany believed that Great Britain would keep hands off of a form of trade which the Germans themselves would undoubtedly have found the means of paralyzing had they gained control over the seas.

Outside of colonies and outside of food traffic, was the problem of world shipping. Mediæval Germans were excellent sailors—it was only the frightful disaster of the Thirty Years' War that prevented Germany from joining in the contest for colonies in America and Asia. When Germany, after the war with France of 1870, began to feel itself a nation with world aims, the national genius for ship-building, ship-sailing, and providing cargoes for ships came again to the front. The Germans built ships, good ships, swift ships, great ships. Their great steamship companies were national institutions.

Closely connected with sea transportation was the question of fortified naval stations. The English, who were early in the field, and kept on picking up things, had in 1914 a superb chain of naval stations, many of them fortified, most of them with shipyards and docks and immense stores of coal. These were the protection of the communications of the empire—Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Egypt, Aden, Socotra, Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hongkong, Weihaiwei, Esquimalt on Vancouver Island, Quebec, Halifax, the ports of the Bahamas, Bermudas and West India Islands, Cape of Good Hope, the Australian and New Zealand ports, and Pacific groups,—what an imperial diadem of mutually supporting stations! No other power in the history of the world has known anything so complete. The Germans had nothing to approach it, and could get nothing except by setting out to bring the ports of the Turkish Empire under control, and to cull French, English, and Dutch naval stations, by the right of the strongest, if war could be induced to happen.

BACKWARD NATIONS

All Asiatic Peoples but the Japanese Have Been Treated as "Inferiors"
by European Powers

III

UNDER A FOREIGN YOKE

THREE diplomatic events during the thirty years preceding the war give point to the long preparations for world war, and at the same time brought out the inequalities among nations. The first was the Con-

try most affected by the canal, was least consulted.

The second evidence of internationalism and inequality is the Congress of Berlin of 1878 in which sat delegates of the six Great Powers and Turkey—a recognition that the questions caused by the iniquitous presence of Turkey in Europe concerned all the great European powers, and that the Balkan peo-



Port Said, Northern Terminal of the Suez Canal

The Canal is the highway of navigation between Europe and the East; strategically it has always been regarded as the gateway to India, Great Britain's richest possession.

vention of Constantinople by which the Suez Canal of 1888 was solemnly neutralized as a world's highway in war or peace, open even to naval vessels of the public enemies of Great Britain. The Convention lay unused for fourteen years, and had not the smallest effect during the World War; but it may be accepted as an evidence that European statesmen in 1888 thought that the general use of an artificial waterway, no matter who owned the stock or governed the channel, was part of the common law of nations. At the same time, Egypt, the coun-

tries must take the decision of outsiders on their claims.

The third was the Congo Conference of 1884-85, in which sat not only the six Great Powers, but eight lesser European States and the United States, to decide on the fate of millions of Africans who did not so much as know what a Congress of Berlin was.

All three of these international agreements bring out the fact that Europe,—and the United States, also,—was ready to commit itself to the doctrine that even some independent sovereign treaty-capable states were in-

ferior to others. In Europe, not all maritime powers were asked or allowed to come into these Conferences and agreements; and what we now call "self-determination" was not recognized as a law of nations. Nobody asked Egypt to consent to the Suez Canal treaty; no one consulted Bosnia and Herzegovina as to their transfer to a hated nation, no commissions investigated the preferences of the natives of the Congo Basin. The principle that savage and barbarous powers must accept what Christian nations with strong navies thought was good for them is as old as the voyage of Columbus and the charters of the London and Plymouth Companies.

In the period we are now describing numbers of island groups were picked up and appropriated by various European powers on the simple ground that they wanted them, and the natives knew not how to make use of them. The world formally committed itself anew to the doctrine that small, weak, or barbarous states had no rights that large states were bound to respect—a doctrine pushed to its logical conclusion by Germany in 1914 against Belgium.

THE FOREIGNER

The status of foreigners in such countries has been complicated by the presence of missionaries, who followed close after the admission of the West into Turkey, Persia, Burma, Siam, China, and Japan. Some of them were dispatched to the "nominally Christian lands," of eastern Europe. To the American mind the missionary was an apostle of pure religion. He carried Americanism, freedom, popular government, public schools, hygiene, along with his Bible. Some other nations used their missionaries as political agents—the French diplomat and the French ecclesiastic were always in close alliance. Whatever the purpose of the missions they perplexed the backward nations; these zealots wanted to go everywhere, to preach and teach without restriction, to acquire land, to protect their converts. They weakened the bonds of government. Yet they were warm friends of the people and some of them became officials of the countries in which they were stationed.



Hsüan Tung

The boy ex-Emperor of China. When the Republic was established, the Manchu dynasty was deposed, the youthful ruler and all the court going into seclusion.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY

The application of the same principle to large and wealthy nations, though intelligent and carefully organized, because they were outside the culture of Europe, was a serious extension of this principle of inferior nations. If they practiced neither Roman law nor English common law, and were not accustomed to Western commercial transactions and laws, they were entitled only to a diluted international law. Therefore Turkey, China, Japan, Siam, Afghanistan, and Persia were "backward nations" who might be permitted to carry on their own governments in their own fashion for their own people, but must not expect truly civilized persons to submit to their laws and courts. Since the right of

laws and courts to govern aliens and visitors as well as citizens is an essential part of true sovereignty, no backward nation on this theory was entitled to be looked upon or treated as a genuinely sovereign power.

So far as commercial intercourse is concerned, there is much to be said for this view. The nations most affected usually prefer to allow those graceless European outsiders to settle their own quarrels in imported courts of their own making. The Eastern peoples retain their views as to the ignorance, lack of manners, and general offensiveness of the "foreign devils" and prefer to keep them at long range. The aliens on their side form their own social groups to which they do not admit the best-bred Chinese or Japanese. In many directions the principle of extraterritoriality cuts deeply into the pride and efficiency of government, especially in the three empires of Turkey, China, and Japan.

All three were compelled to sign treaties with European nations providing that all foreigners possess "extraterritoriality;" that is, that they carried with them and had on their arrival a halo of their own rights, practices, laws, and customs. In its strictest form extraterritoriality includes the assignment of special districts in which all foreigners must reside. That plan reduces the friction but is so far as possible ignored by travelers and missionaries. In all cases, foreigners are free from a local court. Naturally, the foreigner brought up before a Turkish kadi, or a Chinese magistrate, or a Japanese judge is dealing with a language and a judicial system of which he knows next to nothing. Turkish and Japanese law was never made to fit the conditions of modern trade and commerce. Another difficulty is that disputes between natives and foreigners also go into the foreigners' court, which supply law that is strange enough to the native.

Extraterritoriality is a standing assertion that the country against which it is applied has not the power or the will to protect life and property, and to do justice; that it is on an inferior footing; that it is a "backward nation." Turkey has been in that situation for a very long time. The principle was extended also to China from the first institution of treaty ports in the Forties. It was in force in Japan until that country, beginning

in 1899, was by treaties with the Western nations freed from this obligation, and thereby admitted to the rank of superior powers. The result of extraterritoriality is that the hundreds of millions of Chinese, the most numerous nation on earth, cannot assert over their own soil the degree of control which is freely admitted to belong to Holland or Denmark, who are treated as a kind of second sons in the family of nations. Turkey flung off the bonds so far as a declaration could do it at the beginning of the World War. Extraterritoriality has marked as "backward nations" about 400,000,000 people, who consider themselves fully equal to any Western nations.

SPHERES OF INTEREST

The policy of forcing trade, diplomatic intercourse, and the Gospel on unwilling nations has led to a curious situation in eastern Asia, particularly in China. The Chinese never wanted foreigners to come to their country. Theirs was a country of varied products; they could live without foreign trade. They looked down on the foreigner's morals, feared his armies, and were ready to act themselves as agents for whatever foreign trade they could not avoid. The unrelenting policy of European powers has with few exceptions been to compel the Chinese to admit their merchants, and to buy and sell. They even regulate the taxes and administration which affect trade. The Chinese are bound by unwelcome treaties to lay no tariff higher than five per cent. This withholding of the power to exact a reasonably productive rate of duties is the chief reason for the present helplessness of China.

Japan has got out of these leading strings, but both Turkey and China have been subjected to great pressure from outside to "grant concessions" for the carrying on of steamship lines, the building of railroads, the exploitation of mines, and so on. This has opened up those countries to intrigue, bribery, and the grant of scandalous privileges, which are held to be beyond the reach of recall.

From 1890 to 1898 the diplomatic representatives and the commercial interests of foreign nations in China were pulling and hauling for these privileges; and were ac-



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Count Okuma, Japan's War Premier

To Okuma fell the task of directing his country's policy when it entered the World War in September, 1914. The capture of Tsing-tao (Kiao Chau) by the Japanese, acting in coöperation with the British, foreshadowed the importance of the Shantung question amongst the pressing problems to arise from the war.

tually talking of dividing China into "spheres of interest," under which it was agreed that no power should exploit an area which had been mutually assigned to another power for its exploitation.

The same principle of spheres of interest has been applied to parts of Africa. Long before the French annexed Tunis it was recognized that nobody else should lay hands on that country; and ever since 1882 the English have been the sole guardians of Egypt.

The belief that some groups of nations are superior to others is a very old one. It was the excuse for the European conquests in Asia and America during the first colonizing period. It was the basis of the nineteenth century Concert of Powers. It has led to the generalization that all Asiatic powers (except Japan, who is in this respect included in the European powers) exist by the sufferance of Europe. It involves the denial of self-government to every part of Africa, except the South African Commonwealth. It was the basis of most of the German diplomacy outside of Europe. It extends to the idea of subduing civilized nations like China. It even goes to the extent of giving to the Japanese the personal privilege of extraterritoriality in China, and beyond that recognized a Japanese right to control the internal government of China to a degree which deprives it of independence. It was the cornerstone of the colonial rivalries which excited Germany and sharpened the mind of the German people for war.

NEW PACIFIC POWERS

One European power alone has in our time set up an actual colony in Asia, and that is Russia. Long ago their thin line of settlement reached the Amur river and then the Pacific. The success of the trans-continental railroads of the United States suggested that scattered settlements might be brought together by a trans-Asiatic road. By 1902 through trains were running from Moscow and Petersburg to Vladivostok on the Pacific. For the first time it was practicable to parallel the route of Marco Polo in a sleeping-car. This Siberian railroad also gave Russia better access to the Khanates of central Asia and the interior of the continent. Russia alone of all the European countries introduced millions of

her own people into Asia. Russia alone, taking advantage of a rich country resembling the home-land in climate and productions, prepared for a real extension of Europe eastward. Russia alone could plant troops on the flanks of China and Japan.

This favored situation brought with it difficulties and jealousies. No other European power had anything greater than scattered parcels of territory in eastern Asia. The Russians forthwith began to squeeze the Chinese, and took possession of the fortified seaport of Port Arthur, which the Japanese had taken in war from China, but had been compelled by the European powers to give up. What Asia was not allowed to seize, was defiantly occupied in Europe.

Russia thus came into contact with the one Asiatic nation that had the ships, the cannon, the military training, and the organized army which could dream of confronting European troops. Japan had been busy for forty years in learning the ways of the Occident and culling from them what might be useful to Japan. The Japanese had modernized their large cities, built railroads, established shipyards, opened cotton mills, developed mines, founded banks. Under the Constitution of 1889 they had set up what they called a parliamentary régime, though it was hard to make any kind of popular government out of a system which recognized the Emperor as a sacred potentate, while the great decisions of state were made by the "elder statesmen," who were not mentioned in the constitution, and the ministers fulfilled their responsibility to Parliament by dissolving it.

The most important thing about Japan was that it was the sole Asiatic nation that fitted itself to compete with Europe in the European manner. Japan had European arms, ships of war, titles of nobility, military discipline, methods of supply, and medical service. Japanese sailors were trained by Englishmen, military officers by Germans, schoolmasters by Americans, jurists by the French. Yet all remained Japanese.

In 1894 the Japanese went to war with China, and in a short campaign paralyzed that great empire by sea and land, took Formosa, and made a lodgment within Manchuria. Japan thus became the only really independent Asiatic nation. When in 1904 Japan felt

aggrieved by Russia, with or without immediate good reasons, they ventured to take the field against a European army. They did more. They captured Port Arthur out of the grip of the Russians. They met the Russians by land and showed themselves superior at sea. They beat the Russian bear to a standstill, and under the good will of the

United States made the Treaty of Portsmouth on American soil in 1905, by which they held Port Arthur and practically annexed Korea. From that moment no world combination was thinkable which did not include Japan. No great European war could be fought without taking into account the Army, the Navy, and the *bushido* national spirit of Japan.

PART II—THE NATIONS

EVOLUTION OF WORLD POWER (1300-1775)

While the Other European Nationalities Slumber France and England Gain World Power

IV

RACES AND RACE RIVALRIES

THE development of modern nations is much earlier than the development of their relations with the backward nations of the East. In most countries in Europe there were minority race groups, and in some, especially Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, they were numerous and, in some cases, outnumbered their masters. Upon this confusion, which in many instances led to internal strains and even to civil wars, has been founded the doctrine of an instinctive and traditional race rivalry. The United States, with its 14 million born Europeans and 10 million Africans, knows something of the pressure of divergent races living side by side.

In this country, however, the negroes are the only race that is localized. If all the immigrant Hungarians lived in Pennsylvania and all the Germans in Wisconsin, and all the Scandinavians in Minnesota, and all the Irish in Massachusetts, and all the Poles in Michigan, we should have the same conditions as those of the now defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. Fortunately, our race elements cannot claim traditional race rights inasmuch as they changed their place of residence and are scattered haphazard throughout the Union. We know little of the bitterness of the race feeling between a group of Lettish villages, embedded in a Polish-speaking area. We can not realize the five-century-long struggles between the Germans and Czechoslavs in Bo-

hemia. We cannot understand the intensity of hatred between Greeks and Bulgarians in Macedonia.

These local conflicts between small racial groups are intensified in lands where races and languages touch and interlace, as, for example, in the ancient borderlands of Poland, the Ukraine, and Bessarabia, where Russian jostles Pole, and Pole elbows German. When the war broke out Germany evolved the theory that it was fighting "half-barbarous Asiatics. This referred to the Russians, who, whatever their faults or their weaknesses, are as anciently European as the Germans or the Latins or the Greeks. It is about five centuries since the close of a thoroughly Teuton-Slav war which raged for centuries south of the Baltic; and remnants of the conquered Slavs are still to be found in the Wends of Prussia. In modern times, however, there had never been a war between Russia and Austria, nor between Russia and Prussia, except for the few years between 1757 and 1762, until the death of the Empress Elizabeth left a new Czar free to come to the rescue of Frederick the Great. The obliteration of Poland a century and a quarter ago was the joint work of German Prussia, Slav Russia, and mixed Austria. The Germans shuddered at Pan-Slavism, but never feared it, because the Slavs of Russia, of Austria, and of the Balkans had no common religion or traditions, and knew not how to live together.

Something nearer to a permanent race rivalry could be traced between the Teutons and the Latins; and Alsace-Lorraine is the



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Frederick the Great (1712-1786)

From a painting by Camphausen of the famous Hohenzollern King of Prussia.

remnant of a borderland which is still in dispute. Yet notwithstanding the clear race lines, accented by the obstinate clinging of most races to their own language, there were in 1914 no great race combinations, no genuine race enmities, no race wars, no race basis for war, except the obscure movement called Pan-Germanism.

NATIONALITY

In the establishment of European countries race has been no measure of the division into nations. For instance, the Germans and the Dutch are blood brothers, but no country in the world has a stronger sense of being a separate nationality than Holland. On the other hand, Switzerland is a very tight and tidy little nation, though composed of three race elements, speaking four languages. Some races are concentrated; nearly all the Albanians in Europe live within the limited area between the Ægean Sea and the inland of Macedonia. Others are scattered: the Rumanian Vlachs wander and settle comfortably anywhere in southeastern Europe.

Nationality has not been so much a matter of descent or of language as of thinking together. The sons of the United States, whatever their race descent, carry the Stars and Stripes in their minds wherever they go over the earth's surface and look upon other sons of the United States as members of the family. On the other hand, the people of very small countries often feel a like passionate attachment for their own soil and their own home folks; especially in those countries where there is a dominant race and the smaller or weaker subordinate units obstinately adhere to each other, as in Hungary.

This inborn sense that certain people are outside our interests and certain people are our natural friends, associates and mutual protectors, doubtless goes back to the tribes of cave men, to the sense of being one of the gang. The instinct is amazingly strong and persistent. Take the Poles for example. Since 1795 there has been no nation of Poland—except the short-lived Napoleonic Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The former Poles were divided among three neighbor-enemies who have done their best to make Germans and Russians and Austrians out of that once independent people;

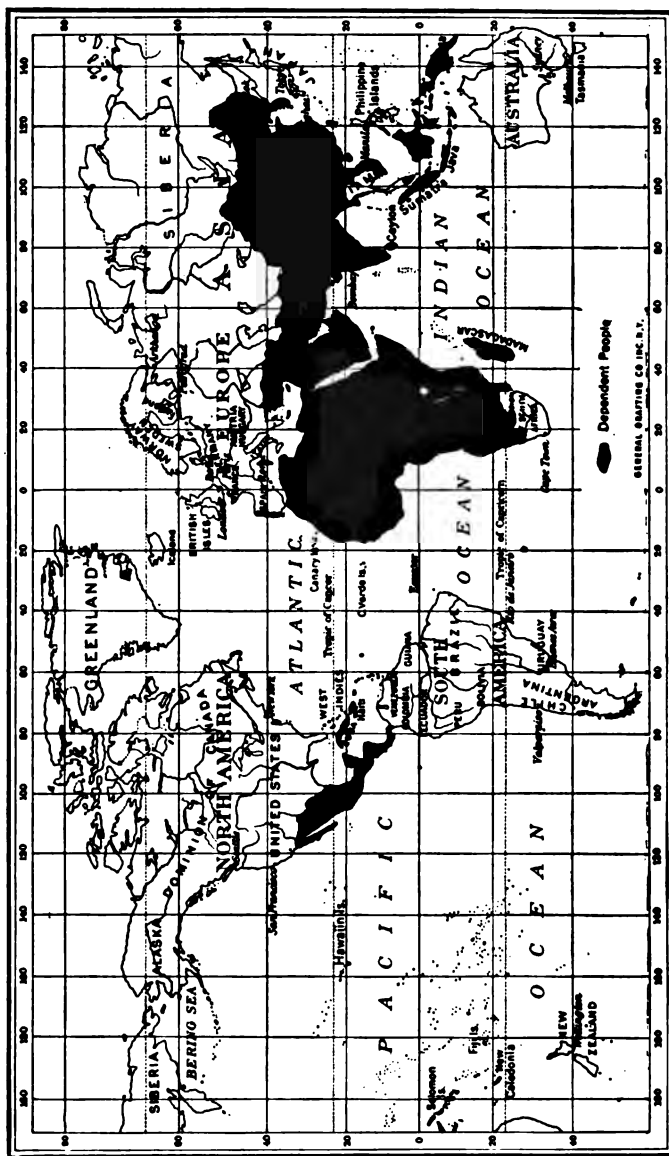
yet no persuasion and no violence has been able to break up the use of the Polish language, the remembrance of Polish glory, and the sense of Polish nationality. When war broke the iron bonds which attached the geographical fragments of Poland to unfriendly nations a living Poland was revealed.

If nationality is a good thing, why not plenty of it? Why not release all national units from unwelcome control? Where it is a simple question, such as restoring to independence the sector of Poland which the Russians have vainly tried to make their own for more than a century, the business may be settled by an edict, the provision of a treaty of peace, or a boundary line. Difficulties arise when, as in the case of Bohemia, there is a border strip with a mixed population. Still greater are the difficulties in what once was the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where Germans, Hungarians, Rumanians, and Serbs live in adjoining towns or in interlacing country districts. If you try to set apart the Rumanians from the Hungarians, they carry with them an inclosure of Germans.

The treaty of peace of 1919 has set up several new European nationalities, and endowed them with governments, but all of them have been already engaged in struggles and even in wars, because no geometry could provide boundaries that definitely separate one nationality from another. The main effect of nationalistic struggles, such as those of Finland and of Bohemia before the World War, was to make clear the truth that Russia was not inhabited solely by Russians nor Austria by Austrians. The race difficulties in the Austro-Hungarian Empire have for fifty years been threatening to break it in fragments.

WORLD POWERS AND WORLD EMPIRE

The final crash of empires made up of various nationalities has taken the world by surprise, because during the last hundred years the tendency has been to roll up aggregations of population, whether of the same race or culture or of disunited groups, into one imposing empire. Long ago the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland combined the four race stocks of the English, the Scotch,



“The White Man's Burden”

The areas marked black are peopled by races which have not developed the capacity for self-government. In the case of some of them there has been created the system of “mandatories” under the League of Nations, the chief burden of which falls upon the Anglo-Saxons.

the Irish, and the Welsh. Time was when the German Empire was made up of three hundred different governmental units, but in our day these were reduced to twenty-six, which were actually dominated by Prussia. Italy, with a population singularly free from elements drawn from outside the peninsula, was for ages broken into small states, which were not brought together till 1870.

The people of these and other populous countries believed that a big state was a big blessing—at least to those who enjoyed its protection. If all the Germans could be gathered together, they might forward their national traditions and aspirations with one impulse. United Italy hoped to become queen of the Mediterranean. France, like Italy, had the advantage of a population which was substantially of one blood and speech. The United States set the world an example of what could be done in building up a great nation on new soil, keeping it strong and united. In 1914, there were many plans for combining nationalities into larger units—Pan-Germanism, Pan-Americanism, the Imperial Federation of Great Britain, Pan-Slavism, Pan-Islam. The world seemed to be looking for centralization and was not much interested in the natural aspirations of Armenians or Croats or Poles.

The great-nations idea often led to ambitions which hark back to that tremendous concept of a world government once realized by ancient Rome. It was not a world government in the modern sense. The people of India and China two thousand years ago did not trouble themselves about the Roman World Power, which barely knew of their existence. The world at that time was the Mediterranean basin and adjacent stretches inland, which was actually controlled, governed, and defended by the Roman Republic and Empire, whose majesty still affects the imagination of mankind.

The later Holy Roman Empire revived, and for near a thousand years kept alive, the fiction of a universal right to rule. Napoleon at one time exercised his will over an area at least as great as that of ancient Rome. Great Britain has ever since 1793 held the world sea power and has not been feared, only because that immense weight of authority has been in the main exercised with pru-

dence and regard for the rights of others. World dominion, however, is now too great a task for any nation: national feeling is too lively; interests too various, the sense of popular rule too strong.

An alternative for a world power has been a galaxy of world powers; and of late years a select list of Great Powers has constructed itself. Four powers, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States, have stood in the first rank of modern nations; four more, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Japan, in a second line of states less populous and powerful; the most populous of all, China, has received no union card as an accredited great power.

Of these great countries the United States and Germany were federations, and another, Great Britain, had many elements of federation, while Austria was a dual composite state. The idea of combining nationalities or organized communities which would not give up their individual life, into a federation, varied as to internal laws and customs, united for offence and defence, was proved by the success of the United States of America. Lesser federal lights were hung out by Canada, Australia, South Africa, and Switzerland. From this point the thought of statesmen turned again to world control. How magnificent must be a world power, exercised through a federation of the world, based on the consent of the nations governed! Here was the solution, to some minds, of all the troubles of nationalities, and a relief from all the ills of despotic government.

RELIGIOUS DIVERGENCIES AND RIVALRIES

The difficulty with world federation is the same as that of empires composed of various nationalities. If people cannot be brought to think reasonably alike, to hold the same ideas and standards of government, how can they be happy or peaceful? Somehow 350 million Chinese have got on, age after age, in something like accord. Why should Western nations be so much less stable? One reason is the terrible discords of religion. Early Europe had its outfit of discordant gods; here Zeus, there Neptune, beyond the mountains Thor of the Hammer; but they all faded away before the approach of Christianity.

After a long period of one Christian church, the great schism between the Eastern and the Western churches in 1054 separated Christendom into two camps. Five hundred years later came Luther and the ninety-five theses, John Calvin and his stern Institutes, John Knox and his thunders. Then for more than a hundred years the Protestant and the Catholic argued and contested, and quarreled and went to war. The result was the division of central and western Europe into, roughly speaking, a northern and a southern block. Northern Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, England, Scotland, parts of France and Switzerland and Hungary, later the English offshoots in America and Australia remained Protestant. The Latin states, the Croats, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Poles held to the Roman church, the Russians and other peoples of southeastern Europe to the Greek communion. A fourth religion, that of Islam, for many centuries fought with all its might against all kinds of Christians, in Spain, in the Balkans, and in the Holy Land.

In the nineteenth century, however, religion ceased to be a line of political division. When the World War broke out, Germany, which was three-fifths Protestant and two-fifths Catholic, was allied closely with Roman Catholic Austria, Greek communion Bulgaria, and Moslem Turkey, against Greek Catholic Russia, Roman Catholic Belgium, Neo-Catholic France, Protestant England, and Shinto-Buddhist Japan. Plainly, religion has ceased to be the cause of great international battles, and was no bond of union between nations.

NATION BUILDING FROM 1648 TO 1763

How did these rival and often incompatible ideas of proper organization work out in the nations of the seventeenth century, who were the supporting stratum of the nations as they appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century? The sense of a common European system grew slowly; the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 was the first that recognized the various European countries as members of a family of nations. Europe was made up of independent states, each of them possessed of that mysterious and uncertain authority which we call sovereignty; but these neighboring states long had some sense of joint trade in-

terests and from 1648 may be dated the rise of a body of joint political rights and responsibilities.

First in order was the cherished but unreal principle of the equality of nations, large and small. The influence of Grotius in splendidly stating the rights and obligations of governments under international law, laid the foundation for a conception, crude and oft neglected, of a commonwealth of nations, whose intercourse was based upon fixed principles, expressed both through custom and through a network of treaties. The Peace of Westphalia also found a formula under which the religious issue was taken out of international politics,—“Who reigns, his the religion,” was the phrase which embodied not toleration, but the right of the ruler of a country to designate the religion of its people without interference from outside. The form of faith ceased to be an international issue.

From 1648 to the French Revolution was a period of decentralization in Central Europe. The Holy Roman Empire still existed as a tradition and a fiction. Actually, the power within Germany was exercised by the “territorial states”—that is large countries such as Prussia and Bavaria, small countries such as Lippe-Detmold, and a great number of petty counts, and barons. Within each of these units, the hereditary sovereign laid the taxes, made the decisions, and carried on the government. The model for these little states was France, whose renowned monarch, Louis XIV, gathered all the powers of state and the proceeds of the taxes into his own hand.

Some germs of republicanism still existed in the free cities, and in the decaying confederations of Switzerland and Holland. As a matter of practice, free and representative governments were both rapidly losing ground in all parts of Europe except England, where the seventeenth century struggle between the Stuart kings and Parliament left an elected House of Commons, superior to the Crown.

The life and spirit and adventure of Europe, on which was built up a new grouping of states, went into colonization. The other countries of Europe waked up to the fact that the Spaniards and Portuguese had so far taken a monopoly of the opportunities for conquest or settlement, both in the Far East, and the far West. England, France, and Holland



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Pope Pius X

Who died during the War, after striving in vain to make an end of the slaughter. As head of the Catholic church, his influence extended over his people in every warring country.

gained footholds in Asia and in America, where Sweden followed a few years later. This meant a new outlook on the world. It was carrying Europe overseas. The rivalries and territorial wars of Europe extended to and sometimes began in the new world. The colonies brought wealth to the merchant, opportunities to the adventurers, and the invigorating life of frontier communities. Europe discovered its military superiority to all other continents. Wherever European fleets and troops appeared in the Orient, the native armies gave way. In America there never was any organization of the natives that could possibly make head against the invaders.

In this lively tournament of gallant nations, some had to give ground. England and France, both east and west, pushed in on Portugal and Spain. Holland and Sweden were squeezed out of America. Then followed four general wars from 1689 to 1763. To meet the combination of France and Spain, the counter-combination of England and Holland was formed; and Prussia, which was growing up into a tough military power, often took the side of England. For the first time was clearly revealed the great idea that no one European nation or combination could be allowed to acquire so much territory, raise such armies, and build such fleets as would put the rest of the European powers at its mercy. The Triple Alliance and Triple Entente of our day were pre-figured in the Family Compact and the Grand Alliance of two hundred years ago. The duty of endangered states to combine against the aggressor, the possibility of a combination of independent powers acting for the time *e pluribus unum* gave force to the idea of defence by an alliance, which grew into a tradition.

SEA POWER AMONG NATIONS

Colonies overseas meant merchant ships to carry the emigrants and bring back the products, and naval fleets to protect that commerce and to wrench off an enemy's colonies. Every colonizing nation was necessarily a naval power. Every naval power was sure to go to war, especially in times when the distinction was faint between a buccaneer who plundered the ships of a selected friend, and

a duly commissioned privateer who captured none but enemy vessels, and a pirate who plundered everybody. It has long been fashionable to sneer at the Spaniards, but they were for a good century the greatest naval power in the world. They defeated the Turks, they founded and defended their colonies; nothing but the tremendous grit and dash and courage of the English sea-dogs, combined with a few obliging tempests, caused the defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, which broke the circle of Spanish power and opened up the way for the English colonies.

Spaniards, and Frenchmen, and Portuguese did not go out of business; they went on building ships of war and fighting, but the Dutch and the English forged ahead as sea powers; then Holland slowly declined and the English went up, till at the end of the great naval wars in 1763, they were the Lords of the Main. In these naval dangers and naval glories, the American colonies of England always shared. Their men, their ships took part in every one of the four maritime wars, and thus they acquired the skill and daring which were so uncomfortable for England in the Revolution and the War of 1812.

The true nature of sea power in a world abounding in oversea colonies was dimly felt by those most successful. Not till twenty years ago did an American sailor, Captain Mahan, clearly state the momentous principle that the object of sea warfare is to destroy an enemy's fleets. When they are put out of the game, then his colonies and his commerce may be picked up at leisure. It must never be forgotten that the superiority at sea which has enabled the British Fleet to fence in the Germans in the World War arose earlier than the American Revolution. Nor that just a century ago in the Napoleonic Wars, the English were doing the same thing in that famous contest between the Whale and the Elephant, between the master of the sea and the monarch of the shore. England has reaped, in the World War, the results of two hundred years of effort to make the British Fleet larger, stronger, and more widely distributed than any other. At the same time the English were choosing and fortifying that chain of sea forts which has made possible the maintenance of the greatest fleet in history, most widely distributed over the oceans.

DEMOCRACY AND AMERICA (1775-1860)

From the United States Ideals of Democracy and Federation Filter Through Europe

V

NINETEENTH CENTURY DEMOCRACY

THE object of this part of the volume is to bring into a just perspective the long chain of influences that has been at work to shape the nations that have joined in the World War, and to prepare them for the part that they have taken. The first transforming influence was democracy, especially that set in action by the new United States of America. One of the most imposing landmarks of European history is the small mighty war of the American Revolution—which was felt at the heart of Europe.

Democracy is no modern discovery. It has been the basis of primitive communities all over the world; it was a flame of fire for Greeks and Romans and Slavs and Teutons, for Swiss and Dutch and English. Nevertheless, the new American democracy aroused the world with the electric shock of its noble belief in the rights of man and the capacity of organized communities to keep their liberty. Before the Revolution more was said and written about democracy in France than in America; but the French only admired, while the Americans exemplified.

The tremendous influence of the American Revolution throughout the world, is due to the fact that Europe was sinking into brutish absolutism, except in England, where the real government was a combination of land-holding families with the merchant class. The type of European government was Prussia—an hereditary king, ruling without a constitution, and without any parliament that could check him; an army of professional soldiers; an arrogant landed aristocracy; a small merchant and professional class; and a mass of land-tilling peasants with a few artisans. The property, the land, the power was in the hands of a few. The Hohenzollern royal house was a succession of stupid, narrow-

minded, obstinate sovereigns, with the one exception of Frederick II, whose military genius made his army respected in Europe. A large part of the peasantry were serfs bound to the land. Frederick the Great was also a



Lord Castlereagh

The honest and conciliatory attitude of this Englishman on the difficult questions of Poland and of Saxony availed more in the Congress of Vienna than Metternich's cleverness. He worked for the restoration of a just equilibrium in Europe, but the English press pilloried him as the creature of Metternich.

great business man, shrewd and far-seeing, who looked after his people, because otherwise, where would he find soldiers and supplies? The officers in his army were a caste, the soldiers were yokels, the Army was a tool for the king-commander's hand.

No such royalty was known in England or in English America. George III, King of

Great Britain, was, to be sure, also Elector of Hanover, and his errors and his woes came from the attempt to apply the German conception of kingship among a people who would none of it. The colonies had been practically republics from the beginning. They recognized King George, and erected leaden statues to his glory, because it seemed a polite and elevating thing to pay homage to somebody that you did not see and to a royalty who did not govern. American democracy rested on the opportunities of a community where land was easy to obtain. The leaders of the community were a group of well-to-do families, a kind of untitled aristocracy; but leaders and led together had the strongest feeling of the common weal. If a wealthy man were elected moderator of the Boston town meeting twenty-five years in succession the voters could drop him out any year that they chose. The Declaration of Independence ran through the Colonies because it expressed again the beliefs of a lifetime, the practices of every colony.

DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

The Declaration of Independence also ran through Europe and has at last transformed most of the European nations, because it was contrary to the practices and the theories of most European states. The interpreter of the English-American ideals of liberty was France. From monarchy to republic, from republic to anarchy, from anarchy to despotism, from despotism to imperialism, the French never let go of the triune appeal "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité"—"Personal freedom, equality before the law, brotherhood of mankind." Napoleon could take away popular representation but he never ventured to disturb the chief triumph of the French Revolution, the abolition of all personal privileges. Titular dukes and princes came before the same courts, were subject to the same duties, as the commoner. Every Frenchman was a unit of the state.

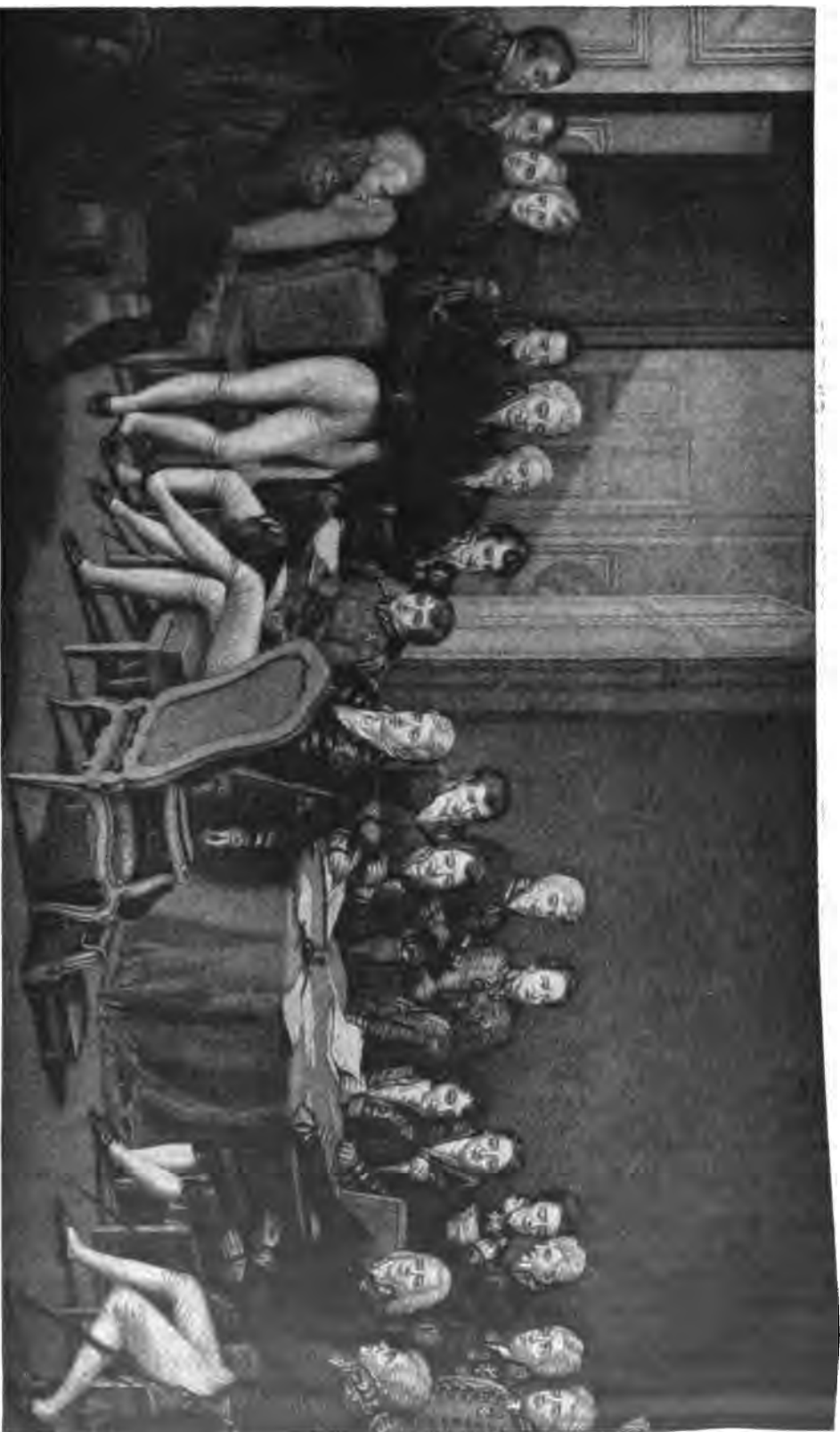
The people of central Europe realized the source of the new ideas. Though they did not read Thomas Jefferson and Sam Adams on American democracy, they were aware of General Washington, and they did read the French program of "Rights of Man and

the Citizen." They also talked with the republican soldiers of the French armies of conquest and occupation, wearing those novel striped trousers that reached to the foot, and adorned with tricolor cockades. The French were the conveyors of the American ideas of democracy, which were a revised and much improved edition of English principles. They carried them across the Alps into Italy, over the Pyrenees into Spain, beyond the Rhine into Germany. Kings protested, and resisted, and prosecuted, but no bounds would hold, no jails confine, those great ideas. When the French Revolution was over, every country west of Russia dreamed of liberty, longed for liberty, however little they understood the meaning and cost of that blessing.

FEDERALISM IN EUROPE (1789-1840)

Another force changing the political thought of Europe was the vigorous federation of the United States of America. The year 1789 marks the French Revolution, which changed the basis of government, and a second American revolution which altered the arrangement of governing powers. The idea of the centralized state prevailed in most parts of Europe, but Napoleon had a speaking acquaintance with federal government, and later in 1803 good-naturedly drew up a new federal constitution for the Swiss and invented a pretty political plaything which he called the Confederation of the Rhine. The federal idea got a new start when, in 1814, the Congress of Vienna fitted out both Germany and Switzerland with new federations, though they recognized as little as possible the success of the United States; ten years later, the new Latin-American countries began paying us the compliment of imitating the form of the federal constitution, however little they applied its spirit.

Here is one of the great factors in the progress of the nineteenth century. The United States outlined and made effective a method which could reconcile the power and protection of the centralized state with the freedom and healthful variety of the individual state. We do not even yet realize the effect of our own teaching. German men of learning and even reigning Grand Dukes, began a century ago to visit the United States



The Congress of Vienna

The fate of Europe was settled in favor of reactionary government one hundred years ago, only to be followed by an era of revolution. From left to right, the statesmen are: Wellington, Lobo, Saldanha, Lowenhielm, Hardenberg, Noailles, Metternich, Dupin, Nesselrode, Palmella, Castlereagh, Dalberg, Rásumovski, Wessenberg, Stewart, Labrador, Clancarty, Watten, Talleyrand, Gentz, Humboldt, Cathcart, Stackelberg.

and to write elaborate books on its people and government. In the thirties De Tocqueville, a far-sighted and analytic philosophic Frenchman, spent several years in this country, and in his *Democracy in America* produced a searching and helpful criticism of the American system of government, intended to be a guide for French democracy. The civilized world knew that on the western side



Talleyrand

The reactionary French statesman who won diplomatic victories for France at the Congress of Vienna a century ago.

of the Atlantic was a land of freedom and opportunity, with something closely approaching manhood suffrage; a land of comfort; a land of intelligence. Travelers and immigrants carried back to Europe the spirit of this robust democracy.

It was needed, for from 1814 to 1860 democrats were the weak and yet dreaded element of European society. Even in France the Revolution of 1830 led to another kind

of kingdom under Louis Philippe; and the Revolution of 1848 passed into the corrupt and corrupting Second Empire, under Louis Napoleon. Democracy in the first half of the nineteenth century was on the defensive. The year 1848 was its one glorious but helpless chance. From Budapest to Paris there was a roll of surging revolutions. For a few months it looked as though the democratic spirit would rule Germany, while the Frankfort Parliament, prototype of the Weimar Assembly of 1919, sat and disputed and painfully framed a federal constitution. Berlin was for a time in the hands of the men of the revolution. Less talk, more skill, a greater willingness to yield small things in order to get big things, might have steered Germany into a confederation with many democratic elements.

The golden moment passed; the King of Prussia was offered the headship of the proposed confederation but was too weak to head the movement. His farthest point was to present to the Prussian people the Constitution of 1850 which had been promised by a predecessor thirty-six years before, and when received left the Junker landholders in power. The Hungarians who sought an aristocratic republic were crushed. Austria resumed the dictatorship over the small German states. From 1850 to 1860 was a time of despair for the hopes of popular, righteous, and impartial government in Continental Europe.

REACTION IN EUROPE (1814-1840)

European nations had long been subjected to influences hostile to democracy and to federation—influences which prepared the way for the German attempt at world control in 1914. From the fall of Napoleon, central Europe was subject to the determined pressure of a cold-blooded and senseless reaction. The success of democracy spelled death to some kings and the monotony of private life to others. To confront democracy, the small group of men who wielded the power in Europe in 1814 set up the rival principle of "legitimacy," which was nothing more nor less than the old "King by the Grace of God" idea, under which sovereigns and the descendants of sovereigns were set apart by a mysterious dispensation of Provi-

dence to rule the rest of the community. Legitimacy required and secured the return of the abominable Bourbon dynasties of Spain and Naples. Legitimacy adopted the kinglets created in Germany by Napoleon, and pre-

off the generous ideas of human brotherhood which the Czar of all the Russias had designed to entertain. From that time the government of Europe was a sort of a king-club composed of four members, the Emperors



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Castle Hohenzollern

The old order changes, but the old castles stand. They remain as reminders of the days when only the privileged classes enjoyed life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

served till our times kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg. Legitimacy riveted the chains of the Slav subjects of the Apostolic King of Hungary, who happened also to be Emperor of Austria.

Napoleon's "back from Elba" campaign of 1815 caused legitimacy to shiver! It shook

of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia and France, and commonly called the Holy Alliance, after a document breathing Christian love to which they subscribed. Like many other clubs, this was carried on by the steward, that is, by the Austrian Prime Minister, Prince Metternich, whose theory of the state



Fürst von Metternich

The Austrian statesman who dominated the Congress of Vienna a century ago.

was that governments were conducted by the truly good, who knew they were truly good because they had titles. People who did not appreciate truly good government were enemies of mankind. There is no need to go into the detail of the wretched story of the attempt by this trust of reigning sovereigns to stamp out free speech and free thought; of the compulsion put on small and liberal German states to prevent their treating their own people like human beings; of the remorseless interventions in Naples and in Spain to protect the worst of rulers. The main thing is that, except for Great Britain, which kept out of the circle of anointed kings, this reaction was successful. While England and the United States were expanding in wealth and intelligence, continental Europe came near a standstill in political thought and organization.

The most striking result of this backward turn of mind was that in the end it enfeebled both Austria and Prussia and left the rest of the German powers desolate. Furthermore, it raised a whimsical question of legitimacy in a country having large European

possessions, which was not admitted to the intimacy of the group of God's elect. This was Turkey, which, for doctrinal reasons, could not be a part of a Holy Alliance; and Turkey held and tortured several Christian populations. When in 1825 the Greeks revolted from the Moslem, Russia as the strongest nation of the Greek Catholic cult, and the most active candidate for the succession to Turkey's control of the Balkans, was roused and indignant. France and England sympathized; and in 1827, the fleet of the three allies at Navarino destroyed the Turkish fleet and thus set the Greeks free from their legitimate sovereign. The lesson could never be forgotten. Revolution against a Christian power was detestable, against a Moslem Sultan was an act of virtue. The Greek who sought self-government was a noble patriot; the German who sought self-government was an enemy of civilization.



Frederick William III of Prussia

After the death of his queen, Louise, Frederick William III allowed himself to fall under the influence of Alexander I of Russia and later of Metternich at Vienna. He opposed constitutional principles and reforms and heartily favored repressive measures aimed at Liberalism. He was one of the original co-signatories of the "Holy Alliance."

AMERICA IN THE WORLD SYSTEM

Without being aware of it, the European Concert was disorganized before it fairly came into being, by the rise of a new nation and a new national force in North America.



Alexander I of Russia

The original advocate of a League of Nations which was to safeguard "the sacred rights of humanity" by compelling arbitration and combination against any nation that risked defying the forces of the new union. The "Holy Alliance" was the result. The aristocrats ridiculed it as "exalted nonsense," and to all Liberals it seemed a hypocritical conspiracy against freedom.

The European Concert was in the line of the old balance of power—the old notion of a community of European states. It was not the first attempt to make a formal group under a treaty. The Armed Neutrality of 1780 was a combination for temporary purposes. The various coalitions against France and the final alliance of the four other great powers, which succeeded in crushing Napoleon, were precursors of an attempt to keep the peace by the same combined means as those which had been employed in war. The European Concert was in line with the later effort of the victorious Allies in 1919 to transform their war agreement into a League of Peace.

The first difficulty was that the Concert of Powers rested on the theory that there were no powers outside of Europe, and only five worth consideration within that country. No statesmen then paid any attention to the states of eastern Asia as a factor in the organization of the world. Still less did they realize that there could be no permanent world combination which left out of account the United States of America. England alone perceived that the world balance was disturbed by the appearance of this new kind of state, a nation derived from Europeans, planted in a virgin country, and imbued with immovable beliefs in personal freedom, democracy, and federation. Up to 1814, the European states were grouped into much the same units as three hundred years earlier. There was an Austria with a system of satellite states. There was a Prussia, successor of Brandenburg. There was a France. There was a Russia. Left to themselves, those nations would combine and decompose, ally and go to war, in the good old fashion.

What altered the state of mankind was the appearance of the new political community of the West built from below upward,—a community blessed with a fertile and well-watered land, with rivers and seaports, with grain lands and timber and minerals, with a perfect confidence in its ability to take care of itself. Great Britain began to understand the value of the friendship of this young Colossus. George Canning, England's great foreign minister, went so far as to boast that he had "called the New World into existence, to redress the balance of the Old." He was the first English statesman to see that emblazoned truth which is the foundation stone of British diplomacy in 1919: namely, that in the long run the British Empire requires for its security and prosperity the good will of the United States.

The good will of a nation of 8 millions did not seem to Metternich worth considering; but he could and did feel the shock of the revolt of the Latin-American colonies. Spain between 1816 and 1821 lost every continental colony. Portugal lost Brazil. Had the former Spanish possessions been able to join together into one nation, they would have still farther disturbed "the balance of the Old." In effect they were subtracted



Napoleon III

The last of the Bonapartes, whose Empire fell in 1870. In the sixties he attempted to make Mexico a French province in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine.

from the European side but not added to the American 8 millions, which, however, took upon itself the interests of the 15 millions in the Latin-American colonies, by the famous declaration of 1823, commonly called the Monroe Doctrine—more properly the John Quincy Adams Doctrine, through Monroe's message; or, still more accurately, the United States Doctrine of America for Americans.

The purpose of the Holy Alliance to transport the doctrine of legitimacy across the sea, to treat the Latin-American revolt as a case of the disturbance of the peace of Europe, was checked by the Monroe Doctrine and neutralized by the refusal of Great Britain with its vast sea power to disregard the new American elements in the makeup of the world. From that time on, positive efforts by Europe to get a foothold in America ceased. Except for the bold attempt of Louis Napoleon to make Mexico a French province in the sixties, no European country has openly sought to swing the destinies of North or South America.

NINETEENTH CENTURY COLONIZATION

One reason why Europe left America undisturbed was that there were plenty of easier opportunities for conquest and colonization in other parts of the world. We can hardly realize now how small a part of the earth was actually under the authority of the Western powers in 1814. The Dutch had kept their Asiatic islands, the British their hold on India; but the only European power previous to 1840 that persistently sought a footing in Asia was Russia, which was sending colonies out to take possession of Siberia. Africa was still the Dark Continent. Cape Colony was the only English holding of importance in Africa. Along the Mediterranean stretched five Moslem states from Morocco to Egypt, nominally dependencies of Turkey, actually nearly independent. Australia was still looked upon as a convict settlement. The interior of five of the six continents was still unvisited and almost unknown.

Enormous areas inhabited by barbarians, or by civilized nations, abounding in valuable products, capable of supplying the needs of the wealthy west, lay untouched by European trade or conquest or development. The

West Indies, source of so many European fortunes, were going downhill. The only active and intelligent colonizer during the first half of the nineteenth century was Great Britain, which consolidated its holdings in India and also nurtured colonies of English-speaking men and women in Canada, in Australia, and New Zealand.

Meanwhile France went through a kind of revival of the ancient Roman idea of a capital land on the north side of the Mediterranean, holding dependencies on the south side. In 1830 the French entered Algeria, and after hard fighting made it the first member of a new French colonial empire.

Thus Russia, England, and France revived the sixteenth century idea of extra-European powers; Russia for a short time was even trying to establish itself on the Pacific Coast of North America. Austria-Hungary, with its single seaport of Trieste and its mixed and unenterprising population, was in no position to send colonies to other parts of the world; indeed, the Hungarians and the Slavs were treated by their rulers like distrusted and unwilling colonists. Italy was totally disorganized and incapable of any national effort outside its boundaries. Germany, with its seaports and its traditions of seafaring and foreign trade, was hung up by an intolerable system of internal tariffs, and by the weakness of Prussia. The part of the Continent best suited to form a plantation of its sons and daughters in some part of the temperate zones, and thus to build up an outer Germany, was out of the Colonial Circle.

All the time from 1820 to 1860 and beyond there was in action a magnificent plan of colonization; only it went to build up the European nation already most involved in colonization. The English, Scotch, and Irish, the Dutch, Swiss, Scandinavians, and especially the Germans, carried their strong arms, often their wealth, and always the potentialities of service, to the United States of America. Some customs and traditions went along with them; but they found and accepted a political system of popular government and federation, and under that they thrived. European hatred of democracy drove to the New World some of the best blood of the countries from which they came, to build up the rising community of the New World.

FAR EASTERN COLONIZATION

The footing of European powers in the Far East was and is artificial. We talk of the British colony of India, a country where out of 315 million people not over 200,000 are English. The true European colony, the plantation where men take their families, expecting to live there, to work there, and there to lay their bones, has never flourished in the tropics. All the European colonies in Asia are camps of officials, traders, and missionaries, who doubtless give to the people concerned peace, justice, and prosperity which they could not achieve for themselves; but the Europeans are always occupiers and never dwellers.

In the Opium War of 1840 began a pressure against the two really independent and capable nationalities of eastern Asia—China and Japan. From the days of Alexander the Great, Europeans in Asia have shown little tenderness for governments established for themselves by Asiatics, and have been stern

with the unwillingness of nations to admit the ships and traders of the West. The British Opium War of 1840, therefore, which caused the breaking in of the shell of the Flowery Kingdom, was along a usual line of policy, but was, nevertheless, a tremendous event in the history of the world. For it laid down once for all the principle that nations inside of Asia were bound to receive the goods, the merchants, the diplomats, and the travelers from outside. In vain the Chinese hung back and palavered and several times tried self-defence. Europe had decreed that a nation which had not the military strength to protect itself was not entitled to respect from without; that there was no equality of states between Europe and Asia. Japan in 1854 was induced by the milder persuasions of the Americans to unlock the gates. A proud and united people, they were first to learn the lesson that the way to make head against Europe is to adopt European arms and organization.

ERA OF NATIONALIZATION (1850-1890)

While America Is in the Throes of Civil War, Germany and Italy Achieve National Unity

VI

A NEW GROUPING OF THE POWERS

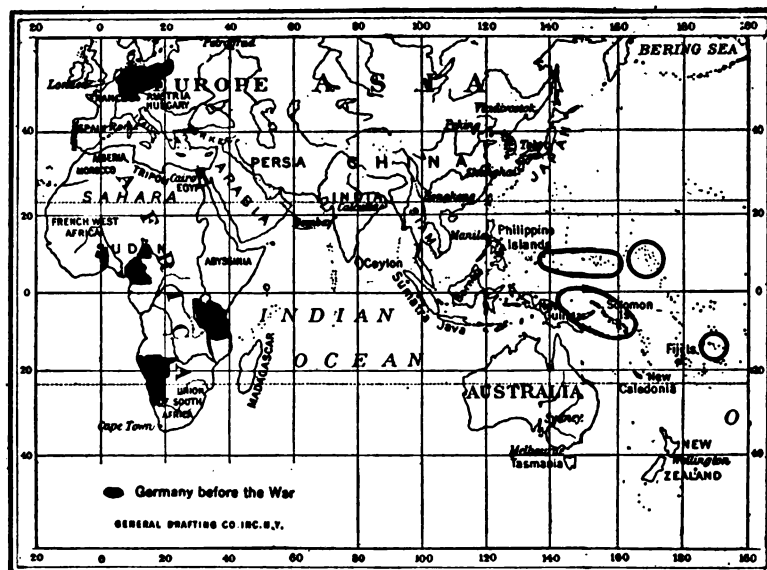
BY 1850 three different attempts to transform Europe had been tried out and failed. The first was the Concert of Powers, the Holy Alliance, which broke down because there was really little common spirit among the peoples of Europe, and because it after all represented only a part of the world. The second was democracy, which was a force in Switzerland and some other small Continental countries, and was always alive in Great Britain, but could not break up the crystallization in central Europe. The third was colonization, which changed nothing on the Continent because no continental country established new and self-governing communities overseas.

For forty years after the downfall of Napo-

leon, Europe in general was at peace. No European power made war upon another, with the important exception of the southeast, where the old issue of Asia against Europe could not be disposed of. Turkey, in 1814, was a European power as far north as the Danube; Russia was Asiatic in Siberian possessions, and in the determination to control the Black Sea and approaches. This ambition included the city of Constantinople, for ages the seat of the Byzantine Empire, then the capital of Turkey and religious center of Mohammedanism. Russia from time to time engaged in war with Turkey, which was steadily losing ground in Europe by Christian conquests and by removals after Christian occupation. Turks do not thrive under Christian governments: when they lose political control of a region, they shortly slip out and look for a refuge somewhere under the Crescent.

Many questions of European diplomacy were grouped around this Near Eastern issue. Great Britain and France, who inherited the belief that each was the enemy of the other, began to take common ground in defence of Turkey. In 1854, it came to war between a group of four allies, Turkey, France, Great Britain, and the Italian kingdom of Sardinia, against Russia. It is perfectly clear now that Turkey really was "the sick man of Europe."

gates were open. Whatever harmony there had been in Europe was disappearing. New forces were pushing to the front. Prussia began as early as 1835 to gather her little neighbors into a *zollverein*, a customs union, uniting them for trade within one set of financial boundaries, levying one scale of duties; but Austria, far more populous and powerful, remained outside and was still the dominant force in South Germany.



The German Empire Before the War

In 1914 it had colonies in Africa and the Pacific Ocean, a growing commercial influence in Asia Minor, and practical control of the governments of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

The Russians were obeying a law of nature in seeking an outlet to the warm seas. The Turks frightfully misgoverned the Balkans with their large Christian population. To drive the Asiatic invader, the Moslem chieftain, the oppressor of Christians, the enemy of Europe, across into Asia Minor was the plain duty of civilized nations. Had it been done in 1854, it would not have been necessary as part of the blood-bath of 1914.

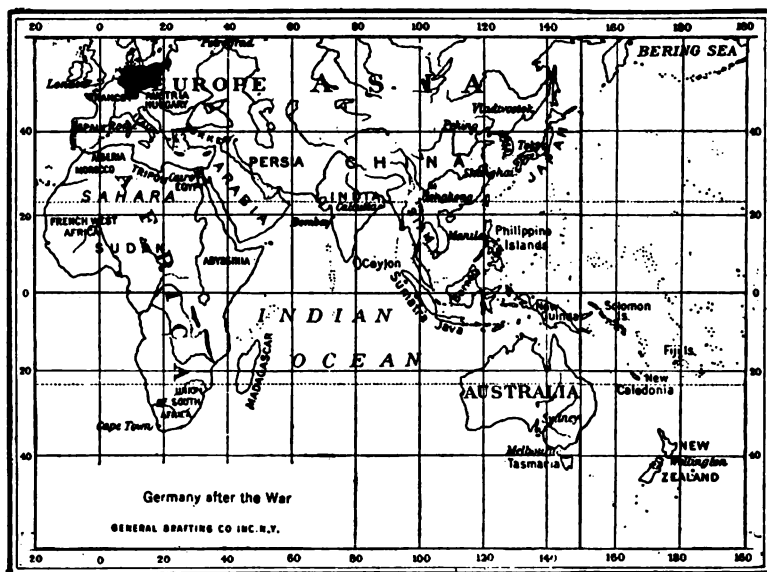
Russia was defeated in the Crimean War and England and France insisted in the Conference of Paris in 1856 that the welfare of Europe required the continuance of the Turkish power in Europe. By closing its ears to the cries of the Christian peoples of the Balkans the West was preparing the way for a later conflict of all the nations. The flood

South of the Alps, in the welter of Italian states, the strong little country of Piedmont made its appearance, under the direct kingship of Victor Emmanuel, but in fact guided by one Cavour. Right here, to the astonishment of Europe, came the second breach of European peace. Emperor Napoleon III threw down the gage to Austria by uniting with this power, now called the Kingdom of Sardinia, to drive the Austrians out of northern Italy, which they had cruelly misgoverned for more than forty years. The blow was successful. Mighty Austria was defeated. So in effect was mighty France, for, contrary to the expectations or desire of Napoleon, the rest of northern Italy joined Sardinia, and one of the world's human forces—Garibaldi—with his thousand heroes brought in Sicily and

Naples. The impossible dreams of the Italians were all at once realized, and a new Kingdom of Italy took its place among the strong powers of Europe, which gave itself a parliament, an electorate, an opportunity for popular government.

The third of the great wars of the period broke out in 1861 far from Europe in the United States of America, where two issues were fought during four years between the

international policy which had very little direct connection with America. The friendship of England and France, the unification of Italy, the reappearance of France as a trouble-maker, the evident weakness of Austria, the unquenched ambition of Russia, all pointed to a readjustment of the political forces of the Continent. The moving spirit during the next ten years, however, came from a source surprising to the statesmen of Europe. The



What Is Left of the German Empire

Her colonies gone, her commerce practically destroyed, her navy sunk or surrendered, her military power limited, Germany's defeat reduced her to the level of a third-class power.

North and the South: the question whether democracy extended to black men, and the question whether the nation was greater than the states. Europe cared little about the first question, and was willing enough that the Americans should spend their own lives and money over a federal difficulty which Carlyle dismissed as "a fire in a smoky chimney." The net result, however, was to bring the United States out of the struggle, in 1865, as the champion of democracy and the successful vindicator of the national principle in a federation.

NATIONALIZATION OF GERMANY (1860-1867)

In Europe the years from 1860 to 1871 were full of problems of statehood and in-

kingdom of Prussia in 1860 contained 19 million inhabitants as against 18 million in the rest of Germany, 35 million in Austria-Hungary, 37 million in France, 29 million in Great Britain, and 74 million in Russia. Yet Prussia became the agency for a great change in the conditions and combinations of Europe.

It all goes back to an inherent toughness in the Prussian people. They look upon themselves as the most German of Germans, but contain a considerable proportion of Slav blood. The royal government was weak, arbitrary, and exasperating, but the people had a homely habit of thrift, a spirit of hard work existed among all classes. The Hohenzollern princes, though there had not been a strong one among them since Frederick the Great, felt a sense of responsibility to their

subjects. In 1860 William became king, a middle-aged man, noted for his fighting against the revolutionists in the streets of Berlin in 1848—not a great man in himself, but possessed of two virtues that are invaluable to princes: an ability to recognize great men; and strong, personal tenacity, support-

might be found needful, he also accepted federation; but he long eschewed colonization. His first step was to secure an army which would make his great schemes possible. The Landtag of Prussia, controlled by the Junker nobles, refused to vote the necessary money. The Prime Minister and the King, by action



Peace

Russia had Turkey at her mercy in the Russo-Turkish War and would have crushed her had not Austria, England, Germany, France, and Italy intervened.

ing their efforts to carry out a policy which he had sanctioned.

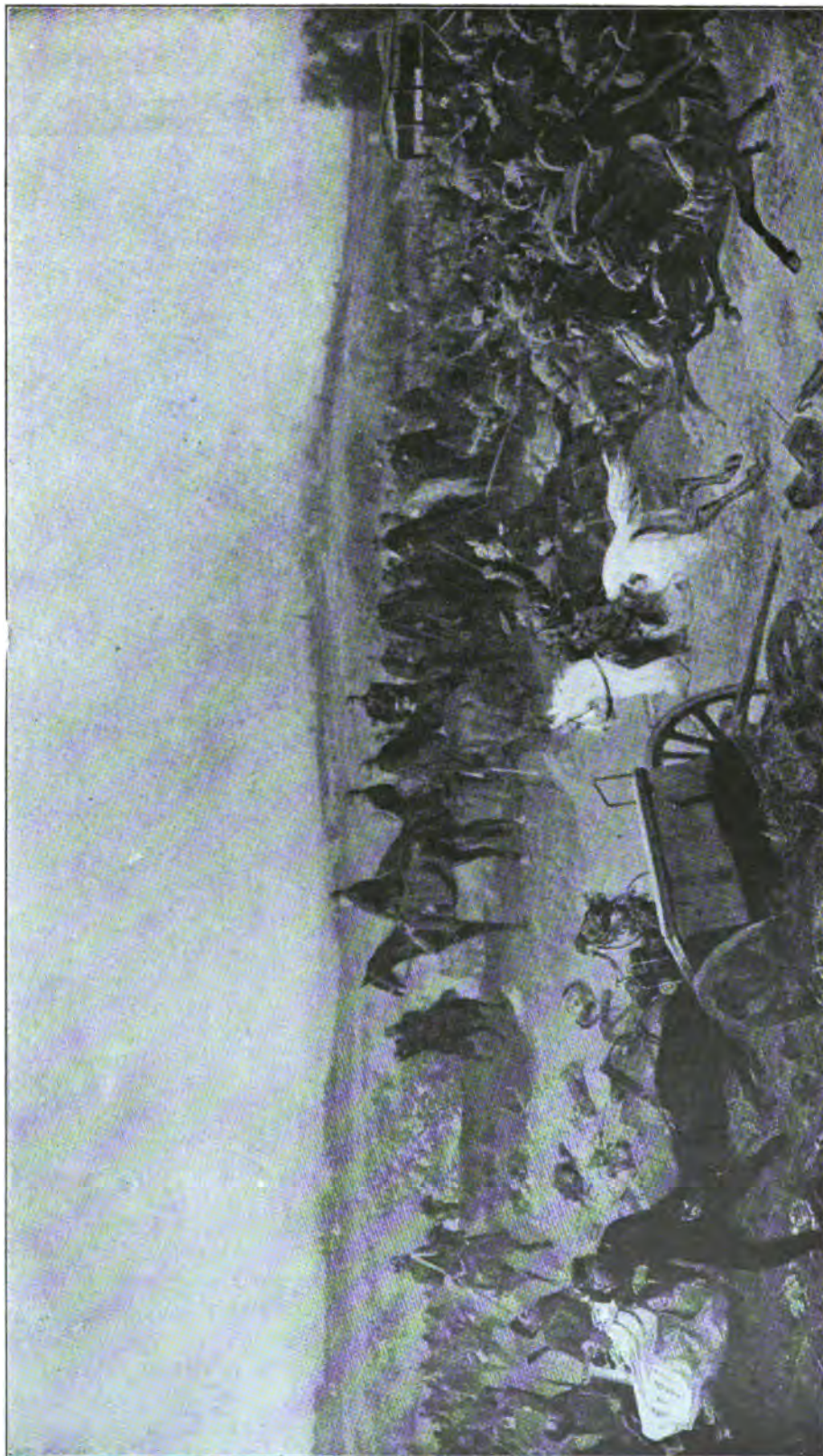
The great figure in this period of German history was Bismarck, the most striking German since Charlemagne—a member of the minor Junker nobility, a riotous youth, a plain landed estate-holder, he had been drawn into the diplomatic service of Prussia, and William saw in him the man to carry out the great project of German unity—or rather Bismarck saw the possibility, played the puppets, made the combinations and by force of character compelled his royal master to carry out the policy that was set before him.

The character of Bismarck and his part in building up the Germany that went to smash in 1919 come later in this story. What is immediately before us is that out of the three roads to European unity, Bismarck's plan accepted democracy under such shackles as

which in a parliamentary country would have led to Bismarck's impeachment, raised the army, and what was more they raised the money, in defiance of the representatives of the people. The next step was to exercise that army in the war of conquest upon Denmark in 1864, which proved that the Prussians could fight and that the Austrians could no longer domineer over them. The third step was the so-called Seven Weeks' War of 1866 in which Austria and the resisting South German states were smashed in a wonderful campaign previously planned and then conducted by the great soldier, von Moltke.

ADVANCE OF GERMANY (1867-1871)

Where was Napoleon III in this crisis? Wasting his armies in the vain attempt to annex Mexico, hoping for territorial rewards



The Battle of Königgrätz, Where Francis Joseph of Austria Was Defeated by the Prussians
Bismarck attacked Austria-Hungary in 1866 to unify Germany. When Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia in the World War, Germany had become her ally.



Count Cavour

The great Italian statesman, who brought about the unity of Italy.

on the German frontier, thrown off his balance by the brilliant strategy and bold diplomacy of Bismarck, waiting for the end of a long war while the war was a short one. The Emperor, France, and French autocracy were all set back by the combination of the Prussian kingdom and a Prussian type of democracy. Then came the inevitable crash of arms between Prussia, representing the cause of German unification, determined to draw the Germans out of their weakness and depression, as against France, once the leader of democracy, and now representing the old régime in Europe.

Meanwhile, the vogue of American federalism was shown in another direction. The Canadians betook themselves to a federal union, partly to make head against the attraction of the United States, partly from a feeling of grandeur, due to the great extent and possibilities of British North America. In 1867 this union was formally granted by the British Parliament, under the title of the Dominion of Canada. The wisdom of this step was shown forty-seven years later when Canada had the opportunity to be independent

and preferred to join in the defence of the British Empire.

Still more striking was the federation spirit in Germany, where in 1867 a federal union called the North German Confederation was formed, including Prussia and most of her northern neighbors.

The new German constitution was a conscious adaptation of many of the ideas and part of the Constitution of the United States. Democracy was honored by making manhood suffrage the basis of the Reichstag, which was the popular branch of the German legislative body. In both respects the results were a triumph for principles imported from overseas. This was not a forced German unity; it was the beginning of a great federal nation.

The next step was to compel France to abandon the policy of keeping South Germany out of the union. Austria had been terrified into giving up all authority or dominance in southern Germany. The southern states needed only the right impetus to drive them into the German union. The great German war machine was perfected and prepared for action. Napoleon had allowed himself to become the visible obstacle to full German unity. The time had arrived to smash Napoleon and France together.



Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor
The founder of the German Empire.



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Napoleon III and Prince Bismarck

From a painting by Camphausen.

All the world knows that Bismarck by bold and cunning diplomacy managed to fix upon France the onus of making war. Napoleon had no objection to war and as a confirmed gambler took the chance and finally threw down the gauntlet. It was instantly taken up by Germany, and within forty-six days from the declaration of war Napoleon was defeated at the head of his army, made prisoner, and his Empire crumbled into dust.

Skillfully using proofs of Napoleon's trickery toward South Germany, Bismarck electrified all the South German states into joining the war; on January 18, 1871, on motion of Bavaria (drafted by Bismarck), William I, King of Prussia, took upon himself the title of German Emperor, the head of a federation which included every German-speaking state in Europe, except some provinces of Austria and part of Switzerland. A new constellation had arisen in Europe. The disorganizing work of the Congress of Westphalia and the centralizing work of the Congress of Vienna were both undone. The German influence in Europe was suddenly multiplied by more than two when counted in organized population, by at least ten in efficiency and the power to

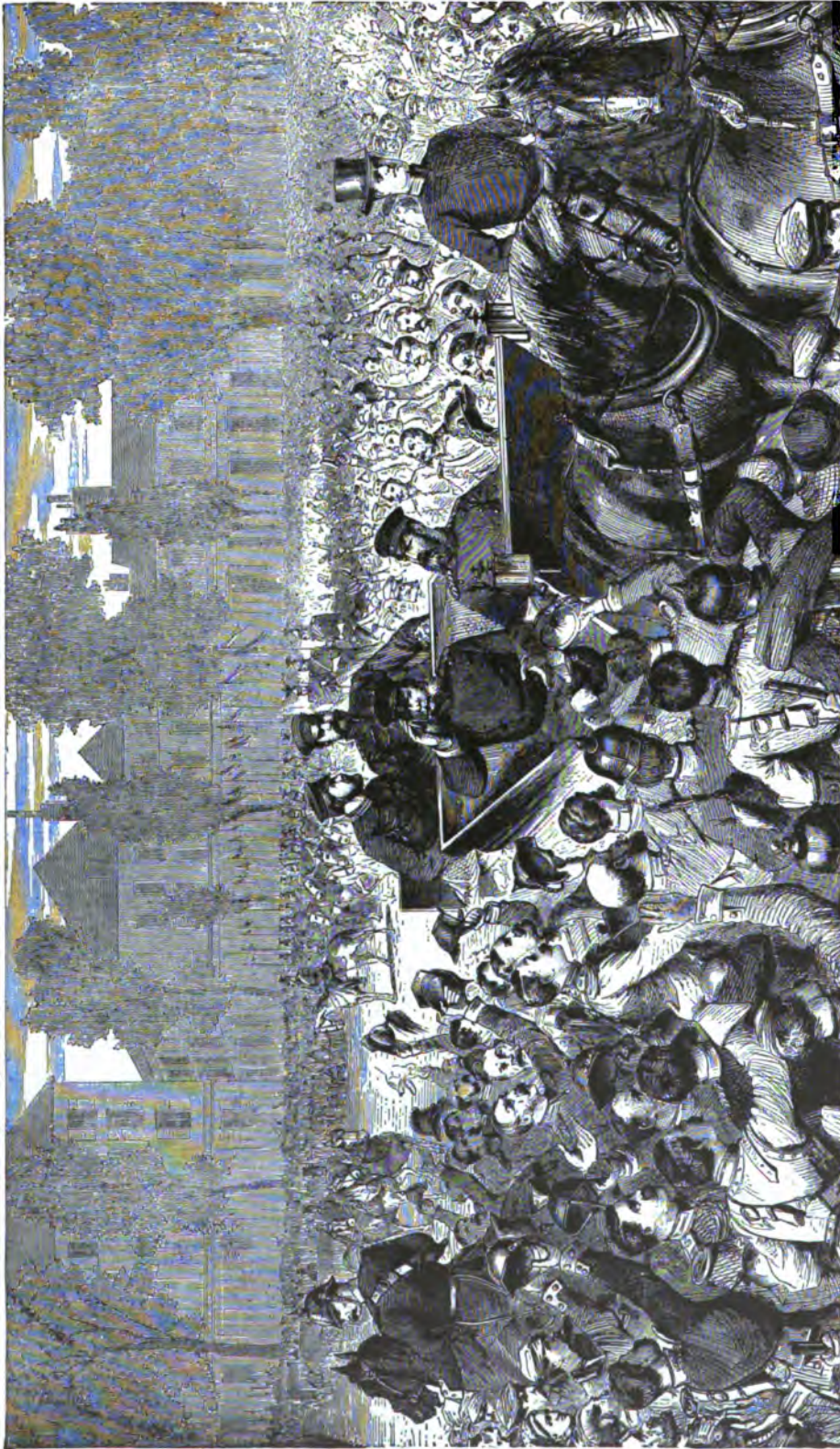
affect the world. The creation of the German Empire was as much a disturbance of the previous organization of the world as the rise of the United States. Thenceforth Germany must be received within every important European alliance of war or peace.

THE WORLD REORGANIZED (1871-1891)

Here we reach another stratum of the underlying foundation of the national purposes and the international war of our own time. For the new spirit shown in Italy and Germany was a part of a surge of ideas and aspirations which was sweeping over the world. Let us briefly review the nations which were to play the great part in the next fifty years and their place in the world's economy, as they stood about 1871. Great Britain, still first in square miles of territory taking the world throughout, first in population of home country plus the dependencies, still the leading sea power, at this time avoided taking a lead in European matters. The mid-power, the center of activity, which had long been Austria and then for a short time France, passed without dispute to the



Emperor William I, Grandfather of the Kaiser



From Leslie's Weekly

Prussia's Victorious King Entering Versailles

The German forces which invaded France in the Franco-German War, invested Paris on September 15, 1870, but did not begin the regular bombardment until January 5, 1871. On January 18th, King William of Prussia made his entry into Versailles, making his headquarters the famous palace of Louis XIV. On January 28th, the city capitulated and was occupied by German troops.



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The Prussians Enter Königgrätz, Bohemia, During the War of 1866

new Germany. Who could dispute the strongest land army, the most defensible territory, the ablest statesmanship, the most glittering prestige of victory? Emperor William trusted to Bismarck the decision in all difficult foreign matters. Bismarck was the largest mind in Europe, the man who saw farthest, guessed most correctly, and was freest from respect for tradition and for the reserved rights of nations.

As for other Continental powers, France was crushed by defeat, for a long time on the brink of a royalist revolution, broken into factions, and desperately hard put to it to pay the war indemnity of one thousand million dollars. The German-speaking Austrians in 1867 joined in a new partnership with the once broken and despised Hungarians. As heads of the two parts of the Dual Empire the two races carried on the major affairs of the Empire in common and bullied and subdued

the Slav majorities in each half. Russia, though a poor country measured by average wealth, seemed rich because of its large population. Out of so many scores of millions enough could always be drawn to keep up a splendid court and a great army; and foreign loans covered deficits and built the railroads, while the people were left ignorant and miserable.

Russia was the only European country that so far had yielded nothing to the baleful principle called democracy. The government, though nominally absolute, was carried on by a group of those who could hold the fingers of the Czar while he wrote proclamations. Nevertheless, Russia could act as a strong nation, and in 1871 took advantage of the preoccupation of France and Prussia to declare itself no longer bound by the treaty of 1856 and to exact from the powers an agreement to permit the Russian Navy freedom in the

Black Sea. Italy, a new power just come into possession of its capital, Rome, was as yet no factor in the major decisions of Europe. Switzerland was never a disturber of world peace. The Scandinavian states, Holland, Belgium, the two Iberian countries, were on the edge of the Continent, and could not affect the



Field-Marshal von Moltke

The German military leader in the Franco-Prussian War. After the war he made a prolonged visit to the Near East. His wife was an English lady.

building up of a new political center of Europe in Berlin.

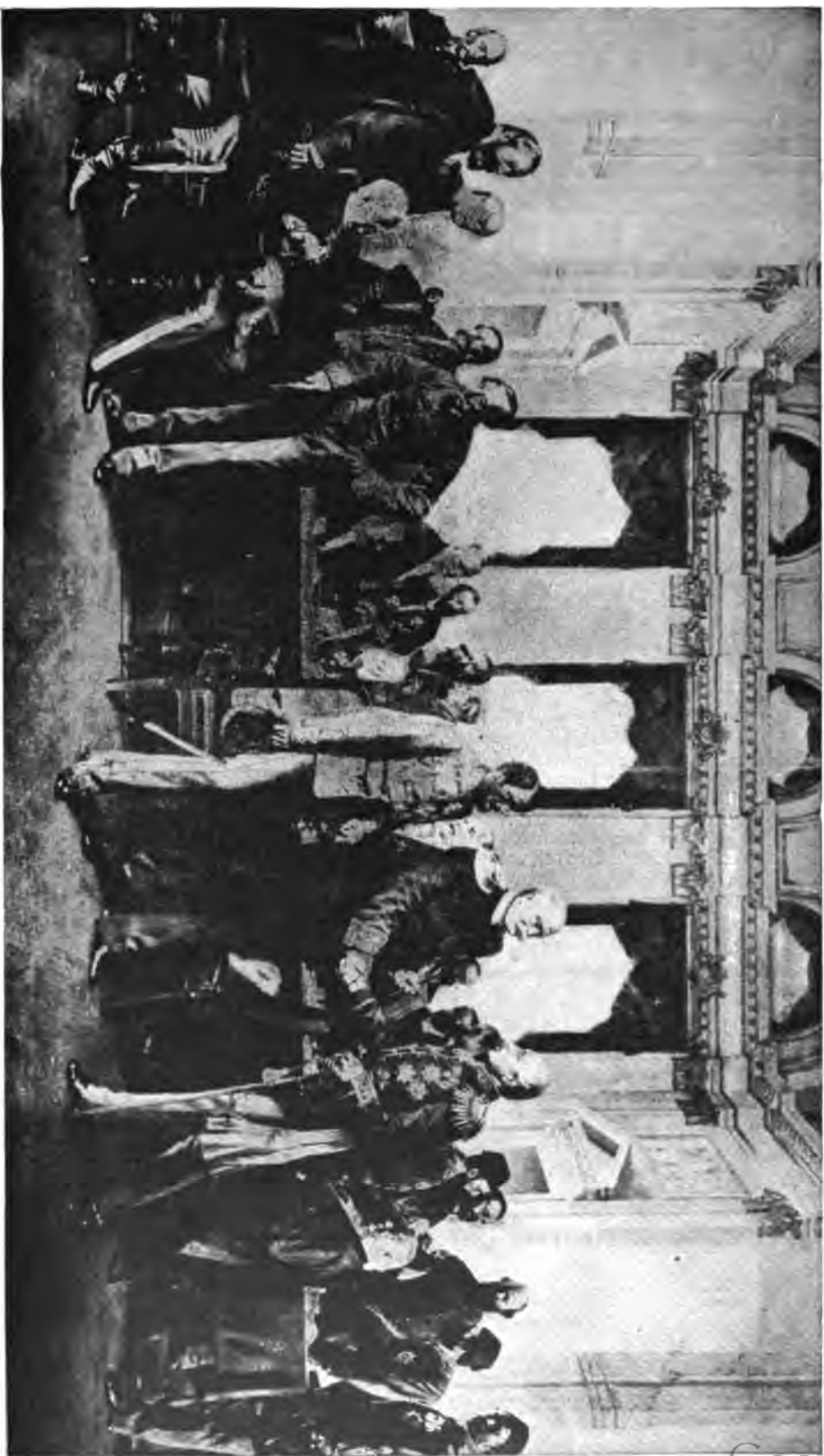
In other parts of the world, the United States of America, which had just come out of the Civil War with a reputation for hard fighting and good citizenship, was the only power that had the right to stand alongside the European magnates in strength. China and Japan were still feeble and groping. Asia and Africa lay much as they had been fifty years earlier, objects of policy, but without power to fend for themselves.

THE ORIENT TO THE FRONT (1869-1890)

Out of Asia and Africa, however, came the call to a new measurement and distribution of world power. Livingstone, the English missionary, and Stanley, the American explorer, solved the problem of central Africa, and opened up that immense reservoir of tropical products to the reach of the world. More than that, a northern corner of Africa linked by a narrow isthmus of sand to southern Asia was brought into close contact with the central Asiatic connections of Europe. A French engineer, De Lesseps, backed by French capital, in 1869 completed a ship canal cross the Isthmus of Suez, thereby shortening down the steaming distance from London to Bombay from 10,700 miles to 6,250 miles.

The Isthmus of Suez was part of Egypt, which was nominally a province of Turkey. Nominalities had to give place to realities when, in 1875, the British bought a controlling interest in the Canal; and a few years later (1882) by force of arms established themselves in Egypt, where they have remained ever since. From that time, the main line of communication between Asia and Europe has been the sea route through the Mediterranean and Red Seas, across the Indian Ocean, thence coasting southern Asia to China and Japan. It is a world highway, but all along it the double cross of St. Andrew and St. George marks the naval strongholds of Britain, the power having the largest Oriental commerce, and the largest navy to protect it.

Hence, when Russia in 1878 again made an effort to break open the route from the Black Sea to the Ægean, and actually forced a treaty from the Sultan at San Stefano, in sight of the minarets of Saint Sophia, England still backed Turkey, and joined in the Congress of Berlin to force the Russians out of their victory. On this question was revealed the external and Oriental policy of Bismarck, who declared that in these Eastern affairs he saw no interest for Germany worth "the sound bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." His plan of campaign was to make Germany the leading European power by staying in Europe. To Austria-Hungary he assigned the *Drang nach Osten*—that



The Congress of Berlin—June 13 to July 13, 1878

The Six Great Powers and Turkey participated at the Conference, where the main interest centered in the Bulgarian and Armenian questions. The former was settled by the division of Bulgaria into two parts. Another result of the Congress was that Austria-Hungary was empowered to occupy and govern Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield)

In 1878 he loosened the grasp of Russia on the throat of Turkey and brought back "peace with honor" from the Congress of Berlin. By mobilizing the militia and bringing Indian troops to the Mediterranean he rendered the situation so threatening that Russia, finding Bismarck unwilling to support her, consented to submit to the Congress her whole quarrel with Turkey.

"easterly squeeze," which was to leave to the Dual Monarchy the task of conveying German ideas and conveying German shipments down to the Ægean Sea and to Constantinople. Furthermore, as the price for not coming in on the flank of the Russians during the war, the Austro-Hungarian Empire received the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, under what we should now call a mandate of Europe.

The whole Oriental situation was also much affected by the entrance into Africa of Belgian traders, who undertook to open up the Congo trade and ended by treating that region as an enormous slave plantation. Europe was shocked that Leopold, King of the Belgians, should be the principal stockholder and all but the dictator of this fruitful region. German public opinion, against Bismarck's judgment, forced that country into the African question. Then Europe joined in the scramble for wild territory and in 1884 Germany took possession of three tracts on the west coast of Africa, and the next year took part in the general conference of the powers at Berlin for forming the Congo region into the so-called Congo Free State. In practice the freedom of the state extended to depriving the natives of their freedom. From all these incidents it is clear that the thoughts of Germany as well as of other nations were turning toward conquest and colonization and profits in the Orient and Africa.

UNITED STATES IN ISOLATION

Despite Close Trade Relations with Europe, America Remains
Politically Isolated Until 1898

VII

THE POLICY OF ALOOFNESS

AMIDST all these interests and rivalries, these negotiations and treaties and alliances and secret agreements, how came it that the United States of America had so little knowledge and so little direct interest? Did not all questions of world trade involve American commerce and American shipping?

Must not any great war tangle the diplomacy and distract the policy of this country? The main reason is, of course, the actual physical separation by two broad oceans from the European and the Asiatic spheres of world activity—though in point of miles China is much nearer to the United States than to Germany. It was possible for European armies to come and navies to go without much affecting the welfare of the United States. Hence the Crimean War, the war in Lombardy, the

Danish, the Austrian and French wars of Prussia, the Turkish war of 1878, the war between China and Japan in 1894, the Boer War, the war between Japan and Russia in 1904, the Italian War in the Mediterranean in 1911, the two Balkan Wars of 1912 and

The main reason for this unconscious feeling that foreign wars were outside our interests, except as material for headlines, was the conviction of the Americans that their policy was to follow the decrees of nature by keeping themselves an isolated people. In



A Contemporary View of the Congress of Berlin

This picture was the London *Graphic's* estimate of the spirit in which an earlier Peace Conference was conducted. In the picture the rulers of Europe are playing poker with the destinies of nations and the United States is an aloof and amused spectator.

1913 came and went without injuring the United States and with no effect upon its trade and business, except a good market now and then for food and other exports,—twelve virtually European wars in fifty-five years, and not an American soldier or ship called into action!

earlier centuries, America was not separated from Europe; the colonies had no public or national life except in connection with Europe; they fought no wars with civilized countries, except in connection with Europe. Once the tremendous world fact was realized, that a new kind of nation had arisen in Amer-

ica, still more after the revolt of the Latin-American colonies, there was actual isolation of the United States. Great Britain, the only nation to retain a large holding in America, ceased after the Napoleonic Wars to be much interested in Canada or the West Indies. Russia touched America at one corner, and was easily persuaded to give up its unprofitable colony by the cession of Alaska in 1867.

Isolation was suspended during the Napoleonic tempest from 1798 to 1814, when no advice of the fathers to keep out of the concerns of Europe could prevent the young Republic from being swept against its will into the perplexities of naval war. Thereafter isolation was easy so long as ships were driven by sail power and immigrants were few. Isolation also fitted into its counterpart the Monroe Doctrine, which carried the principle to the logical converse that, inasmuch as America stayed at home over here, other nations ought to stay at home over there. The Monroe Doctrine was a great advantage both to the United States and to the Latin-American powers, because it was an attempt to apply common sense to the actual conditions of the times. Commerce with both North and South America was small; both continents lived for the most part on their own resources and products. Isolation was feasible then, and was not much disturbed until the United States of America deliberately chose in 1898 to go over its own walls and plant itself in other parts of the world.

TRADE AND IMMIGRATION

Some disturbing influences were at work from the first to draw the United States into the greater world. A shipbuilding and commercial people could not keep out of connection with other lands. They were making voyages to the Baltic and the Mediterranean before they had a federal constitution; they were among the first on the ground in the Far East, when the forbidden countries began to open up. The American skipper, and soon after him the American missionary, learned what the Chinese and Japanese were, and began to teach those Oriental races as soon as anybody. It was, however, the rising trade of the period since the Civil War that broke up actual isolation. This was not so much be-

cause of the number of ships and voyages and passengers, as because of the volume and value of the products which go in and out of the United States and which affect industrial and economic life everywhere.

When Standard Oil cans are almost legal tender in central Asia, and India rugs are sold at auction in American cities, real isolation has ceased. To return to it would dislocate many kinds of business. Foreign trade has increased by leaps and bounds. Leaving out of account the abnormal trade during the war, our domestic exports, which in 1890 were 845 millions, rose in 1914 to 2,330 millions. There was no isolation in the merchant fleet, for it brought back imports of 789 millions in 1890, and 1,894 millions in 1914.

The immigrant was also a busy and unceasing opponent of isolation. Of course the whole population of the United States outside the three hundred thousand or more Indians is made up of immigrants and descendants of immigrants. The so-called American race stock, descended from seventeenth and eighteenth century English immigrants, was always punctuated with other languages and ways of thinking. The civilization of America is European civilization, and that through many races and nationalities. The census figures of 1910 show how little isolation of spirit was possible, in face of the fact that of the 82 million whites, 13 million were born in other lands, and 19 million were children of foreign born.

To this influence must be added the movement of travelers and visitors. Not less than a million of the citizens of the United States have visited European countries, and scores of thousands have been in the Orient. In the seven years from 1907 to 1914 no less than 2,064,000 foreign immigrants have returned to their home countries, there to carry American principles. Great numbers of schools have been carried on within the United States in the languages of distant countries. A large newspaper and periodical press in these languages disseminates European ideas. Europe welcomes America and we have Europe in our midst.

It must not be overlooked that many of the immigrants came to America to get away from the influences of their youth; that they have sought a country outside the sphere of

European diplomacy, war, and military service; that they never expect to return, even for a visit. So far as that mysterious process called assimilation has been carried out, it aims to de-Europeanize the immigrants. It is therefore true that as far down as 1898, thinking Americans, whatever their race or origin, were satisfied to keep up trade and profit with foreign countries, but were glad to get away from the kultur, the class distinctions, the military service, the taxes, the striving of nation against nation. Even those who clung to European language and home connections, those who volunteered for the wars in which their former countries were engaged, were happy that their wives and children should be outside the jealousies and struggles of Europe.

EARLY POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD

In spite of the strong homing instinct of the Americans, the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars swept them into the whirlpool of European politics. With France, Spain, and Great Britain, which were the principal commercial powers of western Europe and in early times owners of great colonies in America, the United States had constant relations. France was an ally, then dreaded holder of the territory of Louisiana, then spoiler of our commerce, later pestilent invader of Mexico and at last a fellow republic. Spain was an unwilling friend in the Revolution, then a suspicious neighbor, then the envied possessor of the Island of Cuba. Great Britain was first national enemy, then cool sister power, then public enemy, then partner in Central American interests, then too neutral in the Civil War, later an indefatigable friend, and finally an ally. Russia was friendly to Jefferson, arrogant defender of absolute monarchy against democracy, friend in the Civil War, transferrer of Alaska, denounced on questions of passports. Italy, Austria, Turkey, the small European nations, were customers and commercial friends, but on the whole indifferent to America, which looked upon them indifferently.

In the midst of these billows of changeable policy, the United States kept on a steady course of political isolation. After the years

of confusion over "free trade and sailors' rights," the United States for a moment reacted on European politics in the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and then remained practically outside of European politics and combinations till the Spanish War of



Carl Schurz

One of the German "Forty-eighters" who came to the United States to escape oppression at home and who left a heritage of idealism to the America-loving Germans in this country.

1898. This abstention was not altogether due to virtue or to voluntary isolation. The greatest naval power in the world, which looked upon itself as the only American power besides the United States, made it a policy to see that no other European country disturbed the trade of North and South America. The Monroe Doctrine was a passive defence of American interests; not till after the Spanish War did it become an active instrument which was smartly applied to the only European power that made any effort to break into America.

In the end a force which the United States did not resist drew it into European affairs,

by the long westward route across the Pacific, via the other side of the world. The United States as an early arrival shared in the diplomacy with China and Japan, founded commercial houses, introduced missionaries, and sent exploring and military expeditions to the coast of Asia. The United States was the first power to make a treaty with Japan and also the first nation to look upon the Chinese



Klatteradatsch, Berlin

England's Cry of Distress

"People of Asia! Protect my sacred commerce—but for heaven's sake stay at home!"

The allusion is to England's willingness to trade with the Asiatics, but not to allow them to enter her colonial dominions (notably Canada and Australia).

and Japanese as human beings with whom could be formed relations of friendship as well as of trade. Americans set the example of treating those countries as fellow nations and not as areas to be looted.

The period showed some evidences of a conscious interest and responsibility for outside affairs. Between 1836 and 1861 the United States more than twenty times sent expeditions of armies, bodies of men, and ships beyond the boundaries. In nearly all these instances it acted separately from other powers, though there was a day in 1859 in China when the Yankee Commodore Tatnall saw the British' getting the worst of it at the Peiho forts and went to the rescue with the exclamation: "Blood is thicker than water!" The only thing approaching a share in the overtures of Europe was the sending of an envoy to Hungary in 1849 with instructions to recognize the new republic if circumstances justified it. Circumstances did not justify it, and the courage and eloquence of Kossuth

when he came to America could not stir the American people or government to come out of their isolation to aid "Hungarian Liberty."

ENTRANCE INTO EUROPEAN AGREEMENTS

Another approach to European affairs was through Africa, where the United States was interested through a small number of missionaries who carried the light of Christianity into the dark continent, through trade relations directly to the east and west coasts and to Egypt, and particularly through a languid responsibility for Liberia, a missionary and civilizing settlement on the west coast which other nations understood to be a protectorate of the United States, though no formal record of such a relation was made by this country. As a sharer in the questions and destinies of Africa, therefore, the United States was drawn into an international conference at Berlin in 1885. By invitation of the German government, delegates were sent who took part in the discussions on the understanding that their part should be merely deliberative without imparting to the results a binding character so far as the United States was concerned.

Nevertheless, they signed the general act of the conference under date of February 26, 1885. Meantime a new Pharaoh had arisen who knew not Joseph. President Cleveland felt no obligation to carry out the policy of President Arthur, and he declined to submit the resulting general treaty for ratification by the Senate on the ground that "an engagement to share in the obligation of enforcing neutrality in the remote valley of the Congo would be an alliance whose responsibilities we were not in a position to assume."

To this day it is hard to understand why Bismarck seemed to attach importance to the presence of representatives of the United States alongside of the fourteen principal maritime nations. The main purpose of the "Berlin Declaration" was to come to a common understanding in reference to a subdivision of Africa, and to prevent any one great power from taking possession of the rich basin of the Congo, the "neutrality" of which was affirmed. President Cleveland's instincts were sound, for the effect of the Conference was to



The Proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles, January 18, 1871

From a painting by von Werner.

© Frank A. Munsey Co.

turn over that immense country to a private company headed by King Leopold of Belgium, who made a great fortune out of his position as chieftain of a slave-holders' and slave-hunters' gang.

ORIENTAL PORTAL INTO WORLD AFFAIRS

In 1885, then, the United States was still practicing isolation; in 1904 it was in possession of an Asiatic colony, various islands



Lord Salisbury

Who was one of Great Britain's representatives at the Congress of Berlin and who in 1879 pronounced this benediction upon the German-Austrian alliance: "To all those who care for the peace of Europe and take an interest in the independence of nations I would exclaim, 'A crowning mercy has been vouchsafed to the world.'"

and groups of the Pacific, a West Indian colony, and a strip of territory across Central America. It had taken a strong part in the first Hague International Peace Conference of 1899, had joined in an international military expedition in China in 1900, and had braved a quarrel with the military empire of Germany in 1902. How came this great change in the national spirit and policy?

Outwardly it was almost by accident. It goes back to a group of a few wealthy Cubans who furnished the means for an insurrection; to the native Cubans, white and black, who took the arms thus provided and revolted; to the inability of the Spaniards to carry on a civil war in a humane manner; to the natural interests of the people of the United States in a neighboring land in which they had a profitable trade, and in people who seemed to be repeating the heroism of the American Revolution; to a desire to stop the Cuban war by making war on Spain; to the weakness of the Spanish government and defences in the distant group of the Philippine Islands; to the brilliant successes of the American Navy in the Far East and in the Caribbean; and to the actual possession of the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico, and the conviction that none of them could safely be returned to Spain.

Inwardly, if one may attempt to read the hearts of the American people, the change was due to a feeling which could not be controlled by President or Congress, that the United States was too big and rich to put up with disturbances in the house of our next-door neighbor; that Americans were competent to take care of outlying colonies; that a footing off the coast of Asia was a good business venture, and would aid in giving us proper influence in Asiatic affairs. Nobody, except perhaps that wisest of Secretaries of State, John Hay, understood how much was involved in this reaching out eastward and southward. Americans in general had no conception of the situation in Europe, did not understand the ambitions of Germany, did not perceive that a rival Entente was developing in Europe, which would very shortly throw itself athwart the course of German foreign policy.

It was chance that brought about the annexation of the Philippines just as the European nations were laying hands on Chinese territory, and the Germans were forcing their way into Shantung. The Anti-Imperialists of the period did indeed plead for the old-fashioned isolation, and protested against taking over nationalities, at least partially civilized, who from the first protested against American rule. The nation could not be stayed. Spain was required to give up both



Yuan Shih-k'ai

The first President of the Chinese Republic;
died, June 5, 1917.

the American and Asiatic remnants of a once vast empire.

Undoubtedly the mastery of the Philippines gave power to John Hay's great policy of the "Open Door" in China, which was set forth in a circular note of September 6, 1899:

"First.—The recognition that no power will in any way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any leased territory or within any so-called 'sphere of interest' it may have in China.

"Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said 'sphere of interest' . . .

"Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such 'sphere' than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its sphere."

This principle, which was ungraciously accepted by most of the powers concerned, was much more than the claim of the United

States to share in equal terms in Chinese trade; it was a clear announcement that thenceforward the United States was an equal party in all common enterprises and actions in eastern Asia. When Washington sent a force to join in the expedition of 1900 to relieve the diplomats in Peking, for the first time since the Revolution American and European troops marched side by side for a common object.

In the Root-Takahira memorandum of November 30, 1908, the joint interest of the United States in Asia was set forth in a statement that "The policy of both governments, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo* in the region above mentioned and to the defence of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China. . . . They are also determined to preserve the common interests of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire."



General Li Yuan-Hung

He succeeded Yuan as President of the Chinese Republic. He resigned in July 1917.



General Feng Kuo-Chang
President of the Chinese Republic,
elected August, 1917.

When during the war Japan captured Kiao-Chau from the Germans, it was the United States that insisted on a pledge that the integrity of China should not be disturbed. Unfortunately it was also the United States which (November 2, 1917) in the Lansing-Ishii Note recognized "that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous."

This statement of special influence in Asia in two ways drew the United States into the arena of European affairs. First, intimate relations with China are intimate relations with Europe, because the Chinese are under the domination of a group of European powers. Association with those powers even on nominally Asiatic questions is not compatible with isolation whether in war or peace. In the second place, the United States, by a note which has never been ratified by the Senate is committed to a kind of Asiatic Monroe Doctrine to be enforced by Japan. And Japan looks upon itself as a world power, substantially European in view and policy, destined to be the arbiter of Eastern Asia.

PART III—THE FOUNDATIONS

THE AGE OF WELTPOLITIK

Germany, Which Wants More, Opposes France and England, Content with What They Have

VIII

COLONIAL RIVALRIES

EVERY reader of European history realizes that the period of wars from 1854 to 1890 was to a large degree due to the effort of the world to readjust itself to the new conditions of expansion into other continents. When Italy and Germany had been unified, when Austria-Hungary found a *modus vivendi* for that Empire, the one great secular question in Europe was the rivalry for the Euro-

pean territory of the decaying Turkish Empire. After 1890 conditions changed: first because the rivalry for colonies in Africa and eastern Asia began to tighten up; second because the Germans were reaching out into Asia Minor; and third because the United States of America appeared among the permanent world powers. Thenceforward the critical shocks till 1914 nearly all concerned the division of influence of Western powers in the East.

Colonial empires were the fashion of the day. Great Britain had the largest and best

consolidated and protected; France had a great territory but a weak administration; Russia was the one really successful colonizing power in the sense of extending its language, culture, and nationality into another continent. In the minds of these three largest colonizing nations the world was well distributed and that is why it was easy to bring about the Triple Entente, which will be defined further on. The dissatisfied great powers were Japan, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and, particularly, Germany. Let us try to disentangle the strands of these complicated desires and intentions by briefly summarizing the attitude of the powers that were satisfied with the world, and then taking up a more intensive study of the frame of mind and organization of the one strongly dissatisfied nation—Germany.

BRITISH AMBITIONS

Every great power and most small powers in 1914 had some dissatisfaction which might be removed by successful war. Of all the countries of the world, Great Britain was then most desirous of peace, for reasons excellent. Great Britain had apparently reached the maximum of territory in Europe, and had not the slightest designs on the Continent. Since 1877 it had gained Cyprus and Egypt, which were all it wanted in that part of the world. In Asia it held Muscat, Aden, India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Bahrein Islands, various Asiatic islands, Hongkong, the useless little Chinese tract of Weihaiwei, and protectorates over Afghanistan and Persia. Its immense holdings in South Africa were completed by the Boer War and the subsequent reconciliation of the Dutch population. In the New World Britain held the West India islands; Honduras on the Central American coast, British Guiana in South America, adjudged by the arbitration with Venezuela in 1899, and Canada, which was growing in wealth and showed no sign of detachment. Australia and New Zealand were flourishing and loyal commonwealths. The British had nothing to gain from war, and were sure to suffer heavy losses of territory if enemies should get the better of them.

To insure peace Great Britain was systematically seeking friendships all over the

world. John Bull loves the man that can stand up to him, and when in 1895 President Cleveland threatened war to restrain the British in South America, Lord Salisbury yielded; and in the subsequent Spanish-American War, the British showed a very useful friendship. Soon after, the old claims arising over the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and England's general interest in the Panama Canal were cheerfully given up. We have already seen how the British made easy terms with France and Germany and Russia, where they had rival colonies in Africa and Asia. Japan was made the special friend and ally in the Orient. Nothing was left of the policy of "splendid isolation."

The safety of India also required peace because Great Britain is the only country that undertakes to hold so vast and populous conquered colonies, not allowed to govern themselves or to participate in the general decisions of the Empire. England's claim to India is not alone that of conquest, but of sympathy, of understanding, of a genuine effort to treat the people of India with justice and moderation. Nevertheless perhaps the people of India would prefer their own traditional kind of government with personal rulers to parade with elephants and distribute injustice from golden thrones. The Pax Britannica, with all reservations, was a great gift to mankind; for it covered one-quarter of the earth's surface; and it was a standing declaration that the welfare of the whole British Empire demanded peace.

FRENCH AMBITIONS

The French were in a very different situation, for ever since 1871 a large part of the population burned for war, at least a kind of war that would turn the tables on Germany. The French also had their stake in colonial West India islands, their little continental area in South Africa, and very large holdings in Africa. They also possessed Madagascar, Mauritius, and other Eastern islands, and a kind of national plaything in "Indo-Chine." The French-speaking dependencies were nominally integral parts of the Republic, were allowed to send delegates to the Chamber, and cheerfully furnished troops for the Great War.

On the other hand, France had much to lose from a war that should turn out the wrong way, especially on the northern frontier, where, after the transfer of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany in 1871, it was realized that

mysteriously blew up. No European republic could possibly hold out through a great war, it was believed.

The Germans ought to have known France, for they kept up a spy system there, which



Constantinople

Showing part of the Golden Horn, and on the far side, Stamboul.

immensely valuable iron-ore beds lay on both sides of the line, while the best coal-producing areas of France were near by. The Germans and many other people had a fixed conviction that the French had gone downhill; they had lost their morale, their sense of obligation to the state, their talent for administration, their capacity for organizing armies. The struggle for supremacy between army and civil government in the Dreyfus case was thought to show weakness. French iron-clads

in its defiance of law and honor was unrivaled. Perhaps visitors and spies mistakenly took the unquiet outward Paris to be France. The world now knows that no people of our time or any time have shown more pluck in adversity, more patience and courage in long-drawn danger, a higher spirit of sacrifice for the Cause by man and woman than France. Yet the country was relatively weak, in no condition to fight a world war. It could not get away from its low birth rate

and its failure to make substantial gain in population. In 1874 Germany had 42 million people and France 36 millions. In 1914, the figures were 68 millions and 40 millions. The thing that sustained France was the love that the Frenchman felt for his homeland, so that he is little drawn to improve his condition by taking himself and his family to a foreign country. France at least held her population under the colors, was behind a fortified frontier from Belgium to Switzerland, and had allies.

AMBITIONS OF ITALY

Italy, with far less natural resources than France, Italy without iron, without coal, without copper, without grain fields sufficient to feed her population, had nevertheless gained in population to about 35 millions and felt willing to take great risks in war. The Triple Alliance was first of all defensive to the other two powers, but Italy valued it for the backing given by the two partners in offensive schemes in various parts of the world. The Italians felt themselves to be the descendants and heirs of ancient Rome, and their ambition was to become the leading power in the Mediterranean. Good workers, excellent sailors, habile and enterprising, they also sought for nearby colonies to give them a place alongside other great powers, and to aid their hope of a special hold in the Mediterranean. In this hope they were disappointed; they bitterly but vainly resented the annexation of Tunis by the French in 1882, which for the time headed them off from North Africa. They established themselves to no purpose in desolate and waste African coasts of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. They longed to cross the Adriatic, and looked for a career in southeastern Europe.

In the eighties and nineties large numbers of Italians began to emigrate, principally to the Argentine and the United States, where they established what were virtually little fragments of Italy, distributed through the Eastern cities. They are, however, a homing people, and probably half of the men who go overseas eventually return. Their attack on Turkey in 1911 was in effect a concession by the central European powers to their desire to take a place alongside the progressive

colonizing nations. It cost sacrifices of men and money to occupy Tripoli; and they took from the Turks Greek-speaking islands, which at the peace they retained to transfer to the Greeks, but kept still in their hands till 1919.

The Italians have a special problem in the person of the Pope, in whose honor the cry of *Viva il Papa Re!* still rises sometimes in St. Peter's. The hierarchy of the central Roman Church is made up chiefly of Italians, but is not Italian in the national sense, and neither shares nor aids the national aspirations for power and for colonies. The monarchy is not very strong, and Italy is governed by a rather tumultuous Parliament, acting through a changeful ministry. The Italians are from end to end an ambitious people, who feel that they must make hay while the sun shines; that they must take advantage of the territorial shocks in the world, to get possession of vantage points with an eye to the future. The Triple Alliance was always galling to Italians, because it tended in the long run to compel them to submerge their own policy and interests to the demands of allies whose policies looked far beyond the horizon of Italy. Hence, when the pinch came in 1914, they made up their minds that they were no parties to the ambitions of those two countries.

AMBITIONS OF THE SMALL POWERS

In Europe, outside the six great powers which existed in 1914, 80 million people lived in small states. Of these, three—Holland, Belgium, and Portugal—were possessed of valuable colonial empires in Africa and southern Asiatic waters. Holland has long drawn both profit and prestige from the Spice Islands. Belgium and Portugal did little to justify their control of millions of African human beings. Of these three powers, Holland was by tradition an excellent fighter, yet in every way desirous of peace: any disturbance of the world's arrangements might shake off Sumatra and Java and Celebes and Borneo. And, still more important, Holland by itself would be at the mercy of Germany, which has never concealed its desire for the territory that lies athwart the mouths of the German river Rhine. The people are Teutonic in race, and their country at one time had a

connection with the Holy Roman Empire. The Dutch sea front is much more favorable for connection with the interior than the German ports farther northward. War was likely to revive the German longings, and to bring to the Dutch only distress, danger, great losses, and perhaps destruction.

The three Scandinavian powers have in their time played a great part in the history of central Europe. The Swedes once contested the lands south of the Baltic with the Russians, the Poles, and the Germans. Like Holland they have a heavy trade with Germany. They are a commercial people, and in modern conditions of war their vessels are in danger, even though neutral. They can expect no new territory. Naturally they were in 1914 determined to keep the middle road. Portugal has for a very long time been in most respects a dependency of Great Britain,—allowed to have a king, or no king, so long as their colonial and commercial policy does not collide. Since they lost Brazil in 1822, they are a weak power.

Switzerland is the traditional neutral power: it must be such if it is to remain independent, for the moment it should admit any of its neighbor's armies it would make an enemy of the other side. The sympathies of the Swiss between France and Germany were divided very nearly in accordance with the language blocks. Within forty-eight hours after war broke out they were able to place on their northern frontier 200,000 stout men who kept their country out of war in the most practical manner by making clear the danger to those who might try to disturb them.

Spain, an old-fashioned kingdom, since the defeat by the United States in 1898 has been rather an inert nation, though interested in the squabbles over the Moroccan lands across the Straits of Gibraltar. The dynasty is partly German, and the country seems to have sympathized with the Germans in the war, but had neither the army, nor the navy, nor the transportation necessary for an alliance; they cheerfully made money from international trade while the contest was going on.

The Balkan states were in favor of a war in which they might have a chance to fend for themselves; but, as has been already shown, the Balkans can make neither war nor peace without the sharing of their cam-

paigns with other nations. Here came the final push of pike at the beginning of the War; and under the advice of Russia the Serbians did their utmost to avoid an outbreak just then. All the Balkan powers are poor, were exhausted by two wars in two years, defective in transportation, and fought their enemies in arms and also the non-combatants with the ferocity of pirates. Rumanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Albanian, Greek, Turk, Bosnian, Croat, they are all alike when inflamed with battle and with lust; yet no worse than the soldiers of Germany, the most refined people of central Europe, whose kind of war is war with everybody down to the infant in arms.

AMBITIONS OF RUSSIA

No one realized, least of all the Russians themselves, that such a great nation could in a few months of war be smashed to pieces. The thinking Russians were a small proportion of the whole. Not more than a twelfth of the whole population had any opportunity of becoming anything except hewers of wood and drawers of water. Only about one in three could read and write. The upper classes included some of the most intellectual and able men in Europe, whose genius gave to Russia the appearance of being a literary country, an artistic country, a musical country, a country of statesmen.

Russia was nominally an autocracy, which an extreme anarchistic party was trying to overwhelm. In fact it was a small, self-designated aristocracy, which enveloped the Czar, and checked the efforts of that good-natured man to come to an understanding with his people.

The most serious defect in this upper-class Russia, which supported the opera and made the political decisions, kept up the schools and furnished the scientific lights, was that it included and was dominated by Germans. Many of the noble houses were of German descent. A large number of the officials were in effect Germans. The shops and railroads and universities were headed by Germans, of whom many remained German subjects. The organized life of Russia, such as corresponded to the active countries of the West, was in very large degree carried on by Ger-

mans or by Russians who thought like Germans. These were the people who voiced the aspirations of Russia. They formed the combinations that brought particular statesmen into office or drove them out of imperial sunlight. They were versed in the terms of diplomacy. Inside and outside this favored circle, intelligent Russians knew the main lines of Russian policy and could form some judgment as to the probable effect of war on those ambitions.

First of all, the Russians about two centuries ago for the first time got a footing on the Baltic, and a century ago absorbed a large part of Poland. They meant to stick by those possessions. Probably no man of significance in Russia supposed that in a war with Germany they could possibly be ousted from that necessary foothold on the Northern Sea. The desire of the Russians to control the waterway out of the Black Sea, which includes the mastery of Constantinople, has been in the Russian mind for more than a thousand years. For that object they have fought five wars within the last century and a quarter. No defeat, no humiliation can take it out of the Russian mind. No Russian government can ignore it or pledge the nations to abandon it.

Ever since the breakdown of the Three-Emperor Alliance Russia has looked on Austria as the spoil-sport of their Balkan and Bosphorus policy. It was Austria who held off from the Crimean War; Austria who filched Bosnia out of the winnings of 1878; Austria who completed that shady transaction in 1908. It does not appear that, till the very brink of war, Russia realized that the true, the dangerous, the implacable enemy was Germany. A sister empire, partly manned by Germans, a taker-in of German culture, Russia was slow to come to the conclusion that war with Germany was coming upon it like an armed man. Its fleet had not recovered from the defeats of the Japanese War. Its strategic railroads, except the Siberian, were not completed. It had no sufficient supply of arms. Man-power alone was cheap and seemingly unlimited. Austria was open to marching armies. Sooner or later the Great Bear would test his strength.

AMBITIONS OF ORIENTAL POWERS

The place of Germany, of Austria, and the United States in this study of motives and purposes is reserved for later treatment. The Latin-American powers had no thought of engaging in war for any world cause. No other independent nation existed except those in Asia. Of those Turkey had no stronger or grander purposes than to hold its own in Europe, for the Turks seem to have had no fear of a break-up in their Asiatic Empire. What they were trying to do was simply to build a roof over their heads to protect them from a coming storm. One other pair of Asiatic powers, however, must be discussed here. China had very little volition as to the World War. The Chinese had been in the midst of civil war much of the time since 1900. They were glad enough to be neutral, until in 1916 they were forced by the pressure of the Allies to join in a war to which they could not contribute a ship or a division.

With Japan the conditions were very different, for that land in its own mind was a European power with reference to Russia, Germany, and Great Britain, and at the same time the leading Asiatic power in the face of China. The Japanese were not deeply interested in the profound causes of the war; in the association of nations they were fully as intimate with Germany as with England, till in the Alliance of 1905 they definitely put themselves alongside Great Britain as the leading naval power, and as the only Europeanized state that had a great stake in southern and eastern Asia. When the World War came it seemed certain that there would be an upheaval among the world's Asiatic colonies, and the Japanese preferred to be on the side of the big colonials. In any case the Japanese were very distant from the main theater of war; and throughout the Allies showed no anxiety to bring those Asiatic divisions into the fighting line. It was as much as Europe could bear to use Negro regiments, drawn out of the heart of Africa, and non-military bodies of Chinese coolies. Japan's part during the World War was, therefore, almost entirely confined to sea-scurrying and commerce-protecting and to the occupation of German island groups.

THE DAY OF KULTUR ARRIVES

Its Essence Lies in Blind Obedience to an Autocratic State Freed
from Moral Law

IX

DEUTSCHLAND UEBER ALLES

ALL nations are ambitious, and successful ambition leads to greatness. All nations have their own social and political systems; which they prefer to that of anybody else; otherwise they would change them. One European nation has raised its national prepossessions to the dignity of a religion, to be sought for itself, praised for its massive effect on character, made the cornerstone of government, of art, of literature, of education, of social life, of government, and of national defence. This wondrous saving grace, this pure seed of the spirit is named and applied by the Germans. It is Kultur. Thus Bernhardi: "Germany . . . is in social and political respects at the head of all progress in Kultur." And elsewhere: "The wish for Kultur must therefore in a healthy nation express itself first in terms of a wish for political power." Not all Germans love Kultur to the roots. A German-American, long identified with the United States, wrote of his former countrymen: "In contradiction to this fundamental American trait of self-possession I designate the passion for self-surrender as perhaps the most significant expression of national German character . . . he loves to surrender to feelings, to hysterias of all sorts; he loves to merge himself in vague and formless imaginings, in extravagant and reckless experience, in what he likes to call living himself out. . . . No one is more prone to forget his better self in this so-called 'living himself out' than the German."

The significance of Kultur in the World War is simply that in the name of religion and progress, in the elevation of mankind, Kultur has been called upon to justify a war which as carried out by the Germans destroyed art, ignored ideals, and descended to brutishness. "Thank God," said Harnack, eminent professor of theology, "our Kultur is

different from that of the others, both in its essence and in its manifestations." And again, "If we fall—may God and our stout arm forbid—down into the grave sinks all higher Kultur in our part of the world. . . . For neither with Russia nor against Russia will Great Britain be able to keep it alive in Europe."

RISE OF KULTUR

Where do we find the clear expression of this Kultur? German civilization is not a recent find. It came a thousand years ago. The Germans carried Christianity, not very gently, to the pagans of the north and east. The Germans built noble cathedrals and magnificent commercial cities. Their culture, their literature, is as old as that of any European nation. Germany produced Erasmus, and Luther, and Goethe, and Schiller, and Lessing, and Kant, and Humboldt, and Koerner.

Nevertheless German civilization could not protect the land from the misery of the "small statehood" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Frederick the Great enlarged his territory at the expense of other Germans, and the military power which he built up hardly survived him. Within twenty years the Prussian army was crushed by the French, and the Prussian kingdom was torn to pieces. The lesson of that misery and humiliation sank deep, so that in a certain sense Napoleon was the real creator of the modern German empire, because he convinced the Germans that without union another Napoleon would come upon them.

If the intellectual life of Germany were measured by its effect upon the spirit of race brotherhood and national accord, down to 1860, it was a weak thing. It is nevertheless remarkable how real culture arose and flourished in the midst of poverty and inept government. The Germans were the first people in Europe to feel an intense interest in their



From painting by Emil Hunten

**Second Squadron of 11th Uhlans Regiment Attacking the French Battery at Ligny
in the Franco-German War**

own origin and history, and thus developed a clan of historical searchers. They were also early to face the realities of nature, and thus produced the first large allied body of men of science. The Germans were the first moderns to face the problem of higher education and to work out a system of renowned teachers surrounded by bodies of voluntary students. The Germans in our time have been most successful in using the discoveries of science for the benefit of the household, the business man, and the soldier. The Germans have succeeded in establishing the most complete and methodical organization of the intellectual forces of the country for common national purposes.

German Kultur, in the German mouth, is, however, not so much an intellectual discipline as a social system. It means a general national point of view, a combination of morals and national ambitions, a political outlook.

GERMAN KULTUR

Having thus disposed of the simpler problems of world ambition and attitude to war, the ground is clear for a detailed discussion of the attitude of the nation that had most opportunity and disposition to break the delicate balance of world affairs. Germany was in area and population about one-twentieth of the inhabited world. That population, however, was so close knit, so formidably organized, so tempered to the fighting edge, that it became possible for it to upset the world. Thus, as von Frantzius expresses it: "The word 'Kultur' embraces a world of achievements, which, combined, in a measure speaks as a unit, and only as such can be brought in contrast with that of other nations. One of the principal things is the providing of adequate means of self-protection of a government against attacks by its enemies." The notable thing about German Kultur is that it became a kind of national program. Kultur was worshiped as a national fetish—not only good because it gets the nation ready for war, but so lovely and desirable in itself that it was a boon to the world to distribute it wider.

In recent years, therefore, Kultur has carried the nation to the point where it not only should be, but must be, extended to other

parts of the earth. Kultur was finally set the task of regenerating barbarous and unsettled regions, ready to receive a new gospel; of inspiring backward nations whose own culture does not accord with the German type; and even of laying hands on other civilized nations that feared and abhorred the combined German conceptions of intellectual alertness. Duty to the state required a ravaging foreign policy.

PROPHETS OF KULTUR

Thousands are the spokesmen of German Kultur, for the poet and the playwright, the philosopher and the sociologist, the historian and the expert in government, were all under obligation to make clear the extent and advantages of their national and political religion. Several recent writers have been accepted as special prophets of the doctrine. The first of these to catch the public ear was von Treitschke, a German of Bohemian descent, deaf, yet an able thinker, who spent a good part of his life in setting forth the glory of Prussia. His notion of Kultur justifies the trampling of the Slav under the feet of the German. Listen to his doctrine as set forth in the notebook of a former student and hearer: "And if there is any unpardonable sin in politics, a sin against the Holy Ghost of politics, it is weakness." "The purpose of the state is power and nothing can be more moral than this purpose." "The statesman is often in a position to choose between two evils in order to maintain the highest good, but the diplomatist lies, if he does it, for the advantage of the state." "The impulse of a youthful state to destroy an old and decaying state is higher than all maxims of positive law. The statesman who acts unwisely is immoral." "When a state has the choice between the moral and the immoral, it should choose the moral, for good faith is in politics a real power, but it is often possible to obtain a moral purpose only by immoral means." Again he says, "No state in the wide world can venture to relinquish the 'ego' of its sovereignty. If conditions have been imposed upon it which cripple it or which it cannot observe, the nation honors itself in breaking it." The great significance of Treitschke is that he was professor in a Prussian university,—that is, a German official,—

and that he preached a doctrine exceedingly agreeable to the head of the state.

Nietzsche, professor of philosophy at Heidelberg, and finally dying insane, approaches Kultur from the loftier viewpoint of the student of human thought. He was not much concerned about building up the German Empire, but spent the energies of a vigorous mind on trying to separate out the qualities which make great men and nations. Here is his theory of force: "I do not advise you to compromise or to make peace, but to conquer. Let your labor be fighting and your peace victory. What is good? All that increases the feeling of power, the will to power, power itself in man. What is bad? All that proceeds from weakness. . . . The weak and the botched must perish; that is the first principle of our humanity, and they must be helped to perish. . . . I am writing for the lords of the earth. . . . You say that a good cause hallows even war. . . . I tell you that a good war hallows every cause. . . . Ye must be proud of your foes. The new empire has more need of foes than friends. Nothing has grown more alien to us than that 'peace of the soul' which is the aim of Christianity. And should a great injustice befall you, do quickly five small ones. A small revenge is better than none at all."

Nietzsche had his enemies in Germany, though rather as defenders of Christianity than of peace. The real significance of these praises of war is that they are exactly in line with those of a third prophet, General von Bernhardi. His book, *Germany and the Next War*, published in 1911, though it had no formal sanction from the General Staff, is practically the official view of army circles as to the delightfulness of war and the special merit of fighting against Englishmen. Whimsically enough the largest influence of the book has been in the numerous reprints which were read in the Allied countries and the United States and helped to form a strong anti-German opinion. For instance, he says, "War is not merely a necessary element in the life of nations, but an indispensable factor of culture in which a true civilized nation finds the highest expression of strength and vitality. . . . War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of man which cannot be dispensed with. . . .

It is a persistent struggle for possession, power, and sovereignty, which primarily governs the relation of one nation to another, and right is respected so far only as it is compatible with advantage. . . . Since almost every part of the globe is inhabited, new territory must, as a rule, be obtained at the cost of its possessors—that is to say, by conquest, which thus becomes a law of necessity."

KULTUR EDUCATION

The doctrines of Treitschke and Bernhardi were not held by all Germans. Indeed, they were contrary to the general trend of the classic German writers, who had a lofty belief in the perfectibility of all mankind. The German scientific men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were for the most part broad-minded, full of a sense of universalism. The universities under the European reaction were looked on as hotbeds of liberalism and professors and students were dealt with accordingly. The educated exiles of 1848, who came to America, included such men as Carl Schurz and Francis Lieber, types of national democrats, and worshipers of no man and no Kultur.

Not till Prussia definitely came forward as the leader in Germany were the national schools and universities and laboratories made the teaching place of Kultur; and not till the expansion sentiment of the nineties could they become official agents for instilling the doctrines of the greatness of Germany and its right to trample down any other nations that stood in the way. The popular schools, so-called, intended for the lower classes, taught concentrated Germanism. The universities were, in the last years, manned by professors who were sound on the destinies of the Germanic race. "How could you leave about the laboratory a paper with a caricature of the Emperor?" asked a professor of botany with tears in his eyes of an American student. "If that were found here, we should lose our appropriation!" That is a fair example of the conscious method of unifying the spirit of the German people. It extended to the teachers of the Gymnasia, the secondary schools for the prosperous classes. It extended to the newspaper, a part of which Bismarck contemptuously dubbed "the reptile press."

On the other hand, the public censor had his eye on those who criticized the army or royalty. Lieutenant Bilse, author of a clever novel on garrison life, was prosecuted for coming too near to nature, and another author of an elaborate criticism of the Emperor Nero, which readers strangely supposed was a satire upon Emperor William, was absolved for that book, but was afterward sent to prison, nominally on a different count. Those medals and ribbons which so caused the German eyes to shine; that delicious particle "von," which set the wearer out of the common herd, those ecstatic titles of "Genuine Privy Councillor" and "Excellency,"—all those distinctions were reserved for the wise, the patriotic, the prophetic, the truly German, the anti-English, in a word, for the apostles of Kultur among literary and scientific men.

No one can deny the thoroughness and usefulness of German systems of education. Germans of all classes could read and write. In some provinces illiteracy was almost unknown. The graduates of the Gymnasias and the universities were capable, well-trained men in business and in the public service. The German knew how to do his job. The unfortunate thing about the instilling of Kultur into the minds of the young was that it was intended to make them thick and thin supporters of a paternal government. As Bismarck put it: "The mighty influence which the schools exercise in the education of the nation consists in this, that the German child, when handed over to the teacher, is like a blank sheet of paper, and all that is written upon it during the course of elementary education is written with indelible ink, and will last through life. The soul of a child is like wax. Therefore he who directs the school directs the country's future."

The most serious result of this successful attempt to cast the minds of children, as well as of adults, in one mold, was that it set up as essential to German life and to German government, the doctrine that "the State" is superior to the persons and communities of which it is made. The prophets Treitschke and Bernhardt and other writers on public law clearly describe their idea of this unseen thing, this creation of the mind, which was superior to private interest, to the moral code,

and to international law. Treitschke put the doctrine in four words: "The State is power: hence of course a small state which has moderate power has no claim to existence as against a large state." "The State, however, is itself the highest external human community—consequently the Christian duty of self-sacrifice for some higher end does not exist with the State; for in the whole course of the world's history we can find nothing superior to the State."

To defend or to advantage the state any means may be used. The state is superior to all organizations, such as the Church, the family. The state commands the complete service and sacrifice of the individual, not because it protects and nourishes him, but because all the people of a country when united in a state, are something different from and superior to all the people of the country as a mass. Individuals exist for the state, not the state for individuals. Happiness, freedom, ease of mind have nothing to do with the duties of the state.

Even in a republic this doctrine that the state is a Moloch to which the children must be sacrificed would be monstrous. In Germany the doctrine was still more dangerous, because the only expression of the state was the government, at the head of which stood a sovereign "by the grace of God;" and down to the day of his abdication William assumed and asserted that he was the divinely chosen medium of communication. "Any opposition on the part of Prussian noblemen to their king is a monstrosity." "There is only one master in the country; I am he, and I will not tolerate another." "There is only one law—my law; the law which I myself lay down." Or as he put it more directly in 1910: "Here my grandfather, again by his own right, set the Prussian crown upon his head, once more distinctly emphasizing the fact that it was accorded him by the will of God alone, and not by Parliament, or by any assemblage of the people, or by popular vote, and that he thus looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of heaven and as such performed his duties as regent and sovereign."

A state free from the moral law and from the binding force of international agreements, conducted by a sovereign who recognized no direct responsibility to his people, was a ter-

rible engine if it were turned toward the oppression of its own people, and the conquest of other nations. The effect of this philosophic reasoning was to set men free from the ordinary obligations of humanity

to deny the brotherhood of nations, and to make the will of the German State as revealed through its sacred head the sole standard of justice and of existence for the rest of Europe.

GERMANY IN HANDS OF ARMY

The Entire State Rested upon a Small Military Caste Whose Business It Was to Spread Kultur

X

GERMAN MILITARISM

THE German people is always right, because it is the German people and because it numbers 87,000,000." So says Tannenberg, apostle of Pan-Germanism. If the advance of the human race depends on Kultur, and Kultur is only to be had in Germany and its dependent neighbors, then Germany must be made to expand. To expand requires a powerful army; therefore the military spirit is the flower of Kultur. There is only one step farther in this chain of irresistible argument. The army must go out and knock in the head those who resist this blessing. By this test let Germany be estimated. Germany was hammered together by military men; the emperors of Germany have been of a military caste and race; the most intimate friends of William II have been military and naval commanders and experts; militarism has pervaded the country. Everywhere the uniform has been the mark of superiority. The schools, the Gymnasias, the universities, all partook of this military spirit. The most high-bred young men served in the Army at least as one-year volunteers.

Hence, the strongest element in the country, its real master in a great crisis, was the Army and Navy. Since the days of the big Prussian grenadiers, enlisted by the father of Frederick the Great, the Army had been the gentleman's profession. Each successive Prussian king nourished what William called "my poor nobility." Sons of Junker families and princes of the blood were brought up to the Army, and extremely disliked accepting as

brethren in arms any other young men, except a few sons of wealthy families. The Prussian Army, and after it the German Army was in effect a large officers' club, having its own rules and traditions. They clung to the duello after it had disappeared among civilians, save for the students who went into the artificial duels to prove that they were as fit to wield a sword as the officers.

Alongside the officers were the soldiers, but separated by a social tradition which put them in another world. The whole theory of the German Army was that the gentlemen soldiers were there in order to show the "knechts" how to obey them. The soldiers since 1860 had not been professionals, but were raised by "universal service." The German officer was a good drill-master, an educated, brave, and skillful soldier, but to him the privates were not fellow countrymen, Kultur Germans, brethren in arms, but pawns in a game. The Navy was a new branch of the service, practically dating from 1890, but officered and manned on the same principles.

MILITARISM AND PUBLIC POLICY

The effect of this military organization was to exalt the soldier, and particularly the officer, as superior to all civilians and to elevate war to a sacred profession. What was the object of war? To beat down your enemy and also to take his possessions. The spirit of war then led directly to the spirit of conquest. No chance traveler in Germany could fail to see the effect of this system on the national spirit. It was not simply the cool way in which the officer class took pos-

session of the sidewalks and the best places in the cafés; it was the combined belief of the warriors that they were the only people that counted. For their benefit military writers laid down the glory of war and the necessity of fighting a war hard. "The Army

longing to the enemy die of hunger than to let a single German soldier suffer."

Since the Emperor was head of the Army, since not one of his six sons could take up any other calling or profession, since the officer belonged to a privileged class, since the machinery of education taught to children the obedience which was exacted of a soldier, since German literature was full of arguments that the German needs and ambitions could only be satisfied by war, militarism entered into every plan of the government. It was consulted on every treaty, dictated every measure relative to the Army and Navy, and lay in wait for an opportunity to make use of all the agencies of destruction.



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The Kaiser as he Looked at Nineteen

In his youth the Kaiser was a great favorite of his grandmother, Queen Victoria of England, who admired his more sober virtues.

takes the first place among the institutions of every country," said Field Marshal von Moltke in the Reichstag. "It alone makes possible the existence of all the other institutions."

So General von der Goltz: "War is not a work of charity, and in the soldier's heart there is no compassion. The soldier must be hard. Grow hard, warriors! It is better to let a hundred women and children be-

GERMAN IMPERIAL FEDERATION

Legally, constitutionally, the Army was not a master, but the creation of a splendid civil organization, founded on the law and customs of Germany and experience of other nations. In the ordinary practice of times of peace, the State was not omnipotent in Germany, nor the Kaiser absolute.

On the face of the document, the German Constitution adapts many of the forms and much of the spirit of the federal government of the United States. The legislature was divided into two branches, the lower of which, the Reichstag, was elected by manhood suffrage; the upper, the Bundesrat, made up of representatives of the States, something like the Senators of the United States. The executive was the Emperor, acting through a Chancellor who was the head of a ministry obviously not very different from the American President and Cabinet. A Supreme Court for the Empire resembled the highest judiciary of the United States. The Empire was subdivided into twenty-six States, three of which were city republics; all the rest were monarchies. The States had their own system of legislative bodies, ministries, and courts, as in other federal countries. The cities had very successful popular government, set up for them by the State authorities.

REAL GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY

All this is true, and yet the government of Germany was neither popular nor federal.

The seats in the Reichstag were apportioned by an outgrown law, which put the large cities, which abounded in workingmen, at a great disadvantage. The Reichstag rarely discussed anything that was not sent down to it from the Bundesrat; and after years of contest with Bismarck, was obliged to give up an attempt to make the Chancellor "responsible" to their votes or wishes. The Bundesrat was not a deliberative body, but an assembly of the Prime Ministers or other high officials of the States, each casting a lump vote assigned to his kingdom or duchy. Prussia had fourteen votes out of sixty-five, but could always command enough votes among its little neighbors to give a majority. The votes of Prussia were cast under the orders of the King of Prussia, that is, the Emperor. The Bundesrat, in which the Emperor-King could make up a majority, if needful, had the power of declaring war. Controversies arising between the States were settled by the Bundesrat, and not by the Supreme Court, which was the weakest part of the whole government.

For the executive, the Emperor acted through the Chancellor, who acknowledged "responsibility" to his sovereign. The Chancellor appointed all the other ministers, and was the spokesman of the Emperor and the Ministry in the Reichstag, where Bismarck used to come striding in all the majesty of his great figure and his severe countenance. Criminal law and commercial law were federal affairs, over which the States had no control; and their armies were centralized in the hands of the Emperor.

As in many other European countries, the Reichstag was split up into several different parties. Of these, the Social Democrats were the only outspoken opponents of the Emperor and his system. Accordingly, they were persecuted by laws drawn by Bismarck; yet their numbers increased so that in the last open election, that of 1912, about one-fourth of the votes cast were for candidates of that party, and a Socialist was chosen from the Potsdam district under the windows of the Emperor's palace. Not all those who voted that ticket were Social Democrats, but the members were the only outspoken critics of the government. They were known to favor

peace, and kept up relations with bodies of workingmen in other countries.

A busy, rich country was Germany, in which life and property were well protected. Pains were taken to improve the condition of the workingmen, old-age pensions and similar benefits were introduced by the government as a kind of lightning rod. Beautiful cities, clean towns, good schools, superior transportation in peace times made life attractive, notwithstanding a government which at bottom was free from popular control and managed by a small and arrogant class. The Junker land-owners, the rich commercial class and the military class, together were in control.

The final decisions were made, as in Russia, by a small number of men who had no formal organization. The Chancellor for the time being, a few sturdy supporters of the government in the Reichstag, one or two publicists, the highest military chieftains, a few members of the imperial family and monarchs of the larger States—these made up the real Germany, which decided on the policy of the country; and would make up its mind when to fight for that policy. Whatever they determined would infallibly be followed by the people at large, who were proud of their Emperor, their Empire, and their future pre-dominance.

MILITARY AND NAVAL ORGANIZATION

The Germans put immense confidence in their military system. In the first place it was founded on universal military service, which was followed in general by Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy. This did not mean that every young man went into the army, but that as each "class" came to the age of twenty the authorities "called up" as many as they thought could be taken care of with the available appropriation. In 1910, for instance, only about 500,000 young Germans were called up out of a class of about 1,200,000. Not till 1913 did the government bring under the colors in any one year above one per cent of the population. The men thus called normally served in the active army for two years. Then for the next five years they were still members of the active army, and were called out for maneuvers a few

weeks every year. They drew only a nominal pay, and the actual cost of keeping them up was about one-fourth as much per man as it was in the American Army for the same period.

After leaving the colors, the young German was automatically enrolled in the *Landwehr*, first "ban," for five years; then in the "second ban" till he was forty years old. From that point he was not liable to a call except in the *Landsturm*, which is not supposed to serve outside of Germany. The young men above twenty who were not accepted for service belonged to the *Ersatz* or supply reserve and had very short training.

The direct handling of the men was by non-commissioned officers who might reenlist for longer service. Some of the old traditions of brutality, traditional in the Prussian Army, were kept alive by these *unteroffiziere*. The officers were also capable drill-masters, and special promotion and the coveted special services went only to officers who had shown intellectual quality. On the other hand, they formed a separate social stratum and within that stratum there were many layers.

There was a high tradition of efficiency in the Army, and most of the great generals won their marshals' batons by showing quality in preparations for war and in field strategy.

No one has ever denied the personal bravery of German officers and soldiers. By the tremendous pressure of a military government, backed up by the molding force of Kultur, the Army and the Navy became the greatest machinery of destruction and death that the world has ever seen. It was a long-headed system which employed the energies of the best minds under the direction of a remarkable General Staff, to draw up in detail all possible plans of campaign. When the time came the Army could be put into the field instantly and converged upon a task decided upon years before. For instance, there can be no doubt that the movements of the German Army from August 1, 1914, were based upon an elaborate plan set forth in multitudes of written documents, to be followed in case Germany was involved in war with an alliance with Austria-Hungary and opposed by Russia, France, and England; Belgium and Switzerland and the United States standing neutral.

THE SOLDIER AND THE EMPEROR

The main trouble with this "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war" was that the superior one-hundredth of the population expected to make final military decisions for 99 per cent. Hence the military efficiency of an army of 750,000, obeying the commands of 36,000 officers, who took their cue from 500 general officers who must obey the High Command, which in the last resort was finally centered in the Emperor. Hence the oft-quoted first public speech of the Emperor after he took the crown: "So are we bound together, I and the Army, so are we born for one another, and so shall we hold together indissolubly, whether, as God wills, we are to have peace or storm." Again he said, "Do not forget that you wear the coat of your King. Honor that coat, and keep in mind that you have been deemed worthy to discharge your service before my eyes.—I want Christian soldiers who say the Lord's Prayer. A soldier must not have his own way, but must have only one will, and it is mine. There is only one law and it is mine." Again, "It may come to pass that I shall command you to shoot your own relatives, brothers, yes, parents—which God forbid—but even then you must follow my command without a murmur."

The same spirit of absolute personal government got his majesty into trouble at various times with the Reichstag and even his ministers. For instance, in 1891 he told some military men that "The soldier and the Army, not parliamentary majorities and decisions, have welded together the German Empire. My confidence is in the Army . . . these are the gentlemen on whom I can rely."

THE MILITARY IN ALSACE-LORRAINE

The arrogance of the Army and of its divinely appointed commander came to the front in startling fashion in an incident which happened in 1913 in the little town of Saverne (German Zabern) in Alsace-Lorraine. The whole administration of that double province was an example of the German inability to accommodate itself to the necessary consequences of what was practically military oc-

cupation. The German garrison of Saverne was on chronic bad terms with the population, which was French in origin and sympathy. The non-commissioned officers, and some of the higher officers, gave to Alsatian recruits the highly offensive name of "Wackes" or rowdies. A Lieutenant von Forstner drew upon himself the special dislike of the populace, ordered his men to take no nonsense



Lieutenant von Forstner

Who cut the head of a cripple at Zabern in Alsace, while that city was under German rule, giving rise to what became known as the "Zabern incident."

from those fellows, and finally got into an altercation with a crippled shoemaker, and while the man was held by two soldiers this representative of the honor of the German Army cut him over the head with his sword.

Alsace-Lorraine was no dependency; it was a part of the Empire represented in the Reichstag, which at once denounced this application of military absolutism by a vote of 293 to 54. That is, by the votes of the members from about three-fourths of the districts of the Empire the disapproval of the German people was expressed. What was the outcome? Forstner was court-martialed

and defended on the ground that a Prussian military regulation issued about 1820 was superior to the ordinary civil law in other parts of the Empire. He was sentenced to a light penalty, which was subsequently canceled by his superior officer, on the ground that the attack on the shoemaker was an act of self-defence inasmuch as it was afterward discovered that the man had a knife in his pocket! The Emperor did nothing. The Crown Prince sent a telegram of appreciation. Thousands of letters and telegrams were showered upon the hero of this victory for the military.

Nothing that had happened for forty years so roused the people of Alsace-Lorraine to a sense of their position as despised and helpless subjects of an unfriendly country which could not control a military lieutenant. Nothing did so much to make clear what would be the consequence to any other part of the world which might be forced under the dominion of Kultur.

THE MILITARY AND WORLD POWER

The military had to be indulged in these little pleasures because it would soon be needed to carry Kultur afar. While Bismarck lived he was content with what the Army had already brought. He desired no further adventures. A turning point in the history of the world was that day in 1890 when the young Emperor and the grizzled old imperial statesman came to grips. A letter written by the Emperor at the time has recently drifted into publicity. He tells us how long and hard he strove to act in concert with the nervous and excitable Prince, who threatened time after time to resign. "Envy of his poor young Emperor overcame him." "The demon of the love of power had seized this sublime great man. . . . He wanted to do everything and rule alone, and not even submit it to the Emperor. From that moment it was clear to me that we must part, if everything was not to be mortally ruined and perish." Finally, "My old Hohenzollern family pride rose up. It was now necessary to force the old pig-head to obedience or to bring about a separation; for now the question was whether the Emperor or the Chancellor was to remain on top."



From Punch

Dropping the Pilot

Sir John Tenniel's famous cartoon, prompted by the Kaiser's acceptance of Bismarck's resignation from the Chancellorship.

Bismarck had another way of describing this controversy, but came to the same conclusion: namely, that William and Otto could not steer the same ship. He went out of office on questions of no world significance; nobody put down in black and white the real reasons for the breach, which was that the Emperor represented a new German spirit, a new diplomacy. He believed that the time had come for the Empire definitely to throw off the Germany-for-the-Germans policy of the Chancellor, and was waiting for the World Policy of the Emperor. Bismarck had been harsh and violent, he had ridden roughshod over the enemies of his countrymen and his countrymen themselves; but his policy was directed to the welfare and greatness of Germans and of the German government within its boundaries. The point of view of the Emperor was sufficiently set forth in his announcement at the time: "Nothing must be done anywhere on the globe without the sanction of Germany's ruler." And again, "One only is master within the Empire, and

I will tolerate no other. . . . There is but one law and that is my law."

Nothing could be farther from the truth, however, than to suppose that the new policy of making Germany felt throughout the world, of expanding trade and influence and territory was the inspiration of one man or of a class. The German policy succeeded, and for twenty-four years Germany was the center of the world's affairs, because it corresponded with a national spirit which had been cultivated from the days of Frederick the Great, which had been accentuated by the military process of unifying Germany and by Bismarck's intense and overbearing diplomatic methods. Bismarck, the Emperor, the Reichstag, the foreign service, the universities, the press—all the means of creating and concentrating national opinion, of arousing national ambition, were now combined in a policy of self-praise, of a determination to exalt Germany over the rest of the world, of a willingness to encounter and if possible destroy any nation that stood in the way.

"WORLD POWER OR DOWNFALL"

German Foreign Policy Since 1890 Based on Platform of Expansion in Europe and Asia

XI

GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

THE best proof that the Germans were reasonably satisfied with the Kultur and the government of their country is the ease with which they carried the burden of supporting the Army and Navy, and yet amassing wealth. In 1882, 251,000 Germans entered the United States as immigrants; in 1910 the number had gone down to 71,000 and few Germans were passing overseas anywhere. To its own amazement Germany became rich. This was due first of all to the opening up of the resources of nature. The ore beds and phosphate beds of Alsace-Lorraine, the coal of the Sarre region, Westphalia, and Silesia were the foundations of vast industrial centers, specially east of the

lower Rhine. Steel was made in immense quantities, and with it came railroads, viaducts, buildings, and machinery. The Germans developed great technical skill in machines and instrument making, and in chemicals. Their manufactures of dyes, optical glass, and electrical apparatus were thought the best in the world.

This industrial progress could not be had without paying for it. From the new industrial population sprang those discontented Social Democrats who insisted on cheap food that brought about a collision with the landowning nobility, who compelled the government to give them protective duties for their grain and hogs. A class of the newly rich sprang up which could outspend most of the nobility. About a third of the annual supply of food was imported—wheat from Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the two Americas;



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A Monument of Eternal Beauty Sacrificed in the World Explosion

Critics consider Rheims Cathedral the most perfect example of Gothic architecture. The towers, that were never completed, were designed as spires.

meat products from the United States and the Argentine. Germany with its eyes open accepted the policy of carrying on the Empire without the power of feeding both army and people through a long war.

This new rôle of a modern industrial power was dear to the Germans, both because it was profitable and because it put them into the worshipful society of first-class modern nations. The State did its utmost to back up internal industry and external commerce by special technical schools, State research lab-

oratories, prizes and honors for inventors, titles and very rarely patents of nobility for the wealthy merchant princes who were much cultivated by the Emperor. The State became virtually a partner in mining, shipping, and grand manufactures. The most notable of these enterprises was the renowned Krupp works at Essen, a complex of furnaces, steel mills, munition works, and arms factories.

The internal prosperity of the country reacted in several significant ways. The wealth of Germany gave it the power of providing

for its armies and navies the latest and most costly guns and ships, to subsidize the first zeppelins, advance agents of the modern fighting warships. The government spent money freely on secret service and spy systems all over the world.

For the richer and more powerful Germany became, the stronger was the desire to expand in different directions: (1) in foreign commerce; (2) in expansion within Europe; (3) in a union of Germans; (4) in a Near Eastern influence; (5) in a Far Asiatic venture; (6) in the ambition to be the greatest, and therefore the dominant, world power. Each of these lines of policy must be considered separately if we are to understand the complex of aspirations and actions which is undoubtedly the principal cause of the World War.

COMMERCIAL POLICY

The new commercial organization was really based on foreign commerce. Out went surplus manufactures, back came tropical products and other raw materials and the necessary food. To share in the carrying of these cargoes and in general commerce, the Germans set out to build a merchant fleet which rose from 2,000,000 gross tons in 1890 to 5,000,000 tons in 1913. Thus agriculture, manufactures, rail transportation, overseas shipping, and the financing of foreign trade were brought into close touch, all under the German flag, and practically supervised by the German government.

The amount of this commerce and its relation to that of other countries is so important a factor in the responsibility for the war that it must be set forth here in a few simple tables; which answer many of the German accusations against the greed of their neighbors.

GERMAN COMMERCE (In Millions of Dollars)

	Exports	Imports	Total
1880 *	\$1,038	\$1,039	\$2,077
1885 *	1,015	1,029	2,044
1890 *	1,153	1,362	2,515
1895	872	1,055	1,927
1900	1,181	1,459	2,640
1905	1,364	1,697	3,061
1910	1,779	2,126	3,905
1914	2,403	2,563	4,966

* Transit trade included.

BRITISH COMMERCE

(In Millions of Dollars)

	Exports	Imports	Total
1880	\$1,394	\$2,001	\$3,395
1885	1,321	1,805	3,126
1890	1,597	2,047	3,644
1895	1,391	2,028	3,419
1900	1,417	2,546	3,963
1905	1,605	2,750	4,355
1910	2,094	3,301	5,395
1913	2,541	3,721	6,262

BRITISH AND GERMAN TONNAGE

(Gross tonnage estimated on basis of net tonnage, except when otherwise indicated)

GERMAN

	New	In Commission
1880	.....	1,575,367
1885	.....	1,709,932
1890	.....	2,047,733
1895	.....	2,145,777
1900 *	256,852	2,912,468
1905 *	277,731	3,703,838
1910	212,192	4,645,012
1913	474,131	5,312,114

* Includes all merchant ships built in Germany.

BRITISH

(Gross tonnage)

	New	In Commission	New Navy *
1880	538,455	8,766,017	.....
1885	540,515	9,906,727	.....
1890	913,447	11,150,506 †	.....
1895	742,317	12,992,405 †	113,298
1900	1,105,356	14,064,152 †	37,783
1905	1,277,150	16,680,420 †	94,600
1910	961,395	18,468,895 †	113,249
1913	1,560,278	19,604,900 †	193,785

* Displacement tons. No German figures available.

† Exact figures.

The rapid growth of German foreign trade is large, though little larger than that of the United States, which increased its in-and-out trade from 1,635 millions in 1890 to 4,224 millions in 1914. The real profits of the country are not here shown, for the wealth of the manufacturers and the profits of the shipping trade made a surplus which put the Germans in the position of heavy lenders. When the war broke out, it was discovered that a billion dollars of German capital was invested in the United States, and probably as much more in Mexico and South America. The Germans shared in the financing of the

Russo-Japanese War. The Krupp furnished guns for the Turks. The Germans were buying up, by direct or by underground channels, banks, chemical works, electrical manufactures, dye works, textile factories, breweries, trolley lines, and railroads in many foreign countries.

If they had seen the wisdom of keeping on, ten years more would have given them a commercial and financial power which the world could hardly have shaken off. The question whether other nations, and particularly Great Britain, were hedging in this expansion, and were putting discriminations on the trade and shipping of Germany raises one of the issues of the war. That charge is not made good by the evidence of the tables, which show that Great Britain also was splendidly prosperous in shipping and in trade, and saw no reason in the success of Germany for fearing the loss of prestige or profits or power.

The tariff policy of Germany was, on the whole, moderate. Bismarck entered on a policy of protection for the benefit of the landlord food producers; but as a country sending out an immense quantity of manufactures Germany could not enter on a practice of shutting out imports. So far as colonial trade was concerned, it was altogether to the interest of the Empire to fall in with the British practice of allowing other countries to share in the colonial trade on equal terms. The only exceptions were Canada and Australia, which laid protective tariffs against everybody, even the home country, allowing a small differential, however, to imports from the United Kingdom. The Germans put on steamer lines to India, the Straits Settlement, Hongkong, Yokohama, and also to Australia; and enjoyed the trade of Great Britain to the full.

MID-EUROPEAN POLICY

Closely connected with the general commercial policy of Germany was a plan never formally stated or accepted by the German government, of establishing Germany as the central European power—so broad, so rich, so defensible that nobody could disturb its position. This idea included first of all the forced annexation of most of the Germanic

elements in Europe. This meant Holland, Luxemburg (already included in the German customs union), northern Switzerland, and even the Flemings, who were obstinately attached to their Belgian king, but were looked upon as a kind of lost heathen tribe. The Germans of Austria and Bohemia were already moored alongside the empire. Outlying



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The Grand Duchess Marie of Luxemburg

The Germans passed through Luxemburg against her protest, before invading Belgium; during the war the territory over which she rules was not molested.

communities of Germans in Transylvania, the heart of Hungary, in the Baltic provinces, and even in southern Russia were to be brought into some sort of connection with the homeland.

The mid-European idea did not stop with Germany, it specifically included the broad lands of Russian Poland. As Wagner put it in 1906: "Let us bravely organize great forced migrations of the inferior peoples. Posterity will be grateful to us. Coercion will be necessary. . . . Those adversaries who succumb, as they try to bar our passage, must be driven into reserves where we shall

keep them segregated that we may obtain the space necessary for our expansion." Such a plan would necessarily take in German-speaking Austria (presumably as a State in the Union) very likely Hungarian and Bohemian, Galician, and Croat territory.

The enlarged mid-European Germany must also take up a position of supremacy in the Balkans. Otherwise, a Pan-Slavic Union with Russia at its head, might put itself athwart this plan. The Triple Alliance, which was brought about as a part of this general plan, bound Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy together for political ends; and the connection with Austria-Hungary was increasingly close. While keeping up the forms of separate imperial governments, the influence of Berlin on Vienna and Budapest became stronger from year to year. Some German capital was invested in the Dual Empire. Postal and telegraph treaties made the two empires one area for intelligence. After 1890 Austria-Hungary made no political treaties and no first-class decisions of any kind without the attention and, in the last resort, the decision of Germany. After the break-up in Turkey and the Balkans (1908) the German influence was constantly gaining. Emperor Franz Josef was growing old and tired, and his instincts were German rather than Slav or Magyar. Austria was not strong enough to fight Russia and Balkan allies, and by 1914 was clay in the German potter's hands.

It is hard for those who have never lived in such an atmosphere of intrigue to realize how the Dual Empire became a dependency of the German Empire. The Hungarians were but 10 millions set in the midst of highly discontented Slav nationalities. In times of stress they must turn to the western half of the Empire for support. In Austria proper the Germans were 10 million, almost surrounded by a ring of unloving Slavs, with some Rumanians and Latins, numbering 20 million. The Magyars must go down without the Austro-Germans, the Austro-Germans could not live without the interest, and, if necessary, the support, of the German-Germans. The two empires together with their population of 140 millions, made up in effect a central European power, to which, through the Triple Alliance, was attached

by a weak tie the neighboring kingdom of Italy.

PAN-GERMANISM

Besides the German designs on everybody that spoke German in Europe, they came to realize that outside the boundaries of the Empire were millions of men and women who had been born in Germany, and millions more of the German race who were no part of the German people. A national society, the Pan-German League, was organized in 1891, which first of all urged the mid-European policy. Their propaganda brought out the underlying belief of the Germans that they could make much better use of the vast resources of Russia than the people of that empire realized. As Wirth, one of the apostles of the cause, put it: "In order to live, and to lead a healthy and joyous life, we need a vast extent of fresh arable land. This is what Imperialism must give us. Germany may reap the fruits of Russian policy, if she has sufficient courage."

More attractive than this task of forcing Arch-Germanism among people who had successfully resisted it for a thousand years, was the idea of recovering the Germans outside of Europe, and that meant first of all in America. The Argentine counted about 50,000 Germans; Brazil, about 300,000; the United States of America, 8,300,000 Germans and children of Germans, besides about 6,000,000 other descendants of colonial and German immigrants. Totally ignoring the fact that the greater part of the German immigrants into the New World had left home for what they thought a better place, the Pan-Germanists and even the Imperial government seemed to think that a whistle call would bring back to their allegiance a large portion of these departers. Hence, a propaganda through the commercial men who were on the ground, through the diplomatic and consular service, and through various educative influences, to make the former Germans appreciate and share Kultur.

As yet we know little of the effort to organize the Germans in Brazil and the Argentine, except that it was not successful. The people of the United States were aware that the Germans graciously made exchanges

of university professors, that German men of learning visited the country and wrote patronizing books on American society, that German university and business men came over to live in the United States and to exemplify in their own persons the graces of the German character and Kultur. Not till after the war broke out did the country realize that all this was a regular propaganda, a definite plan to bring about two results dear to the German heart: the first was to re-create a German spirit among the emigrants; and the second to bring home to the Americans the sublimity of the German nation and its superiority to the Anglo-Saxon empire.

The German government was actively behind this movement. In 1902 appeared in the United States Prince Henry of Prussia who made a kind of royal progress through the States. He received from the Corporation of Harvard an honorary degree upon the basis, carefully set forth by the President of the University, that in the Civil War the United States had enjoyed the good will of "your illustrious grandmother." Later in the day the young man made a little address, beginning, "We upon the other side of the world have not been unmindful of the progress of this great country, and the one who keeps his eye upon you is my brother and sovereign, His Majesty the Emperor."

The eye of His Majesty was also directed to other parts of America. As late as 1918, the German writer Zimmerman urged that the Empire (presumably after the war) call the native Germans out of the United States to colonize them in Latin-America, where they could make themselves disagreeable to the great Republic. Pan-Germanism was simply a delusion; a part of that terrific overestimate which was the soul of Kultur, an unreasoning assumption that anybody who had ever spoken the German language must be eager to come under the Imperial standard. It was at its loudest and widest in the latest years. To be German was held to be a distinction, a patent from the Almighty, which no person who knew Kultur would ever sacrifice. This was the gospel.

NEAR EASTERN POLICY

This intimate understanding with Austria-Hungary, or rather with a few dozen titled

representatives of the 20 million Magyars and Germans, made possible a Near Eastern policy which could be carried out without arousing other nations too much. The relations of Germany with Turkey will be later described. There was much in common between Emperor William, direct representative of the Christian God—his intimate and partner whom he dubbed "the good old German God up there"—and the Sultan, as the specially favored of Allah. The great change in the balance of European forces brought about by the rise of Germany was a joy to Sultan Abdul Hamid the Cruel. He found in Germany a protector against those unending Russians, a sympathizer less inquisitive than his former patrons, England and France, head of a country farther away in a military sense than his other neighbors.

Therefore, for Emperor William the glorious Byzantine mosaics of the once Christian Church of Santa Sofia were uncovered. For William's compatriots, railroads and mining concessions were forthcoming, so that as the neglected resources of Asia Minor were developed, the profit might not go to Englishmen. From William's General Staff in course of time came German officers who undertook to reorganize the Turkish Army and Navy. They failed for a curious reason. To the German mind there was no such thing as a good army without an officer class; therefore they threw out the old Turkish officers, who with all their faults understood their men, and created a new class of no-accounts, who were despised and distrusted by their own troops.

The greatest money-making and political privilege that Turkey had to give to anybody was that of restoring the richness of the Mesopotamian Valley, which had fallen into almost unbelievable disrepair. The Germans conceived the idea of building a railroad line which should run southeastward from Constantinople to Konieh, thence to Aleppo across the Taurus Mountains, thence to Mosul on the Tigris River, and down the valley to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. It was a great project, a good thing for the human race if it could be carried out; likely also to strengthen the bonds of the Turkish Empire in Asia. Turkey assented; as will be seen later, European powers assented; and in 1914,

railway building was in active progress, within sight of the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.

Manifestly the Bagdad Railroad would not bring much political advantage to Germany if it reached no farther west than Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. The vast and vague ambitions of Germany in

Persian Gulf and Arabia and Palestine. This grandiose conception of a railroad which would rival the trans-continental lines of America and Siberia, and which would give Germany a commercial and political hold on western Asia, was the so-called "Berlin to Bagdad."



Native Soldiers in British Service in New Guinea

New Guinea, a British outpost of empire since 1884, lies in the Western Pacific north of the Equator. It is the largest island, Australia excepted, in the world. At the beginning of the war, it was under the control of the Dutch, the British, and the Germans.

the Near East depended for their success on the control of a connecting route from the territory of Austria-Hungary, which for commercial purposes was German territory. Such a line of rail was in existence, but it passed through both Bulgaria and Serbia before reaching Turkish territory. Undisputed control of a through-rail route was part of the whole scheme; but it involved the consent, or the occupation without consent, of Bulgaria and either Serbia or Rumania. That control once established, through traffic in freight and passengers became possible from the Baltic and the North Sea to the

FAR ASIATIC POLICY

The ambition of Germany was deeper than the Mediterranean, longer than Asia Minor, and wider than Africa. As early as 1882, the Germans made their first reach-out for the Pacific Islands, and in 1885 and 1886 took formal possession of part of New Guinea, of the Bismarck Archipelago and of the Solomon and Marshall Islands. They also annexed the Caroline Islands but returned them to Spain. About the same time, the United States, Germany, and Great Britain all showed an interest in Samoa, and in 1889 entered

into a joint agreement—the first ever made by the United States with reference to the possession of territory—for a sort of tripartite protectorate. After the American War with Spain, Samoa was formally divided between Germany and the United States by treaty. The Germans bought the Caroline Islands

the Bay of Kiao-Chau. They compelled the Chinese, on the welcome issue of the murder of two German Catholic missionaries, to make reparation by admitting the Germans to the coast of Shantung.

Nominally the transaction covered only a tract of about 200 square miles of territory



Native Women of New Guinea on a British-owned Plantation

from Spain, and also took over the Pelew Islands.

This was the period when most of the great powers were trying to lay their hands on strategic positions belonging to China. When Japan, in 1895, indicated that it meant to stay in Port Arthur, which it had conquered from the Chinese, Germany for the first time asserted itself as an Asiatic power, by joining with Russia and France and compelling Japan to give up its prey. Thereupon Russia, France, and Great Britain took slices of the Chinese coast, and the Germans made their first lodgment on the continent by taking possession (November, 1897) of

surrounding the bay "on lease, provisionally, for ninety-nine years." Actually, the treaty gave free passage of German troops, authority to fortify the territory, and the reserved right to give it up, in which case China should "refund to Germany the expenditures she has incurred at Kiao-Chau and . . . cede to Germany a more suitable place." Germany also insisted on a right to construct two lines of railway into the interior along which German subjects might develop mining property. The whole thing was therefore simply a conquest of a limited territory, with commercial control of railroads, mines, and traffic which gave to Germany the ascendancy in a province

having a population of more than thirty millions. From that time the Germans took their place in the councils that were browbeating the Chinese government. They joined heart and soul in the allied expedition to rescue the diplomats from Peking in 1900. The departure of a body of troops in this service gave Emperor William the opportunity to make his famous address, on the methods of warfare. "If you come to grips with him, be assured quarter will not be given, no prisoners will be taken. Use your weapons in such a way that for a thousand years no Chinese shall dare to look upon a German askance."

GERMANY AS A WORLD POWER

The motives and the expectations upon which the German foreign policy was based can be judged partly from the things actually done, and partly by the statements of renowned public writers. For example, when Dr. Oppenheimer in December, 1914, demanded "A United States of Europe with Germany as leading State and the German Emperor at the head," the Emperor and Bundesrat can hardly be held responsible. But Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg spoke officially when he came before the Reichstag with the words: "The more must we endure until we have conquered and have secured every possible real guarantee and assurance that no enemy alone or combined will dare again a trial of arms." The year after the war began, Liebknecht, the Socialist leader, said, "The German government is the reckless champion of expansion in world politics, the most ardent worker in the competition of armaments, and accordingly one of the most powerful influences in developing the causes of the present war." Bernhardt summed up the whole thing in his book on the next war, of which the key words were: "World power or downfall."

The immediate purpose of the Germans was to enlarge the colonies. Privileges in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, more land in Africa, would not satisfy them; since all the other valuable territory in the whole expanse of the six continents and the islands of the ocean was earmarked by some government, since an experiment in 1902 showed that South America was made watertight by the Monroe

Doctrine. Hence no new territory could be had except by conquest. Hence a deliberate policy to engage in war, in full confidence that it would leave Germany with large increase of territory in Africa and in the islands. A German business man has published an account of conferences held shortly before the War in which he was offered a tract of land in Australia as an inducement to join with others in supporting war when the good time came.

Expansions in Europe were not clearly defined, but most Germans probably expected that a general war would bring to Germany Belgium or Holland, Northern France, several of the Balkan States (probably under the Austrian flag). In Asia they probably intended to keep up the figment of a Turkish Empire in which Germans would make decisions and reap the profits. It was a region into which German immigrants might go in large numbers. The Berlin to Bagdad Railroad they would have without anybody's permission, and it would bring German goods and German influence down to the Persian Gulf, no great distance from the frontiers of India. Egypt was a necessary part of the German expectations, because its possession would give control of the direct sea route to the Orient, and also open up a new doorway into Africa, of which they intended to take the whole central part.

The demand for world power was after all not so much a desire for territory as for recognition. How could there be peace while the greatest and most intellectual people on earth, sole proprietors of an exclusive brand of Kultur, were not able to dictate the general policy of the world? All Germans were superior to any other race, and some Germans were super-superior. Let a German speak for his countrymen; Maximilian Harden, who has lived to repent it, sent out a trumpet call to his countrymen four months after the beginning of the war. "Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war: We wanted it. Because we had to wish it and could wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved people

ples and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements and in proportion to them, is justified in asking and must obtain wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. . . .

"Now strikes the hour of German's rising power. . . . Now we know what the war

is for: Not for French, Polish, Ruthenian, Lettish territories; not for billions of money; not in order to dive headlong after the war into the pool of emotions and then allow the chilled body to rust in the twilight dust of the Deliverer of Races. No! To hoist the storm flag of the Empire on the narrow channel that opens and locks the road into the ocean."

GERMAN DESIGNS ON THE NEW WORLD

Since 1902 Germany Saw in the United States the Greatest Obstacle to Her Expansion in America

XII

GERMAN POLICY IN SOUTH AMERICA

AMERICA in Asia was America a world power. Europe in America also raised questions of world interest. The Spanish War changed, not the American policy expressed in the Monroe Doctrine, but the basis of the Doctrine, which remained vital. After the Spanish War and its Asiatic results, the United States could no longer claim that it had a right to exclude foreign influence from America because America exercised none in Europe. President Roosevelt adroitly shifted the basis from the doctrine of the two sphere to the doctrine of paramount interest; which he strengthened by the admission that the United States had a duty to prevent the Latin-American powers from such treatment or defiance of Europeans as would in other parts of the world justify force.

This American issue was squarely presented by the attempt of the German Emperor to secure a place of vantage on the north coast of South America. The recent literature on Germany's policy by German writers makes it clear that the Germans were turning their faces toward South America as a field of emigration and perhaps of formal colonies. As one out of many quotations take this from Tannenberg, the apostle of Pan-Germanism: "Germany takes under her protection the Republics of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the southern third of Bolivia, as

much as belongs to the basin of the Rio de la Plata and the southern part of Brazil, where Germans predominate. . . . (German South America) will procure for us in the temperate zone a territory for colonization where our emigrants will be able to settle as agriculturists. Chile and Argentina will keep their language and autonomy, but we should insist upon the teaching of German in the schools as a second language. Southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay are the countries for German culture. German should there be the national language."

Preliminary to a test of these predictions was a decision of the world question of the Isthmus Canal. Spaniards sketched it; poets dreamed of it; a French Company partly dug it; Great Britain shared in it; the world was to profit by its shortening of trade routes, the ends of the earth were to be linked together. The peculiarity of the plan was that any canal route must be within the territory of a weak Latin-American power, without capital or enterprise to construct it; and that the United States of America, as occupant of both Atlantic and Pacific coasts, had an interest in its control far beyond that of any other country.

Fortunately, Great Britain by its exclusive ownership and control of the Suez Canal put itself out of any claim to share in the ownership and control of a second artificial artery of commerce. Hence, under the skillful diplomacy of John Hay, aided by the robust vigor of President Roosevelt, the British in



In the Culebra Cut

A vessel going through the Panama Canal. Near this point landslides at one time made it seem impossible to keep the canal open; now that the slides have been checked, commerce passes through the canal without interruption.

1902 gave up their preferred status, set forth in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; and the next year the United States by treaty with the new Republic of Panama became practically the sovereign of the Canal strip, and soon after began construction. It was great statesmanship to take this international highway out of international politics, to bow England out of the narrow Isthmus, and to affirm the special rights of the United States in an American Canal.

GERMANY IN SOUTH AMERICA

Before these preliminaries were finished, the United States was confronted by the only serious menace to the Monroe Doctrine since the French were forced out of Mexico. Bismarck once called the Monroe Doctrine an "American impertinence." In 1902 Venezuela, whose history was a series of political earthquakes, managed to arouse the Germans, the English, and the Italians through seizures of property by non-payment of debts and injuries to the persons of the citizens of those three countries. The Germans welcomed the difficulty, because it seemed to give them an opportunity to test the right of a European power to call a Latin-American State to account by armed force.

The German Chancellor, Von Bülow, was very careful to announce that "under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory." Nevertheless, Secretary Hay, and President Roosevelt, as shown by later written statements over his own hand, believed that the German government intended to take up a fixed station on American territory, near the line of approach to the forthcoming canal. Notice was given that the Germans would send out a fleet. The President, in personal conference with von Holleben, the German Ambassador, insisted that there should be no seizure of territory, that there should not even be a landing, and that if the Germans persisted, he would send down a superior fleet under Admiral Dewey. The ambassador thought it all a bluff, till a second time the President took up the matter, and positively informed him that unless the German government should agree to arbitrate the dispute with Venezuela he would dispatch his fleet and earlier than proposed.

This was the first distinct trial of strength between the United States and Germany, and Germany gave way. Very likely there were no fixed orders, no absolute program from the German Foreign Office. As in the later difficulties in North Africa, the Germans announced their decision, then plunged in, went as far as was prudent, and drew back when a wall appeared square across their road. The significance of the episode of 1902 is that the United States opposed and defeated the establishment of a new center of European interest in America.

THE UNITED STATES AS AN UMPIRE IN EUROPE

In the course of the fifty years before the World War, the United States had several times been called upon to act as arbitrator in disputes of European powers with other American powers or with each other. An example is the decision made under the auspices of President Grant, of a dispute between Great Britain and Portugal over the island of Bulama on the African coast. In 1906 the United States was again called in to give counsel, and through diplomatic pressure of which no official record was made at the time, became the arbiter between Germany and the Entente.

The cause and result of the conference of Algeciras will be made clear later as a part of the chain of events which brought about the division of Europe into two hostile camps. To Americans it has an even greater interest, because, according to personal statements made to the writer by a person immediately concerned, the action of the government at Washington determined the result of that conference. That the United States should be represented at all was unusual and almost unaccountable. The formal relation of the United States to the dispute and the conference was artificial. It went back to a clause of the treaty of Madrid of 1860 (to which the United States was not a party) setting forth that other powers besides the signatories should be entitled to the status of "most favored nation." Hence the United States was a most favored nation. Interference with the trade of Morocco therefore involved the United States. Logic required

that the United States must be represented at the European Conference to adjust the matter.

That was the camouflage. The real reason for the presence of Henry White at Algeciras, with credentials from the United States, was that the Emperor of Germany personally asked for such a representative. President Roosevelt was hesitant but, according to an authority that cannot be gainsaid, the Emperor promised that if a representative were sent and the conference should be deadlocked he would accept the solution offered by the United States. The time came when the American representative cabled to his principals that if they desired to exert any influence on the conference it must be done at once. The final solution, which was a setback to Germany, was practically the work of President Roosevelt, acting as an unofficial and unseen arbitrator. As in the previous Hague Conference of 1899, the United States reserved itself from responsibility to carry out the agreement of Algeciras; but under pressure from President Roosevelt it was ratified by the Senate. Thus, just as in the negotiations on the settlement of the claims against China four years earlier, the United States government had great influence in settling questions outside its own borders and obligations. Roosevelt acted as head of a world power, interested in the world's affairs. He ignored isolation, because isolation, in the old manner, had ceased to be possible.

GERMAN DESIGNS ON THE UNITED STATES

Notwithstanding the confidence which the German Emperor for a time felt in the United States, there are proofs of a rising feeling of hostility to the Great Republic. Colonel Roosevelt remarked in the private circle of his classmates, after his return from Africa and Europe in 1911: "The only country in which I have visited in which I felt that every man, woman, and child was an enemy, was Germany. Nothing personal; they treated me very handsomely. But the Germans felt that we are on the wrong road, that no nation has a right to be so big and wealthy and strong through the methods of a republican government."

This jealousy of the United States fully ex-

plained itself in other more direct ways. A German law of 1913, on citizenship and naturalization, provided that Germans who were naturalized in other countries could at the same time, by filling a statement with a German consul, retain citizenship in one of the



Drawn by Cesare in the New York Sun

Civilization Looks in the Mirror

The horrors perpetrated on land and sea caused many friends of humanity to despair. The Germans excused their reign of terror in Belgium on the ground that in war the end justifies the means. The Christian conscience of the Allied nations regarded their acts as a reversal to barbarism.

German States. Notwithstanding a reservation of rights under existing treaties, the statute seemed to justify a false declaration of withdrawal of all allegiance to Germany. As far back as 1898 occurred the brush between the German admiral Diedrichs and Admiral Dewey over the playful way in which the Germans interfered with the American fleet lying off the besieged city of Manila. Most Americans in Germany during the Spanish War reported that they found a lively sympathy with the Spaniards and personal exasperation toward the Americans.

It was generally understood that the Great General Staff had on its files elaborate plans for military campaigns against the United States, as doubtless they had against every

other considerable country. These ideas were strikingly set forth in a book by the German military officer and writer, Von Edelshein, published in 1901:

"Operations against the United States of North America must be entirely different. With that country, in particular, political friction, manifest in commercial aims, has not been lacking in recent years, and has until now been removed chiefly through acquiescence on our part. However, as this submission has its limit, the question arises as to what means we can develop to carry out our purpose with force in order to combat the encroachments of the United States upon our interests. Our main factor is our fleet. . . . It is evident, then, that a naval war against the United States cannot be carried on with success without at the same time inaugurating action on land. . . . It is almost a certainty, however, that a victorious assault on the Atlantic coast, tying up the importing and exporting business of the whole country, would bring about such an annoying situation that the government would be willing to treat for peace.

"If the German invading force were equipped and ready for transporting the moment the battle fleet is dispatched, under average conditions, these corps can begin operations on American soil within at least four weeks. . . . The United States at this time [1901] is not in a position to oppose our troops with an army of equal rank. . . .

"The fact that one or two of her provinces are occupied by the invaders would not alone move the Americans to sue for peace. To accomplish this end the invaders would have to inflict real material damage by injuring the whole country through the successful seizure of many of the Atlantic seaports in which the threads of the entire wealth of the Nation meet. It should be so managed that a line of land operations would be in close juncture with the fleet, through which we would be in a position to seize in a short time many of these important and rich cities, to interrupt their means of supply, disorganize all governmental affairs, assume control of all useful buildings, confiscate all war and transport supplies, and lastly, to impose heavy indemnities. . . .

"As a matter of fact, Germany is the only

great power which is in a position to conquer the United States."

These ideas of an approaching war of conquest over the United States, must have been current in rather a concrete form, inasmuch as about the same time a German military attaché, Count von Goetzen, said to an American military officer:

"About 15 years from now my country will start her great war. She will be in Paris in about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step in her real object—the crushing of England. Everything will move like clockwork. We will be prepared and others will not be prepared. I speak of this because of the connection which it will have with your own country.

"Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York and probably Washington and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place with reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a billion or more dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have put you in your place, and we will take charge of South America, as far as we want to. I have no hostility toward your country. I like it, but we have to go our own way. Don't forget this, and about 15 years from now remember it, and it will interest you."

Why not threaten the United States? It was the policy of Germany to remind all its land neighbors of the military power of the Empire; and the new Navy was not wholly intended to invade England. Of all countries in the world the United States would be the easiest prey to a nation with millions of trained officers and men, with the most modern outfit of arms, with a great store of equipment, and with a military organization which attempted to foresee everything, prepare everything, combine everything, and whose strategy was the tiger's leap on a helpless and unarmed prey.

PART IV—THE APPROACH

THE PLAGUE SPOT OF EUROPE

Turkish Misrule in the Balkans Had Left There a Standing Menace to the Peace of Europe

XIII

THE NEAR EAST AND THE BALKANS

THE first part of this book deals with the ultimate causes of the World War, which were slowly accumulating from the dawn of time. There was war for the same reason that there had been previous wars, because mankind had been divided into races, groups, nations, and factions which cared more for territory or rule or freedom or what not, than they cared for their lives. The European war came out of European conditions, out of the habits of thought of millions of men, out of fierce hatreds and strong defence of kings. The same causes would have brought about a war on the continent of Mars, if the beings of that planet are advanced enough to cut each other's throats.

The second part of the work analyzes the state of the world in the twenty-five years preceding 1914, and brings into view the effect of the improvements in transportation and in the methods of warfare which put Asia and Africa at the mercy of Europe and would have done the same with South America if North America had permitted. It remains to look more closely into the reasons why the war burst out in southeastern Europe and then spread over the globe, and particularly how the United States was finally caught in the cogs of this terrific engine of destruction.

The geologists tell us that earthquakes occur where the structure of the crust of the earth is weakest. Pressure accumulates perhaps for thousands of years and finally something gives way. The reason for the firing of the first shot in a four years' war on the borders of the kingdom of Serbia was simply that the pressure of opposing forces of human organization was stronger there than anywhere else. The Balkans is an example to the world of the immense difficulty of carry-

ing on states containing large numbers of people who in race and in sympathies should be grouped with some other power. The main cause for the Second Balkan War in 1913 was that there were too many Bulgarians on Greek and Serbian territory and too many Greeks and Serbians on Bulgarian territory. No geographical boundary line could be made to fit with those race groups. In the former Turkish Macedonian town of Uskub, which was conquered and held by the Serbians and restored to its old name of Skoplje, the majority of the population was Bulgarian but it included Serbians, Greeks, Turks, Albanians, and Vlachs.

THE TURK IN EUROPE

The Balkans were significant because it was abnormal that Asiatics should divide the dominion of Europe and crush Christian peoples. At various points in the preceding narrative, note has been taken of the presence in Europe of an Asiatic empire as a strong influence on world affairs. The term "Turkey in Europe" which appears in all the modern atlases, is a disgrace to Christian civilization. It calls attention to the humiliating fact that for half a millennium the Christian powers of Europe, their chivalry, their kinship of religions, their land armies, their sea power, have not availed to protect the Continent from wide conquests and long occupation by a Central Asiatic Moslem race imperfectly civilized. It is a terrible reproach on modern Christendom that after once capturing the holy places of the Christian church, they were driven out of Asia; that Byzantium, visible survivor of the Roman Empire, outpost of Christendom, should have vainly asked for Western support. The crossing of the Bosphorus by the Turks in 1300 was an insult to Alexander the Great, a blow in the face to the Roman Empire.

The capture of Constantinople in 1453 meant the sacking of a hundred cities, the plunder of a thousand churches, the virtual enslavement of twenty million Christians, the destruction of scores of armies. The Turk out-generaled and out-stayed the Christian in all the Balkan region, and north of the

though as late as 1866 there was a Turkish garrison in Belgrade.

In their home continent of Asia, the Turks overran and mastered other Christian groups—the Armenians in the north, Greeks in the south, some Syrian Christians in the east. They still held Palestine and carried on a robber government over a miserable population in Mesopotamia. They also had dominion over the holy places of the Moslem faith, Mecca and Medina, which made them masters of Arabia; and after the Napoleonic Wars were left the nominal suzerain of the belt of five north African Moslem states. The capital, Constantinople, was on the European shore of the Bosphorus, and it is doubtful, whether as much as half the population has been Turkish at any time. Nevertheless it was not only the center of the Turkish Empire but the religious capital of the Moslem world.

Its foreign office, commonly called the Sublime Porte, was the directing point of a shrewd, selfish, and cruel diplomacy. The Turks, long after they had lost their military vigor, remained masters of the art of playing off one European power against another. The head of the state was a Sultan, inheriting his sovereignty by principles which the Western mind does not understand, interrupted by assassinations or forced retirements. The government, both in Asia and in Europe, was based on the Oriental principle of charging what the traffic would bear in taxes. The Turks in general had no genius for affairs and permitted the Jews, Greeks, and Armenians to carry on business, checking them from time to time by robbery and murder. They misgoverned members of their own race impartially with the Christians, and this weak and decaying government down to 1878 still held its grip on most of the Balkans, and controlled the world waterway between the Black Sea and the Ægean.

THE BALKANS

The word Balkans to many minds suggests a mountain region something like Colorado. Actually, though there are some peaks and snow fields, and a wilderness of mountains along the Adriatic, the Balkan *massif* is a land of grain and beef and pork. It extends



From Punch, Sept. 9, 1914

German Kaiser, "Let Us Prey"

A cartoon prompted by the German invasion of neutral Belgium.

Danube, till Hungary and Croatia became Turkish provinces.

The Turks seldom exterminated the Christian population, because that meant to destroy a source of taxes, and a supply of Christian boys for the famous janissary guards. They were made serfs, were harried and oppressed, but most of them refused to accept the Koran, and their descendants lived on year after year in subjection and distress. We have already seen that the Turks were finally headed outside Vienna in 1683; and from that time they slowly gave ground. By 1800 they had lost the provinces north of the Danube. The dwellers in the forests of what had once been the kingdom of Serbia were allowed to settle some of their own affairs,



From Punch, Sept. 23, 1914

Nothing Doing

Imperial Dachshund—"Here I have been sitting up and doin' tricks for the best part of seven weeks, and you take no more notice of me than if——"
Uncle Sam—"Cut it out!"

(A British cartoon aimed at America's indifference to Germany's violation of international law in the first weeks of the war.)

about four hundred miles from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and three hundred from the Danube to the Ægean. The Balkans is the great land bridge from Asia Minor to southern Europe, the home of Philip of Macedon, the birthland of the Emperor Constantine, part of the Greek Empire, organized in native czardoms, till the Turks crushed out the native dynasties, and degraded the people.

These vicissitudes have left the Balkans subdivided into a group of provinces, which, as they struggled out from under the crushing weight of the Turk's mailed foot, became separate countries. The old principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were merged into a kingdom of Rumania in 1878. The country of the Serbs developed into a rural kingdom. Next it, the little mountain fortress of Montenegro also set up a royal government. Bulgaria was till 1878 a misgoverned Turkish province. Greece had been independent for fifty years under two different imported royal houses. The other recognized subdivision of the Balkans to the west was Albania, the only part of the whole area still inhabited by the primeval and unmixed race which occupied that raw and barren country when the Roman Empire was young. Farther westward were the Slavic provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia, large parts of which were not rescued from the Turk till 1878.

This region had, in 1914, about 220,000 square miles and a population of 26,000,000, which is about the area of the belt of States from New York and Pennsylvania to Illinois with six millions less population and as many languages as races. The Bulgarians, Serbians, Croatsians, are variants of one Slavic root. The Albanians and Greeks use their ancient tongues. Jewish dialect is spoken by small elements in the cities. Turkish was the official language under the old dispensation. As for churches, Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece have each their own national church of the Greek Communion. The Albanians are partly Greek Catholics, partly Roman Catholics, and partly Moslem, as are some of the Bosnians; the Croats are Roman Catholics.

Very little attention was paid to the Balkans by Europe at large till the slow retirement of Turkey opened up the possibility of reaching

down through the peninsula to the port of Salonika, and even to Constantinople. The Balkans was one of the least visited parts of the world. There were no roads, few cities, next to no business, and the people wore the costumes of the middle ages and had the wants of the seventeenth century. A few names of men and places had caught the attention of readers, such as Ali Pasha and his defence of Janina in Epirus, the harrowing sieges of Rustchuk, the bombardments of Belgrade. A few travelers had seen the Roman bridge and the Byzantine churches of Salonika. Adrianople, named for a Roman emperor, was now celebrated for its mosques. Europe was hardly aware that there were millions of suffering Christians in that country, and that every day there were tragedies of ruin and murder. Some Bulgarians who found their way to Robert College at Constantinople, learned the English language and Western ideas from American professors. The Greeks were a commercial people, and held the classic ruins which attracted travelers and archeologists. Otherwise the region was a sealed land.

THE SETTLEMENT AT BERLIN (1878)

With all the malignant and incurable faults of the Turkish rule, it did go far to keep peace among these race and religious elements. The Turks tolerated no tyrants but their own. During the last forty years, however, as it became clear that Turkish rule was going off like the earth's shadow from the moon at the end of an eclipse, several of the Christian elements in Macedonia, notably the Greeks and the Bulgarians, set out to exterminate each other, so that when the Turk was gone, the party in possession of a village or a district might lay claim to it as part of a nation. The Balkans were therefore a disturbed and unhappy part of the world.

Some little attention was paid to the woes of the Christian populations in 1839, when the Sultan for the time being issued the *Tanzimat*, a paper constitution for the Empire. Then came, in 1876, the opening of a window in the Balkans through the dispatch by the Turkish government of a dragonade, a body of the irregular troops called Bashibazouks,

who were settled down on the Bulgarians to harry and torture. At first no one would believe the bold journalists who told the truth, but Gladstone was at last convinced and for the first time since the end of the Crimean War Great Britain showed a sense of responsibility for the Christians. The result was that when Russia took up the cudgels as the defender of oppressed kinsmen and co-religionists, Great Britain stood off and allowed the Russians to join the Rumanians in invading Bulgaria. The conquerors were too successful; they reached San Stefano within sight of the minarets of Constantinople, and thus secured a treaty which would have opened the desired water route and would have practically taken Turkey out of Europe. This was too much for the Powers, who by threat of war compelled Russia to draw back her troops and consent to a settlement of the whole matter in a general congress held at Berlin in 1878, under the presidency and influence of Bismarck.

A similar congress held after the Crimean War in 1856 had asserted the interests of Europe in the future of Turkey. This was a wider Concert of Powers, which took upon itself a permanent settlement of the situation such as would not too much disturb or grieve Turkey. Rumania was enlarged, Bulgaria given an independent status, Montenegro was acknowledged as a separate kingdom, Greece was extended northward; but Macedonia, Albania, and Thrace, and the narrow cor-

ridor of territory called Novibazar were preserved to Turkey. In addition, the adjacent provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, south of the river Save, were assigned to Austria to be looked after for the peace of Europe. Turkey also lost a section of Armenia, which was transferred to Russia. For the services of Great Britain in protecting Turkey from additional sacrifices, the island of Cyprus was transferred, thus giving an additional naval station on the line of the British central water-route to India.

The Treaty of Berlin was a half-way measure which either went too far in creating weak States which could not protect themselves, or else not far enough in pushing Turkey out of the occupied provinces. It set up rival and jealous governments, and left an undivided territory for them to quarrel about. Furthermore, Novibazar appeared to be intended to cover a line of communication from the Danube Valley down to Salonika. It thus introduced Austrian influence and ambition into the heart of the Balkans, and that was the intention of Bismarck. He claimed no territory for Germany; he avoided humiliation to Russia. Twelve years after the deposition of Austria through the victory of Koeniggratz, the German foreign office was taking control of the Austrian southeastern policy. This is the beginning of the dominant German influence in Austria-Hungary which in the end drove the Dual Empire to ruin and dissolution.

THE CONFLICT OF THE ALLIANCES

The Moroccan Crisis of 1905 Was the First Evidence of the New Alignment of Nations

XIV

CROSS-PURPOSES AND COUNTER-ALLIANCES

WAR in the Balkans was a European danger and could have been quietly settled by Europe, if there had been a single Europe, but in 1913 the continent was divided into two opposing groups, each trying to strengthen itself, and each suspecting the other. Though nothing was so expressed in

the scanty documents which are at the base of these combinations, the question on which they divided was the relation of Germany to Europe and to the rest of the world. Inasmuch as the German combination, commonly called the Triple Alliance, was finally overwhelmed by the counter-forces of the Triple Entente, it is necessary to understand how these rival camps came into existence, if we are to judge their effect upon the outcome of the world's struggle.

This duplex organization of Europe is due to Bismarck, or rather to the conditions which the success of Bismarck's policy and the unification of Germany left in Europe. Germany, partly by defeating France, but still more by the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine, left in the French mind a feeling of profound hatred. French school-books showed Alsace-Lorraine in a different color from the rest of the German Empire; just as German school-books of the time took liberties with boundaries. Great Britain had been neutral in the three Prussian wars, and from 1870 to 1900 followed chiefly the policy of "splendid isolation." There were boundary quarrels with Russia in central Asia, and with France in central Africa. It took years to straighten out the tangles of diplomacy with the United States, arising out of the so-called Alabama claims. Certainly England was in no frame of mind for special friendship with Germany. Hence, if insurers were to be found for German interests it must be in eastern Europe.

FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE

At the basis of all these international combinations was the thought of war. They called for more men, more ships, better preparation, previous military understandings, common work by general staffs of several countries. An offensive or a defensive alliance always looks forward to war alliance. The burdens of military preparation in Europe were therefore increased, though they seem light from modern standards. In 1910, for instance, the peace footing of the regular armies and navies of the Triple Alliance was 1,300,000 men, of the Triple Entente 2,200,000 men; and this was less than one per cent of the population of either group. Russia felt to its depths the cost of military preparation, and in 1899 proposed a conference at The Hague to consider reducing armaments, securing a system of arbitration, and humanizing the laws of war.

Delegates were invited from the European powers, the four active Asiatic powers of China, Japan, Siam, and Persia, and from the United States. The bottom principle of the Hague Conference was that a community of nations already existed; that all nations were linked together by trade and the move-

ment of persons, and that the powerful nations owed it to the rest of the world to forbear the advantage of their military might, and to accept against themselves the kind of pressure for settling disputes which they had been applying to smaller nations. The friends of peace insisted that the time had come to put an end to a state of mind which was driving the human race into war.

The conference found it comparatively easy to draw up conventions on the conduct of



Amsterdamer

Carnegie: "I almost wish I had my money back."

The Pittsburg ironmaster was an ardent advocate of Peace, and gave \$2,500,000 to build a Temple of Peace at The Hague. "Perpetual peace," said von Moltke, "is a dream, and it is not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the world ordained by God."

land warfare, and the humane treatment of the wounded and the non-combatant. The military representatives accepted some ameliorations, some protections of non-combatants, some provisions for the proper treatment of prisoners; and it adopted strict articles for the protection of people in conquered and occupied districts. They prohibited bombing from balloons for five years. They standardized the Geneva Convention for the protection of the wounded, but nothing could be obtained for cutting down the standing armies or navies. On the other hand, the Conference set up an Arbitration Tribunal

which was in effect to be a court always available, to which nations might bring their disputes for a decision, if they were so minded and not otherwise.

The arbitration feature of the Hague Conventions was used for some minor difficulties, particularly for adjusting the trouble between Venezuela and Germany and other states in 1902; but it had no effect upon the breaking out of two wars. The Boers and Great Britain in 1900 preferred to settle their quarrels with firearms, rather than with cases and arguments before a court. Japan and Russia went to war in 1904 without the slightest reference to the opportunity to invoke an impartial tribunal.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1879-1814)

The imperial house of Russia was German in extraction, and many of the nobles and the official class were German in derivation, culture, and sympathy. German-Austria was in many respects more German than Germany. It was not difficult in 1872 to bring about an understanding between Alexander II, Czar of Russia, Franz Josef of Austria-Hungary, and William I, German Emperor. This Three-Kaiser-Alliance was cooled by the Congress of Berlin, which took from Russia the fruits of the victory in the Balkans; and for it Bismarck substituted a close alliance with Austria in 1879, which in 1882 was transformed into the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. By various renewals and alterations it continued in effect till the declaration of war in 1914.

What was the purport of the agreements? The full text has never been printed, but the significant parts of it are known. They bound the three great powers to defend the territories and the policies each of the others. Italy secured "equilibrium in the Mediterranean" and an understanding that the condition of things in the Balkans should not be disturbed. Italy, which was by far the weakest as a military unit, was probably included to keep it from making other combinations. It was flattering to the Italian pride to be cultivated by two powerful neighbors, although the pledge to keep up a large army was a heavy burden on the country.

This union made up a convenient geo-

graphical group. Through the St. Gotthard Tunnel, a direct rail-route was provided from Italy into central Germany; and later a similar line bound Trieste with Salzburg and the middle Danube. The combination therefore had a network of railroads connecting with ports on the Baltic and North Seas, the Mediterranean and Adriatic. Its military strength was considerable. In 1890 the active armies of the three powers totaled a million men; in 1914 they had risen to a million and a half.

Why was Russia left out in the cold? The two European sovereigns, uncle and nephew, were not harmonious. But the real reason was the instinctive feeling of the Russians that Germany and Austria stood in the way of their control of Constantinople.

PLACE IN THE SUN

June 18, 1901, the German Emperor in reply to a speech of the Burgomaster of Hamburg, conveying congratulations on the success of the recent expedition to China, expressed the German policy in these memorable words: "In spite of the fact that we have no such fleet as we should have, we have conquered for ourselves a place in the sun. It will now be my task to see to it that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession, in order that the sun's rays may fall promptly upon our activity and trade in foreign parts, that our industry and agriculture may develop within the state and our sailing sports upon the water, for our future lies upon the water." The Empire could not stop with a place in the sun; it must enlarge that place; and in 1901 the most attractive area for enlargement was North Africa.

For in 1906, when the African situation grew threatening, Germany had long been firmly established as an African power, with as good title as the neighbors. Several Germans were among the early explorers of the interior. At the very outset of the German colonization plans in 1882 a Bremen merchant asked for German protection; and in 1884 it was officially announced that the German Emperor had taken "the territory belonging to Mr. A. Lüderitz on the west coast of Africa under the direct protection of His Majesty." This was the foundation

of German Southwest Africa. A few months earlier German "protectorates" were declared over Togoland and Kamerun farther north; and agents of the Society for German Colonization a little later took the preliminary steps toward establishing German influence on the east coast. Thus in the year 1884 were founded the first important ter-

to send a telegram of friendship to Oom Paul Krüger, head of the Boer States. Still the Germans held only about 910,000 square miles out of the 11,500,000 square miles of the whole continent. According to the accounts of the missionaries, and investigators, they were harsh masters toward the natives, who could understand but could not love the



A German Camel Corps in Southwest Africa

ritories of the German people lying outside the boundaries of Europe.

The next year (1885) the Berlin Conference, called especially to settle the Congo questions, also recognized the division of Africa into "spheres of influence" and by a series of later treaties between the nations concerned, the whole interior of Africa except the native states of Liberia and Abyssinia was definitely assigned to five European colonizers, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium. Germany not only came late but had to fight some of her newly created subjects.

In the Boer War of 1900-01, the German people showed warm sympathy with their cousins by blood, the Boers, the descendants of those Dutch people who had for centuries resisted Germanization. The Emperor went so far after the preliminary Jameson raid as

zjambok methods of their governors. Not one of the colonies attracted German colonists. In 1914 the total white population of the four German African colonies was 22,000, against 11 millions of native subjects.

GERMANY IN ASIA MINOR

The new Balkan powers quickly got out of hand. Bulgaria received a German sovereign, Alexander of Battenberg. Tradition has it that when the young man waited on Bismarck to ask whether the plan was approved by that potentate (who on this question was the German Empire), the great statesman said: "Become prince of Bulgaria? Young man, certainly; it will always be something to remember, to have been prince of Bulgaria." The imported head of the state lasted seven years, when the Russians virtu-

ally turned him out. Nevertheless, another German, Ferdinand of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, took his place. The Crown Prince of Greece married the sister of the young Emperor William II of Germany, and a German was upon the throne of Rumania. Europe failed to recognize that the Germans

self-confident to the nth power, he was, in his own mind, the proper foreign minister. Impossible for him to remain on a footing of mutual service with Bismarck, they parted company in 1890. Here was the turn of the tide; for nearly thirty years thereafter the Emperor was the guide, the suggestor, the



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The Kaiser Entering Jerusalem as a Peace Lord

In 1898 the Kaiser, posing as the prince of peace, entered the Holy City on a visit to the Turkish ruler. He traveled by way of Jericho, the same road over which Allenby led his army in the World War.

were spreading a net of dynasties for future need.

In spite of some war flurries between Germany and France, the Empire remained at peace. The policy of colonization begun in Africa was backed up by a great popular movement for a navy. Bismarck knew how to give way to the demand of the people, but could not change his convictions that the field of German policy was Europe. In 1888 after the brief reign of the dying Frederick, who succeeded the old Emperor William, William II of Hohenzollern, King of Prussia, and German Emperor, came to the royal-imperial throne. He was young, he was eager, he was

agent of a new German spirit, which saw no quarter of the globe where it had not an interest. "The ocean also bears witness," said he in 1909, "that even in the distance and on its farther side, without Germany and the German Emperor no great decision can be taken."

In Europe there was nothing loose; and as we shall see in discussing the Triple Alliance, it was Bismarck's policy to keep everything tight. No new territory in Europe could be gained without war with France, or Russia, or England, or Italy, or Austria, or some combination of these powers. The new ambition, the new spirit of colonization, the

new appeal to naval ambition required a new foreign policy. There again the world was, so to speak, battened down. Outside a few Pacific islands, there was no loose and unappropriated territory, except certain parts of Africa. Great Britain made no serious objection to the founding of a fourth German-African colony in German East Africa. The only area adjacent to Europe in which expansion seemed possible was Turkey and the so-called tributary states of North Africa.

THE KAISER IN CONSTANTINOPLE

In Turkey, then, William set out to win friendship through the only personages whom a German sovereign could look upon as representative. William twice visited Constantinople, giving and accepting tokens of extravagant friendship from Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, the finished Oriental despot, who managed his people by force and pillage, massacring Christian subjects, murdering those of his own household, living in terror; yet recognized by Europe as having a legal right to dispose of his subjects and their property as though they were slaves. The German idea was to get a foothold in Asia Minor, first through concessions for a railway, which in a few years became the western stem of the line projected through Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, then by mining concessions; then by the grant of lands with possibilities of irrigation, on which some Germans were actually settled. The Emperor visited Damascus in 1898, and there made a speech in which he announced himself the friend of the Moslems. Special German steamship lines were put on from Europe to Constantinople.

The result was that the unofficial power to bring the Turkish government to a decision, which had long been exercised by the French and especially the British embassies, was transferred to Germany. It was no accident that the largest and most conspicuous building in Pera, the European quarter of Constantinople, was the new German Embassy. Till the war broke out in 1914, the Germans were recognized as hand-in-glove with the Turks.

PREPARATION OF THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

It must be said for Bismarck's policy that the Triple Alliance did keep peace in Europe

till the Turkish break-up of 1908, when forces were unloosed too powerful for control by any alliance. On the other hand, an alliance of three powers who could not charm any of their neighbors into their union was absolutely certain to bring about some kind of counter-alliance. The elements of such a combination were evident when Russia, the most absolute government in Europe, began to show a kindly feeling for France, which by this time was fixed as a democratic republic.

In 1891 the two governments entered into what they themselves called "the Entente Cordiale," for common action "upon all questions of such nature as to put the general peace in jeopardy." This was followed by a military convention for a program of joint hostilities "if France is attacked by Germany." These nuptials were celebrated by a visit of a Russian fleet to French waters. Officers and men were received with demonstrations of furious joy, for France no longer stood naked and alone. She had an ally.

By this time Bismarck was out of power, and the attention of Germany was turned outside of Europe. If Italy would stand by, the Triple Alliance was considerably stronger than its rival. Now came a great change through the gradual approach of England first to sympathy, then to aid, and at last to formal participation in what thus became a Triple Entente. In this change of front, this alliance with that Russian "bear that looked like a man"—against whom Kipling warned his countrymen as late as 1898, personal influence played a striking part. When Edward VII came to the throne of England in 1901, he began to use his agreeable presence and his knowledge of European politics toward an understanding with French statesmen, which advanced from stage to stage. In 1904 England and France came to a settlement of controversies in central Africa and other parts of the world, and these agreements were formally noted by the British Foreign Office as an evidence of "an international friendship which we have been at much pains to cultivate, and which, we rejoice to think, has completely overshadowed the antipathies and suspicions of the past."



The Glory That Was Ypres

FIRST MOROCCO CRISIS (1904-1906)

Since central and southern Africa were now divided into water-tight compartments, the only opportunity to open up a new field of colonization was on the north coast. Tripoli was of little value and very shallow.

1905, made a public address at Tangier, in which he said: "Germany has great commercial interests here. I shall advance and protect our commerce, which shows a satisfying increase, and for that reason shall insist upon equal rights with all powers, which is only possible through the sovereignty of



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A Session of the Algeiras Conference at the Time of the Morocco Crisis

The Algeiras Conference, at which the United States was represented, was called to settle the differences that had arisen between France and Germany out of their competitive policies in northern Africa. The American representative was Henry White.

Morocco was more central, commanded the Straits of Gibraltar, and offered a connection with the interior. In 1904, as a result of the "Entente Cordiale" between England and France, a treaty was made by which France recognized the British mastery of Egypt and Great Britain accepted the control of Morocco by France,—France, which already held two of the north African States with the best approach to the interior.

The Germans resented the advantage to France, which since the war of 1871 had gained millions of square miles of territory in Asia and Africa, while Germany must accept the second best. In his usual offhand fashion the German Emperor, in March,

the Sultan and the independence of the country. For Germany both of these must be unquestioned, and I am, therefore, ready to intervene for them at all times."

The effect was to arouse Europe and to reveal the fact that France and Great Britain stood side by side. The French minister of foreign affairs, Delcassé, was unfriendly to Germany, and by threats of hostilities the Germans forced the French government to dismiss him, a pressure almost unknown in modern European diplomacy.

The Emperor followed up his first attack with a demand for a European conference to settle the whole matter. Nothing could be plainer than that here was an opportunity



From Punch, Apr. 5, 1905

On Tour, Tangier, March 31, 1905

Kaiser Wilhelm (as the Moor of Potsdam) sings:—

“Unter den Linden—Always at home
Under the Lime-Light wherever I roam.”

The Emperor in 1905 visited Tangier (Morocco), where he conferred with the Sultan, promising him his political support to offset French prestige, and in a public speech he declared that Germany would insist on equal rights with all the powers in that part of the world.

for another "place in the sun." Germany thought itself as good a candidate for power in north Africa as any other nation. In the conference at Algeciras (1906) it became evident that Germany must yield or go to war with France and Great Britain, Russia probably coming in on the rear as the ally of France. The Germans, therefore, accepted a settlement by which the French disclaimed annexation and assigned a field of authority

in Morocco to Spain, but was left in control of the country.

A distinct check had been administered to the Germans; and their claim that the Sultan still exercised valid authority over north Africa was flatly denied by Western Europe. The glory of Islam had departed, and everyone knew it could never be recovered except by the aid of an outside force. Europe breathed freer.

ANGLO-GERMAN TENSION

Germany's Plans to Outbuild British Navy Caused Increasing Bitterness after 1900

XV

RIVALRY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

WHY were the Germans blocked? Because they had not the sea power to make head in a great war against the combination of the two maritime neighbors. In 1906 the German naval force consisted of 73 large warships against 126 similar ships in the British Navy and 84 in the French Navy. The Germans, therefore, entered upon a new program of naval construction, and that brought about a tension with England which never relaxed till the breaking point came. International hatred between two nations that want the same territory or are striving to destroy each other is easy to understand. Here was a spectacle, however, of two nations, derived from the same Teutonic ancestors having similar culture, their royal houses close in relationship, continually exchanging visitors, carrying on an enormous trade with each other profitable to all parties, who could not keep up the friendship which many of the people on both sides especially desired.

A mutual distrust felt for decades now came to a flame of dislike. The Germans for many years liked to belittle the English. Old Professor Droysen at Berlin made sneering remarks in his classes about "the only people in Europe who know how to use a fork." Treitschke hated England as

he hated a fiend. "Again," said he, "there is one country which believes itself in a position to attack when it will, and which is



The Snake Charmer Ullrich (Berlin)

The Englishman: "I'm afraid this old charm won't work."

India is Britain's largest and richest colonial possession, but for many years has been a center of unrest. Germany expected India to revolt.

therefore a home of barbarism in all matters of international law." Bismarck hated Victoria, Crown Princess and for a short time

Empress of Germany, and habitually called her "that woman." Count Reventlow, about the beginning of the war, published a book on *Great Britain and Europe*, winding up with: "But what is necessary is that the entire German nation should understand where the enemy is and what he wants; it is essential that the German nation should know that

Germany wanted to secure. The unpardonable offences of Great Britain were success and the possession of a sea power which made it impossible to break up their trade.

England had its share of social problems and defects. Criticism was not wanting of the English government and policy by English writers. It was a fair question how Eng-



The Peace Palace at the Hague

It was erected in 1903 at a cost of \$2,500,000, given by Andrew Carnegie.

this is not an accidental war, but a war carried on with the object of annihilating an economic rival. If England's economic rival is powerless on land and sea, he can be throttled with a war. That was not possible in the case of Germany! British statesmen had always two programs in readiness, and clearly defined: peace, if Germany gave way and allowed herself to be humiliated; war, if it should be otherwise."

One of Treitschke's favorite sneers at England was that it was "a nation of shopkeepers." The real trouble was that it was a nation of successful shopkeepers, whose good customers all over the world shopkeeping

land became master of the territories distributed over the globe. The Germans were not the only people who found John Bull overbearing in diplomacy. The real answer to the rising German hatred was that the British government satisfied the great part of the people in the United Kingdom; even the Irish were less unsettled in the decade before the war than for a long time previous. The English colonial rule was a cold and unsympathizing rule, but it was just. No tribute was taken from the colonies and dependencies to build up the home country. English capital expected its profits everywhere, but more money has gone into India from

England in the last century than from India to the mother country.

In matters of trade the English were keen but candid. For their own advantage they set up a system of admitting the products of other countries both to the United Kingdom and to the colonies. Despite the English deafness to the cries of the inclosed and abused Christian races in the Turkish Empire, the English public sympathized with oppressed races in the mass, though personally the Englishman feels no obligation of courtesy toward the dark-skinned man who serves him or buys from him. The British were determined not to open any lock that might secure their possessions against the Germans or anybody else. Otherwise they looked on the Germans as on other non-Englishmen, as a people somewhat unfortunate in being born outside the United Kingdom, yet good enough fellows, with whom one would like to be on cordial terms if they would be sensible.

SECOND HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE (1907)

The growth of the Triple Entente, founded on the assumed necessity to provide a combination which could at all times equal the military force of the Triple Alliance, and the pacific policy of Great Britain shown all over the world, combined to strengthen the demand for some sort of world organization against war. Hence, when in 1907, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, a second Peace Conference was called at The Hague, there seemed more likelihood of reaching a result. This time all the principal nations of the Western Hemisphere, as well as the Eastern, were represented. The Conference was willing to accept new limitations on the conduct of war, and new provisions for the protection of neutrals and non-combatants, but could not agree upon an obligatory arbitral court. All the acts of both Conventions were further subject to the provision that no convention was binding upon any power that withheld its ratification. Not a single one of the fourteen conventions and one declaration of 1907 was accepted by all the powers without reservations; and when the war of 1914 broke out some very important restrictions were ignored by Germany on the ground that they had never been ratified.

A second time the effort to build up a system of pacification broke down: all that was accomplished was to lay emphasis on the right and duty of third powers to offer their good offices for the settlement of disputes that were ripening into war; and to make the court at The Hague somewhat more definite. One serious international controversy, the Casablanca case of 1908, was sent to the revised Tribunal; but no use was made of it to stop the Italian-Turkish War, in 1911, or either of the Balkan Wars; nor to prevent or delay for a single hour the outbreak of war in 1914.

Another method for reducing the causes of war was that of arbitration treaties. If the principal powers of the world would agree, each with each, to invoke some kind of arbitration before they entered on war, the world would be covered by a network of such agreements, which would have much the same effect as a general arbitration treaty. The United States headed a movement for such treaties, and under the auspices of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft and then of Secretary Bryan about 50 such treaties were negotiated. None were secured with Germany. Some were not ratified because of divergences of opinion with the United States Senate. All were made for a short term of years, and that system also proved to be absolutely without force when the crisis came.

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE (1907-1911)

Contrary to the practice of the Triple Alliance, in which the three members were all bound to each other, there grew up a triple understanding by a close alliance between France and Russia, combined with a less definite agreement between France and Great Britain. The coming of Russia into the western combine was in part due to the skill and patience of the French, in part to the difficulty of finding a basis of adjustment for the rising rivalry between England and Germany, and in part to the English purpose of settling up its frontier controversies all over the world. This was the period when the Alaska boundary was adjusted by arbitration, when the British withdrew their joint influence in the Isthmus region of America, when long-standing troubles with Portugal

and even with Germany were settled in Africa.

A deliberate and successful attempt was made first of all to sweep away the causes of difference with the Russians. The first



Sultan Ahmed, Shah of Persia

proof to the world was an elaborate agreement between the two governments, in August, 1907, in which "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India" agreed with "His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias" and undertook "to settle by mutual agreement different questions concerning the interests of their States on the Continent of Asia." Persia was to be divided by a line drawn across that ancient kingdom from west to east, north of which Great Britain undertook not to seek concessions of a political or commercial na-

ture, and south of it Russia left a like free hand to Great Britain. Afghanistan was definitely recognized as "outside the sphere of Russian influence." The two powers kindly agreed not to rush Tibet. The next year the Czar took occasion in public to congratulate King Edward on "strengthening the many and strong ties which unite our houses . . . drawing our countries closer together and . . . promoting and maintaining the peace of the world."

This agreement with Russia contains no pledge of aid, even in defensive war; there was nothing like an expressed understanding to make war or to back up peace in Europe. A similar understanding with Japan, first negotiated in 1905 and renewed with some changes in 1911, did bind the two parties to defend each other in certain cases, Japan guaranteeing the "territorial rights in the regions of eastern Asia." This agreement, however, is in no way connected with the understandings with France and with Russia.

NAVAL CRISIS

The building of a Germany Navy seemed to the British mind unfriendly and in bad form: "It wasn't being done." An English ship designer, who visited a German port before the war, discovered instantly that the new vessels lying at anchor were intended to attack England, because they had not the coal capacity for long voyages. The Englishman's method of meeting the German was simply to increase the naval estimates, so that the British fleet should always stand above the strength of any two fleets that could conceivably be combined.

While efforts were making to bring about a "naval holiday," by which both powers would agree to reduce the work of their shipyards, the Morocco question came up in a second form. Germany and France had come to an understanding by which the Germans accepted the French political control of Morocco; but, nominally on a question of trade, Germany raised a new difficulty by dispatching the man-of-war *Panther* to the Atlantic port of Agadir. Again England and France closed up to resist the German pressure. The matter was settled by a series of treaties under which France was assigned a definite



Not in the Picture

From Punch, July 12, 1905

Scene—On shore, during the visit of the British fleet to Brest.
Mr. Punch (Photographer, suavely, to the Kaiser): "Just a leetle further back, please, sir. Your shadow still rather interferes with the group."

The allusion of this cartoon is to the sudden growth of the German Navy, which Great Britain resented as being directed at her supremacy on the sea.

protectorate in Morocco and turned over some mid-African territory to Germany. The close support given by Great Britain started various questions in Parliament, to one of which, November, 1911, Mr. Asquith replied: "There were no secret engagements with France other than those that have now been published, and there are no secret engagements

Great Britain should regularly build twice as many ships as Germany, in order to keep up the relative superiority.

On the parallel question of an agreement on "neutrality" the German government drew up a document by which the two powers were to agree that neither would join with any other powers for an attack "for the purpose



Agadir, and the Village of Founti

When the German gunboat *Panther* was sent there by the Kaiser in 1911 the diplomatic situation in Europe was greatly disturbed. The town of Agadir is closed in by walls, and has but one gate. The name means "A Place Surrounded by Walls." It was founded in 1500 by a Portuguese noble.

with any foreign government that entail upon us any obligation to render military or naval assistance to any other power."

The great cost of the naval armament and the feeling that the tension in Europe, which now began to make itself felt in the Balkans, was dangerous, led to an attempt to reach an agreement with Germany, of which the details have only recently been made public. Lord Haldane was sent to Germany (February, 1912) with the purpose of coming to an understanding about the naval program. He found it impossible to get over the main difficulty; the Germans would have accepted an agreement that neither power should overbuild the other, but would not consent that

of aggression"; and if either power became involved in war with a third party, the other treaty power would stand "neutral." This would have amounted to a kind of alliance between the two countries, which would have given either of them a free hand to make offensive war so long as the conflict did not directly affect the direct interests of the other, no matter what the ties of friendship or of the Entente.

COMPLETION OF THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

On the other hand, Great Britain was decided, whatever Germany might accept or refuse, to stand by the Triple Entente, which

was assuming a more definite form. It is a curious commentary on the possibilities of secret diplomacy that the final agreements by which the heads of the British government solemnly bound the nation were made absolutely without the knowledge of Parliament, and the majority of the Cabinet was also kept in the dark. The leading spirit was Sir Edward Grey, English Foreign Secretary, whose ability and whose patriotism and love of peace are not to be questioned. He was in direct communication with the military and naval authorities, whose action was defined by the agreement.

In July, 1912, France and Russia made a formal treaty on the navies, under which the Russians undertook to build a new fleet. The French represented that they found it hard to keep up a sufficient naval force for their long Atlantic coast and the Mediterranean stretch, with its indispensable ferry between France and Africa.

Hence an exchange of letters between the British and French governments in November, 1912, which officially goes no farther than an understanding that "if either government had grave reason to expect unprovoked attack by a third Power, or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common." The climax was reached when on August 2, 1914, just at the outbreak of the war, Great Britain gave a promise that it would protect the Atlantic coast of France with its Navy, which enabled the French to concentrate their naval power in the Mediterranean. In 1914 a naval treaty was rumored to be under way between Great Britain and Russia, though this was officially denied.

Notwithstanding this written agreement, Prime Minister Asquith stated in Parliament: "This country is not under any obligation not public and known to Parliament which compels it to take part in any war. In other words, if war arises between European powers there are no unpublished agreements which will restrict or hamper the freedom of the government or of Parliament to decide whether or not Great Britain should partici-

pate in a war. The use that would be made of the naval or military forces if the government and Parliament decided to take part in a war is, for obvious reasons, not a matter about which public statements can be made beforehand."

Therefore, without a definite "engagement to coöperate in war," the British drew a good part of their naval force in the Mediterranean back nearer home.

The geographical situation of the three powers made offensive war difficult and unlikely. Neither the Triple Alliance nor the Triple Entente prevented Italy from coming to understandings with both France and Great Britain with regard to action in the Mediterranean. England also made a side treaty with Japan. Nevertheless, the Triple Entente was intended to be a counter-action to the Triple Alliance, with the effect of putting a barrier in the way of the plans of foreign conquest which were beginning to animate the German mind.

LAST ATTEMPT AT SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY (1912-1914)

Nothing can be clearer than that, whatever their ambitions, Russia, France, and Great Britain were satisfied with the world in which they lived and looked upon the Triple Entente as only essential life insurance. France had no expectation of genuine friendship with Germany, but England strongly desired to get rid of the outstanding difficulties with that power. Down almost to the week when the war began, English diplomats were at work on treaties which would have satisfied most of the possible German complaints and grievances in Africa and Asia Minor. We owe our knowledge of this remarkable proof of the desire of Great Britain for harmony and peace to the revelations of Prince Lichnowsky, ambassador of Germany to Great Britain.

He declares that after the failure of Hal-dane's mission in 1912, the desire of Grey was "not to isolate us, but to make us in so far as possible partners in the association already established. . . . He wished as far as possible to get rid of causing a controversy between Great Britain and Germany, and by a network of treaties . . . to secure

the peace of the world." A treaty on African affairs was drawn up in 1913, but was not formally signed because Germany raised a technicality about publication. A second treaty was negotiated, covering in detail



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Lord Haldane

An English statesman who had been educated in Germany. He went to Berlin in 1912 on a mission to bring about an understanding with the Kaiser's government on the naval program.

the Bagdad Railway. Obstacles had long been thrown in the way of that project by France as well as by Great Britain, but these objections were now smoothed over. The finances were to be intrusted to the German Imperial Bank.

Furthermore, on the urgent request of Germany, the concession for the railroad was extended to Bosra, beyond which a short length was left out, so that it should not actually reach a port on the Persian Gulf. Lichnowsky says: "By virtue of this treaty all Mesopotamia became our sphere of interest. . . . Our sphere further included the whole region of the Bagdad and Anatolian railways. . . . Had these two treaties been executed and published an understanding with England would have been reached which would forever have dissipated all doubts as to the possibility of an Anglo-German co-operation." On the very day after the beginning of the crisis in the Balkans, that is on June 29, 1914, the outline of this treaty was stated by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons.

Great Britain desired and was willing to make large concessions to obtain a direct understanding on all the disagreements between the two countries. There was no quarrel about foreign trade, because both countries admitted ships and goods of all nations on favorable terms. There was no quarrel in Asia, where the Germans were trying to develop their nerveless colony of Kiao-Chau. There was no race issue, for Germans and English are closer together in that respect than Germans and their Slav and Latin neighbors. The personal distrust and dislike between the people of the two countries were no reasons for war. The real issue between England and Germany in 1914 was that England desired to keep things in the world as they were, and was willing to fight to defend the existing status; while Germany wanted to break up the system of states, and was willing to fight to destroy the peace and welfare of the earth, expecting to come out not only victor but the dictator of the world's affairs.

TEMPEST IN THE BALKANS

Serbian National Ideals Came in Bitter Conflict with German Ambitions After 1908

XVI

THE MAINSPRINGS OF THE WAR

GERMANY stopped at the Austrian frontier of Bohemia. Turkey stopped at the Bosnian frontier. Between them lay the breadth of Austria, and by 1888 a railway line was completed from Budapest to Belgrade, thence southeast to Sofia, capital of Bulgaria, and on to Constantinople, with a branch from Nish southward to Salonika. The status of Bosnia was uncertain. It had been given into the hands of the Austrians, who at once proceeded to occupy and govern it in the approved bureaucratic manner. Light railroads were built, which eventually linked the Danube with the Dalmatian coast. The rivalry between the halves of the Dual Empire was brought out by the building up of two Adriatic ports, Trieste, which was connected by direct rail lines with Vienna and the heart of Germany, and Fiume, which was reached by a roundabout road in territory belonging to the Hungarian part of the Empire. The Austrian government and the Hungarian government separately built up the commerce and the shipping, each of its own port. Europe understood that the Austrians would in the end completely take over Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which the governing elements were German or Germanized Slav, though the people at large were never reconciled to this forced mastery. They had like ambitions to those of the Serbians and Bulgarians.

In 1908 came the débâcle of the Turkish imperial government. A body of so-called Young Turks, educated in Europe and having some ideas of free government, made a successful combination with certain princes and regiments of the Albanians, who had been favored and promoted by the Emperor, but resented efforts of the Turks to get a stronger hold upon their country. An almost bloodless revolution compelled the Sultan to

swallow a parliament. A year later he tried to counter-revolutionize, was checked, deposed, and imprisoned for the rest of his ignoble life. The government then passed into the hands of a military group, of which the most striking figure was Enver Pasha, a young soldier, educated in Germany. During the next five years the only Turkish government was that self-appointed combination, backed up by the Army.

The revolution in Turkey reacted on the Balkans, for in 1908 Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the ground that the shadowy suzerain relations with the Turkish Empire had now ceased. There was a loud protest from Bosnia, and a louder one from other Balkan States, which saw that the decay of Turkey left a road open for Austria to the Ægean. At last the influence of Austria, which meant the concealed influence of Germany, was set actively in motion where it must inevitably cross the interest and arouse the spirit of Russia.

BALKAN WARS (1911-1913)

Within a few months a new Turkish difficulty arose through the decision of Italy to strike for Tripoli, the only remaining north African State not under European guardianship. This meant war with Turkey, not only in Tripoli, but in the Ægean Sea, where the Italians picked up a basketful of the Greek-speaking islands. They also made a lodgment on the east coast of the Adriatic in Albanian territory.

Before peace was made between Italy and Turkey the Balkans were in a flame of war. Venizelos, prime minister of Greece and the ablest diplomat in that part of the world, brought about an almost incredible combination of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece to attack Turkey, which was disorganized by its revolution and the recent war, and at the moment was trying to reorganize its army under German drill-masters. The Turks did

their best, put armies into Macedonia and Thrace, but they were defeated and routed in every field engagement; and every fortified city in that region was eventually taken by siege. They were more than beaten; their power was destroyed. The whole thing had gone so quickly that Europe had no time to intervene.

The defeat of the Turks was welcome to Russia, and Germany was not ready to head an opposition. When in 1913 the three Balkan States disagreed as to the division of the unexpected conquest, the great powers came to an understanding, and forced a settlement which satisfied nobody. Bulgaria went back to war, and the great powers encouraged Rumania to come in from the north and force the Bulgarians to accept a treaty still less advantageous to them. In compelling the Peace of Bucharest, which ratified these relations, the great powers assumed a responsibility on behalf of the world for securing peace to the Balkans and a settlement of the whole Turkish problem. They were successful. Germany took part; Austria assented; the armies were dissolved; the way was open for prosperity of the Balkans. Though observers on the ground predicted that war would break out again in that quarter of the world within three years, few realized that the Balkans was the spot where a rising spirit of discord among great nations had come to an expression. The next Balkan crisis would not so quickly yield to treatment.

SERB AMBITIONS

The new boundaries fixed by the peace of Bucharest in 1913 were more favorable to Serbia than to Bulgaria. The effort of the Bulgarians to secure the belt of territory occupied by people of their race and church across central Macedonia was unsuccessful, and the Serbian boundary was brought down to the Greek frontier, thus giving control of the railroad route outside the Bulgarian holding, stretching from Belgrade on the north to Salonika. This large increase of Serbian territory and population gave a new impulse to the Serbian court. The real Serbian leader was Pashitsch, an engineer, a professor, and a man of large spirit. The Serbs are an eager people—some call them the French of

the Balkans—they had a strong feeling of the greatness of the Serb race and of their position as the only independent Slav State in Europe except their little neighbor, Montenegro. There were not over five millions of them altogether, including the villages and settlements of non-Serbians.

Across the Danube and the Save and the Drina rivers lived groups of people of the same race, speaking the same language, worshipping in the same church and holding the same traditions. These were subjects of Austria-Hungary, or, to speak more accurately, were depressed and subordinate groups ruled by the united Germans and Hungarians. There had long been understandings and meetings among these two groups of Serbians who were separated from each other only by a geographical line which they had not made. Everybody knew that they felt themselves one folk and that most of the Slav subjects of Austria-Hungary wanted more life and more freedom. Many of the Southern Slavs would have been glad to enter a Serb State. No such combination was possible without breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A Slav movement in the south would certainly start up the Czecho-Slovaks in the north, and very likely the Slav districts in the west. The Serbs were not interested in the safety of their neighbor.

Here therefore was a clear case of national and neighborhood hatred, which if not checked would certainly lead to war. The fundamental difficulty was that the Dual Empire was an artificial compound of hostile elements. It was wearing out. No statesman-like concessions could be extorted from the German and Magyar elements, who felt themselves superior. No statesmanship could save the Empire. The Hungarians felt the danger, the Austrians were informed of it, the Germans asked to meet it. The essential cause of the war in 1914 was the determination of Germany to aid in crushing the Balkan States and thus defy Russia.

MURDER OF THE ARCHDUKE (1914)

In this state of things some kind of explosion was bound to come. We are back at the simile of the volcano. Nothing could reconcile the fire and the water, the passion-

ate spirit of the Slav and the remorseless chill of German-Austrian repression.

Have you been in Serajevo, the lovely capital of Bosnia, stretched along the river amidst the Bosnian hills? In 1913, as neat and clean and prosperous a town as could be found in southern Europe. An immensely

ish a Bohemian wife. He was suspected of the heresy of upholding the belief that the future safety of the empire depended on transforming it from a dual into a triune State in which Germans, Magyars, and Slavs should be three equal elements.

Geography was hard to reconcile with this



The Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria, and His Wife the Duchess of Hohenberg, who were assassinated at Serajevo, Bosnia, on June 28, 1914

picturesque place, containing remnants of the Turkish population, the ladies in those full Turkish trousers that make them seem so manly. The province was prosperous, though whenever you got below the surface you found discontent, Slav and German jealous of each other and of the strong arm of Austria controlling the whole. To this beautiful place came in June, 1914, Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, grandson of the King of Naples, born in 1863, married, says the official statement, "to the Countess Sophia Chotek, now Duchess of Hohenberg, having duly renounced the right of his future children to succeed to the thrones of Austria and Hungary."

In that bald statement lies a romance: the heir to the imperial throne had dared to cher-

plan, and on the face of it it meant the enfranchisement of the Slavs, who were in the majority in the Empire. Hence Franz Ferdinand had enemies, though he knew of none in Serajevo. What is a police and military force for, if not to make things safe for the heir to the throne? At any rate, on June 28, 1914, as he drove with his family to a State function an attempt was made to shoot him. It failed, but the trifle seemed to suggest nothing to the police, for a few minutes later he and his consort were shot to death by two Bosnian subjects of Austria-Hungary. They were arrested, in due time prosecuted, convicted of the assassination, given life sentences and apparently died quietly in jail.

Forthwith the Austrian and Hungarian press announced to the world that the whole

was a devilish plot of the Serbians, directly inspired by the Narodna Odbrana and other Serbian clubs and secret societies, which had been trying to arouse the Serbs of southern Hungary. One of them was charged with so throwing prudence to the wind as to speak of the "Union of all Serbs against the common enemy." That the Serbian government was responsible for the murder was proven by the fact that in the Serbian Ministry of War at Belgrade there was a picture which portrayed "the realization of Serbia's anti-Austrian tendencies"! If that were not enough, bombs thrown bore a mark which was also borne by bombs made in the Serbian royal arsenal.

To this day it is uncertain whether the

death of the Archduke was welcome or unwelcome to the Austrians, whether the Archduke was neglected or betrayed. The real issue was the determination of the Dual Empire to crush out by every means at hand the undoubted propaganda in favor of a Serbian union, which otherwise was likely to break up the Empire.

The simple truth is that the position was no longer tenable. It was not possible to keep a people in hand whose brethren a few miles away southward were building up an independent and respectable kingdom. The ambition of Serbia was the ambition of millions of Hungarian subjects. Free Serbia and safe Austria-Hungary could not exist side by side.

THE GREAT WAR BEGINS

Austria Attacks Serbia, and Russia, Coming to the Help of the Serbs,
is Attacked by Germany

XVII

THE SERBIAN CRISIS (1914)

UNHAPPILY assassinations and sudden deaths were nothing new in the Austrian imperial family. The murder was only another shock to old Franz Josef, whose reign had begun in revolution and was to end on the brink of disruption. Nothing in him seemed to respond to a generous policy of throwing Germany over and admitting the Slavs to equality within the Empire. Two currents of feeling urged the ruling Austrians, the force commonly called "The Monarchy," into passionate and dangerous action. The first was a fury against this upstart band of haymakers and pig dealers who dared to raise a hand against the Lord's anointed. There has never been the slightest evidence that the Serbian government planned or expected to profit by the taking off of Franz Ferdinand; but there is not the slightest doubt that they were bent on carving the Serbs out of the Dual Empire; and for this the Austrian authorities were determined to exact a punishment that should be both a revenge and a lesson never to be forgotten. They

meant to let loose an army which would take the lives of fifty thousand to one hundred thousand persons, as an imperial hecatomb to a prince for whom they cared nothing.

In addition they expected to save the Empire by this reassuring example to their own Serbs. There could be no reasonable doubt that before the assassination the Hungarian leaders in Budapest were convinced that there was danger of a Slav revolution. They laid the matter before the German authorities in Vienna, and made clear to them that there could be no destruction of the eastern half of the Empire without the whole going down in the same ruin. Any drastic step meant such a disturbance in Europe that Austria could not possibly act alone; hence the matter was put up to Berlin, whence came the assurance that Germany would not permit Austria to fall to pieces and would aid and protect her in the exaction of the proposed revenge, be the consequences what they might. Here is the primary responsibility for the first act of war.

To fortify these assurances the next step was the issuance of a document addressed to Serbia which could mean nothing but war with that kingdom. Various rumors ran

through Europe that such a document was in preparation. On July 23, 1914, the lightning struck at last. Vienna issued a declaration upon which Sir Edward Grey remarked, "I had never before seen one State address to another independent State a document of so formidable character." Premier Viviani, of France, declared that "the reparations demanded, or, at least, some among them unquestionably were derogatory to the rights of

APPREHENSIONS OF EUROPE

Every cabinet in Europe except Berlin was amazed by this indictment of a people, and practical demand for the dismantling of the Kingdom of Serbia. To be sure, Austria referred in terms to no other nation, and, so far the ultimatum might be satisfied with an occupation of Serbia, which could last indefinitely. The *Drang nach Osten* would thus



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The Archduke Francis Ferdinand and His Wife at Serajevo, Bosnia

Photographed a few minutes before their deaths at the hand of a Serbian assassin.

a sovereign nation." In effect, this document held the Serbian government guilty of the murder of the Archduke, demanded apologies and practically confessions from that government, required the dismissal from the public service of all persons whom the Austro-Hungarian government disliked, required the reorganization of the teaching corps of the schools and universities, and absolutely demanded "consent to the coöperation of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government in Serbia to help suppress the subversive movement against the territorial integrity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy."

carry the Austrian flag down to the Greek frontier forty miles from Salonika. No diplomat for a moment supposed that the matter would end there. It reopened the whole Near Eastern question, and that must bring in Russia.

The ultimatum was not only crushingly severe, it allowed only forty-eight hours for an answer on which depended the peace of Europe. The Russian government saw instantly its own relation to the problem, and put a pressure upon Serbia to yield as much as possible without sacrificing national existence. Within the forty-eight hours, the Ser-

bian government replied, consenting to curb the press, dissolve the revolutionary societies, and even to remove educators and officers who might be indicated by the Austrians. In fact, they reserved nothing except that the action of the Austrian officials within their boundaries "should agree with the principles of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good-neighborly relations." Finally,



King Nicolas of Montenegro

One of the "smaller, weaker states" in the Balkans, Montenegro declared war on Germany early in the conflict, and was crushed, but only after a most gallant defence.

they offered to submit any of the demands that were still not satisfied to the international tribunal at The Hague or to the Great Powers.

The simple truth is that the Austrians (with concealed German aid) had succeeded in taking Europe by surprise; and it is impossible to believe that they did not follow through the effect of their action upon St. Petersburg. On July 27, Czar Nicholas telegraphed to Serbia, "So long as there is the least hope of avoiding bloodshed all our efforts must tend toward this object. If, despite our most sincere desire, we do not

succeed, your Highness may be assured that in no case will Russia disinterest herself in regard to the fate of Serbia." This could have no meaning except that Russia accepted the Austrian ultimatum as a challenge to the great Slav Power of Europe.

THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN COMPLICATION

"The Great Powers make us little powers fight," said a Bulgarian official in 1913. The relation between Great Powers and Small Powers in the Balkans is one of the most perplexing things in the outbreak of war. In the whole long and painful story of the freeing of the Balkan States from the curse of Turkey, all the way from the Greek revolution of 1825 to the second Balkan war of 1913, the oppressed Christian had but one steady friend, and that was Russia. The English helped the Greeks perhaps for no better reason than that so many English statesmen had written Greek verses in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, after it became a power, dealt with the Balkan territory as though it were a great park full of live game. They recognized the population not as human beings, but as pawns. The change of attitude of Great Britain in 1876 was due chiefly to the sympathetic heart of Gladstone.

Perhaps the Russians loved the Balkan people no more than other people; but here was a collection of states, many of them Slav, and all of them anti-Turkish, who sided with the Russians in the effort to get the Asiatics out of Europe. The Russians freed the Bulgarians; hence the splendid church of Alexander the Liberator in Sofia. The Russians helped the Rumanians, not too much, for they took Bessarabia away. The Bulgarians, perhaps weary of so much direction by the Russians, turned to the Germans. In the war of 1913 Austria was supposed to be behind Bulgaria, and Russia was certainly more favorable to Serbia and Greece. To attack and destroy the one Balkan State that was at the moment grateful to Russia meant to annihilate Russian influence in the peninsula. The Russians could not stay out of the quarrel; the heads of the State were much influenced by Germany, but they had to reckon

with a public opinion. Whether or no Russia had revived from the Japanese War of 1905, they somewhat bettered their organization, began to build a new fleet, and used the proceeds of enormous French loans to improve their railway net on the western frontier.

The result was that when, on July 28, Austria declared war on Serbia—the first of the series of more than fifty such declarations—Russia interposed. The controversy at once turned into the question whether Austria would persist, in the face of the Russian determination to stand by the Slav cause. Negotiations were transferred to St. Petersburg, and to a less degree to Vienna, where the two great powers most directly concerned were for the moment left to themselves. If nobody else in Europe joined either party, a great war could still be prevented.

THE FINAL EXPLOSION

To keep the discussion down to that one simple issue, that Austria and Russia must either fight out their own quarrel alone or must come to an understanding, was the plain task of Europe. We will summarize the fatal result of the attempts at a settlement, and then, in the next Part, review it in detail, in order to arrive at a conclusion as to where the fault lay.

Two centers of diplomacy and argument appear, London and Berlin. Great Britain, as has been shown in an earlier chapter, had every reason for desiring peace; and the rôle of Sir Edward Grey since the smash of the Turkish Empire in 1908 and the resulting commotions in the Balkans had been to keep the peace. He had succeeded in one crisis after another. When Russia threatened war

against Austria in 1909, when Austria tried to break loose in 1913, the diplomacy of Europe had been strained to the utmost. At the very beginning, Grey realized the difficulties and also saw the keypoint, the attitude of Germany. He at once appealed to Germany to use its influence to cool down Austria, and very early notified Berlin that "the English government was very sincerely disposed to collaborate with the German government so long as it was a question of the preservation of peace, but that in the contrary case England reserved an entire liberty of action." Italy followed up this pressure. France acted with England.

Within a few hours it became evident that Germany would not coöperate through a general interchange of dispatches or join in a conference of the four Great Powers which were not yet drawn into the struggle, to work out a basis of understanding between the two contestants. Nor would Germany put pressure on the Austrians to soften their demands. The Emperor "returned from his vacation," and did consent (July 28) to go into the matter direct to the Czar by telegraph. It appeared that the Russians were beginning to mobilize their forces, which the Germans treated as a threat directed against them. On July 31, William telegraphed, "It is still possible for you to maintain the peace of Europe if Russia will decide to put a stop to the military measures that threaten Germany and Austria-Hungary." Next day, August 1, 1914, the German ambassador at St. Petersburg was directed to serve notice of a declaration of war at 5 P. M. unless Russia had withdrawn her troops. Those troops did not stop their westward movement on Russian soil, and Germany then initiated the struggle between Great Nations.

PART V—THE OUTBREAK

GERMANY TRIES TO EXPLAIN

Declares "Peace-loving Germans" Were Attacked by Barbarous Slavs and Jealous British

XVIII

GERMAN LOVE OF PEACE

A FEW paragraphs have set forth the principal events between the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, June 28, 1914, and the beginning of the World War, August 1. Many volumes would be needed to reprint the evidence and the arguments on the vital question, Who brought on the war? A curiosity of the controversy is that no nation accepts responsibility; everybody entered war under such immediate aggression, or such inescapable danger to vital interests, that peace was no longer possible. Every cabinet claimed to be peaceful, every general staff to aim only at the protection of country and allies. Twenty-three out of the twenty-seven powers that sooner or later came into the war took the ground that Germany and her consorts were the guilty party. The Germans, till broken by defeat, have never ceased to charge the world disaster to the greed and envy and brutality of the Allied nations.

Part of the German system of warfare was to prepare broadsides of documents and arguments which were distributed throughout the world in many languages. Thus, at the very beginning of the struggle, the German point of view was put on record. It starts with the proposition that the Germans were a peaceable people, who could not possibly go seeking trouble. General Bernhardt, whose opinion on peace and war is that of an expert, enlarges on this "strongly marked love of peace—it springs first from the good-natured character of the German people—it is connected with another characteristic of the German nature. Our aim is to be just, and we strangely imagine that all other nations with whom we exchange relations share the same. . . . An additional cause of love of peace . . . is the wish not to be dis-

turbed in commercial life." Or, as a German professor who lived eighteen years in the United States without seeking naturalization stated: "Germany was the only country which had nothing to gain of its neighbors from a victory, and the world might therefore have known that it will never fight until its very existence is dangerously threatened."

The peace-loving character of the Germans is sufficiently revealed in the hundreds of extracts which have been reprinted in widely accessible books and pamphlets, taken from the German literature of the last two decades. Thus Bernhardt: "The generative importance of war lies in this, that it causes selection and thus war becomes a biological necessity. It becomes an indispensable regulator, because without war there could neither be racial nor cultural progress." So the Emperor: "It is the soldier and the Army, not Parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the Army." So Professor Haeckel: "One single highly cultivated German warrior of those who are, alas, falling in thousands represents a higher intellectual and moral life value than hundreds of the raw children of nature whom England and France, Russia and Italy oppose to them." So the Crown Prince: "We live in a time which . . . flatters itself with a visionary dream of the possibility of an everlasting peace throughout the world. This view of life is un-German and does not become us." So the same heir presumptive to a vanished empire, in 1913: "It is only by reliance upon our brave sword that we shall be able to maintain that place in the sun which belongs to us, and which the world does not seem to be very willing to accord us."

The statement that Germany was a peaceful nation which expected to fulfill its aspirations in an untroubled world would have



The Crown Prince and the Crown Princess of Germany

From a photograph taken in their palace on the night of a fancy dress ball. The Crown Princess is in Russian costume, and the Crown Prince is wearing the uniform of one hundred years ago, of his regiment, the Death's Head Hussars.

been received by the court and military circles at Berlin as an insult. The spirit of the whole people, from Kaiser to cabman, was saturated with the idea that Kultur was based on war and must have war for its proper expansion.

OFFICIAL EXPLANATIONS

The official reasons for the war are numerous and conflicting. Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, soon after the troops began to move, addressed to the American public

a statement which undoubtedly represents what the German government desired the world to believe.

"The war is a life and death struggle between Germany and the Muscovite races of Russia, and was due to the recent royal murders at Serajevo.

"We warned Russia against kindling this world war. She demanded the humiliation of Austria, and while the German Emperor continued his work in the cause of peace and the Czar was telegraphing words of friendship to him, Russia was preparing for war against Germany.

"Highly civilized France, bound by her unnatural alliance with Russia, was compelled to



From Punch, Jan. 11, 1911

The Blind Side

German Officer—"Glad to hear you're going to fortify your sea front. Very dangerous people, these English."

Dutchman—"But it will cost much."

German Officer—"Ah, but see what you save on the Eastern frontier, where there's nobody but us."

Holland, for a small country, spent a considerable sum on her defensive establishment, knowing that her powerful neighbors might go to war and that she might become involved. Her eastern frontier was exposed to Germany, and to it the Germans had built "strategic" railways from mobilization centers, so that if need be troops could be brought up quickly.

prepare by strength of arms for an attack on its flank on the Franco-Belgian frontier in case we proceeded against the French frontier works. England, bound to France by obligations disowned long ago, stood in the way of a German attack on the northern coast of France.

"Necessity forced us to violate the neutrality of Belgium, but we had promised emphatically to compensate that country for all damage inflicted.

"Now England avails herself of the long awaited opportunity to commence war for the

to examine our point of view in an unprejudiced way.

"The sympathy of the American nation will then lie with German culture and civilization, fighting against a half Asiatic and slightly cultured barbarism."

Vice-Chancellor Helfferich made a very different summary of the German justification.

"It does not lie within the scope of this recital to delve into the depths of the fateful concatenation of isolated happenings and negotiations between July 24th and August 4th which caused the greatest and bloodiest of wars. Let it suffice to point out that these isolated happenings and negotiations—the words of a Grey, a Cambon, a Sazonof, the negotiations of the First Lord of the British Admiralty and the Russian Commander-in-Chief, which in themselves appear insignificant before the great tragedy of humanity—are merely manifestations rising to the surface at the decisive moment of the forces whose rule makes up the world history of our time. These are:

"In Russia, the ambition to dominate in the Near East, doubly strong since the defeat suffered in the war with Japan, and determined, when there is prospect of success, to break down by force any resistance from the Central European Powers.

"In France, the fateful direction of the entire national policy toward the negative goal of irreconcilable thirst for revenge, which, allied with fear, culminates in the continual readiness to attack us in conjunction with every strong foe of Germany.

"In England, commercial envy against every rising régime, coupled with instinctive hostility toward the strongest Continental power and the tradition that every Continental ambition for sea power must be forcibly crushed.

"These heterogeneous forces spun the net of the Entente, which became the frightful tool of the small minority ardently desiring war, and in which the great peaceful majority of the Russian, French, and English nations became hopelessly entangled. Russia's attitude toward Austria-Hungary in the Serbian question placed the burden of decision on the Entente. There can be no doubt that one word of refusal from France would have sufficed to hold back the Russian war party. It is at least very probable that a word of refusal from England would have held France back. It is absolutely certain that every word of encouragement from England must necessarily give the upper hand to the war parties in France and Russia. On the other hand, it is equally true that, had France and England stood aloof, no matter how such a step may have been formally authorized by treaties and agreements, the triple understanding would have been destroyed, and a new direction given in the policy of all Europe, which necessarily would have led, not to the hegemony of a single nation, but far more to a



M. Sazonof

The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs when the World War broke out in 1914.

destruction of commercially prosperous Germany. We enter into that war with our trust in God. Our eternal race has risen in the fight for liberty, as it did in 1813.

"It is with a heavy heart that we see England ranged among our opponents.

"Notwithstanding the blood relationship and close relationship in spiritual and cultural work between the two countries, England has placed herself on the side of Russia, whose instability and whose barbaric insolence have helped this war, the origin of which was murder, and the purpose of which was the humiliation and suppression of the German race by Russian pan-Slavism.

"We expect that the sense of justice of the American people will enable them to comprehend our situation. We invite their opinion as to the one-sided English representations, and ask them

state of affairs in which every power could have had its due.

"Confronted with the choice of preserving the Entente or preserving the peace of the world, the statesmen at the helm in Great Britain and France, who had by their own acts and words in reality lost their freedom and become entangled, sacrificed the peace of the world to the Entente, under pressure from the cliques desiring war, and swept in their wake by far the greater part of the public in their countries by appealing to the sanctity of written and unwritten treaties.

"To make clear the details of this complex web of guilt and fate will some day be the great task of the historians of our time."

SEMI-OFFICIAL EXPLANATIONS

Bernhard Dernburg, personal friend of the Emperor, one-time German colonial minister and a spellbinder in the United States after the war began, made the following statement:

"The only nation that is absolutely united to its government is Germany. She knows and it will be apparent—that all the nations around her want something of her—have an interest in the struggle, and are willing to fight under all circumstances. Russia wants Constantinople and the weakening of the Austrian monarchy. England demands the reduction of Germany as a subordinate Power; France, the reestablishment of her former dominating rule of Europe. Surely, no one would consider Germany so insane and absolutely bereft of common sense that she should have desired and permitted all the nations in whose way she had been to fall on her, thereby catering for her own destruction? Will it be believed that a nation that has been constantly striving for peace, the only one of all European nations that has not had war for forty-four years, has never expanded except peacefully, never acquired territory except by treaty, knowing that a combination of much stronger Powers threatened her from all sides, would go wilfully and light-heartedly to fight nearly the whole world? And what had she to gain if she were victorious?"

A group of twenty-two German literati, who were as much creatures of the German Empire as though they had military commissions, arrange the main causes in quite a different category:

"This assassination is the real cause of the present European war. Austria-Hungary was able to prove to a shuddering world a few days after the murder that it had been prepared and planned systematically, yea, that the Serbian government had been responsible for the plan.

"Austria-Hungary addressed to the Serbian government a number of demands which aimed

at nothing but the suppression of the anti-Austrian propaganda. Serbia was on the point of accepting the demand when there arrived a dispatch from St. Petersburg, and Serbia mobilized. Then Austria had to act. Thus arose the Austro-Serbian war.

"Great Britain asked that Germany should allow French and Belgian troops to form on Belgian territory for a march against our frontier. . . . England and France were resolved not to respect the neutrality of Belgium. . . . [They] did not give up their plan of attacking Germany through Belgium.

"England aims at being mistress of the Old World in order to occupy either an equal, or a menacing, position toward the New World. For this purpose she has encouraged this war."

These scientific and professional gentlemen, then, wanted war to teach the Belgians and the English their place. Manifestly if all these authorities are right Germany had reason for many wars and for war in most parts of the globe, alike on the evil and the good.

ECONOMIC EXPLANATIONS

The same problem may be attacked in a different way by analyzing *seriatim* the various catalogues of grievances and injuries which different Germans discovered. The first is that the war was "a life and death struggle between Germany and the Muscovite races of Russia . . . fighting against the half Asiatic and slightly cultured barbarism." Neither in its beginning nor its end was the war a struggle of races. Millions of Slavic soldiers served, many of them against their will, in the Austro-Hungarian armies. Germanism was not in the slightest danger from the Slavs, though Russia might well have taken alarm at the advance of German culture into her territory. Germany and Russia were in accord in their treatment of the Poles within their borders. The release of Slavs from German and Magyar domination, which is one of the happy results of the war, might have been delayed for fifty years if the Germans had kept their tempers and accepted the prosperity that they had.

More specifically, the Russians were setting out to dominate in the Near East "and therefore forced Germany to war." The ambitions of Russia were undeniable, but they were no stronger than the counter-ambitions of Ger-

many to establish a belt of territory from west to east which was intended to block Russian ambitions entertained for centuries.

The charge pressed hardest is that the Western Powers, particularly Great Britain, were determined to shut off German commerce and were animated by commercial envy against every rising régime. This is the charge to

striking growth of the German marine from 280,000 tons new shipping in 1905 and 3,700,000 total shipping, to 475,000 and 5,300,000 in 1913, is an amazing fact. Yet less amazing than the British increase from 1,270,000 tons construction and 16,700,000 tons in commission in 1905, to 1,560,000 and 19,600,000 in 1913. Five years of the annual build of Great Britain to 1913 equaled the whole German merchant marine; and the total merchant fleet was almost four times as great in 1913.

The Germans seemed to believe that most of the European powers desired to hedge the Empire in. Treitschke years before observed that "no nation has had to reckon the same difficulty and hostility as ours." Bismarck had a sort of attachment to England, whose diplomats and parliamentary leaders stood on about the same social and economic background as the German Junkers. On the other hand, Professor Wagner, recognized as a foremost German authority on economic questions, soon after war broke out, expressed what was probably the officially received opinion of the motives of Great Britain. He finds murderous envy of "Our industries, especially . . . iron, steel, and other metals, our coal mining, our machine building, our chemical and electrical industry, and large portions of other industries such as textiles, our . . . mastery of our own domestic market. It is our export business to foreign regions including the British and their colonies. It is our increasing competition . . . our growing significance in shipping, our merchant fleet . . . it is the great improvement of the economic condition of our whole people . . . it is the simultaneous growth of the significance and prosperity of our system of money, credit, and banking which bring about a national and international participation in the control of the world money market. . . . It is our building, possession, and direction of the best and swiftest ships for the great oceanic trade, leading to competition ever more disagreeable to the Britons on all the seas of the world, and all near and far sales-markets of manufactures and purchasing markets of the most important raw materials . . . These are the hard facts which furnish a psychological explanation why the Britons have grown so envious of us."



Germany—"Farewell, Madame, and if—"
France—"Ha! We shall meet again!"

The German War Goddess is carrying in a bag the indemnity (5,000,000,000 francs) exacted of France by Germany in 1871. France at that time lost Alsace-Lorraine as well, and it was often predicted that another war—a war of revenge—was inevitable.

judge which the tables on p. 77 above have been inserted. To the German mind the British must have been appalled by the rapid growth of German in and out foreign trade, which in the decade from 1905 to 1913 about doubled, while that of Great Britain had increased by only 50 per cent. The fact is that in the British 50 per cent was a larger absolute increase than the German 100 per cent. The gap between the total British trade and the total German trade was wider at the end than at the beginning; a hundred years of increase in that proportion could never startle the British. So in shipping the

Where is the evidence of British envy or apprehension? The Germans seized upon one expression in an article written by an Englishman in an English review in 1912, upon which they rang the changes. For every such utterance on that side, twenty harsh abusive and threatening statements could be culled from German writings. Great Britain was buying heavily from Germany; Germany took pay in almost an equal amount from Great



The English Octopus

He has entangled the world in his tentacles and waits for new prey, but he'll have to look out for those Germans.

An Italian view of the British Empire, "upon which the sun never sets," as a possible provocative of war to the land-hungry Germans.

Britain. The damning sin of England was not competition but wealth and success.

In the background was always the undeniable fact that the English had conquered territory in many continents, but the world had settled down to an interchange of products and trade on that basis. The Germans intended some time to humble England. Yet the declaration of war by that country forced Germany to face two wars, both expected some time but awkward together, and both due to German ambition.

TERRITORIAL EXPLANATIONS

Nobody had any designs on German territory in Europe or elsewhere. The English in 1885, in 1890, and again in 1914 offered considerable concessions in Africa. They even withdrew their objections to German influence in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia; in 1890 they ceded the little island of Heligoland, just outside the mouth of the Elbe to Germany. That Germany in return had specific and unchangeable designs on ports of Europe is absolutely clear. Probably no German statesman or publicist believed that Holland, or even Belgium, could in the long run resist the German pressure for annexation; and they were on the lookout for additional territory from northern France.

A proof beyond question or withdrawal came during the war when officials of certain associations of iron and steel concerns, drew up a memoir to the German government on the source of the raw materials for those industries. They thought it hard that France and Russia could furnish all their own iron ore while Germany had to import large quantities from Sweden and from France. They showed that out of 36 million tons of iron ore raised in Germany in 1913, the districts of Lorraine (annexed in 1871) and Luxemburg (within the German customs frontier) furnished 28½ millions. They figured that four-fifths of the iron produced from German materials was derived from those districts, and that if the Allies had been able to seize and hold them at the beginning of the war, Germany would have been totally defeated.

What was their conclusion? First, that the French frontier must be pushed back so that the longest range guns should not reach the German blast furnaces; and, second, that the mines of French Lorraine should be annexed, so as to increase the output by about one-half. "Our mining base enlarged by the addition of Briey and Longwy would insure for a century the future of our iron industry, and would hence insure also our retention of the place which, with the help of the iron ore of Lorraine, we have conquered during the last ten years among the iron-making countries of the world at the cost of hard struggles with Great Britain. . . . We can.

and must, with the help of a powerful iron industry, spare the blood of our people in a future struggle for existence, . . . the displacement of our Lorraine frontier is absolutely indispensable for the safety of the German Empire in the case of a future war, but it is equally necessary for the consolidation of our political economy, and especially in order to supply employment to our large number of workmen, to increase the production of our soil, and hence to improve the situation of each individual German. All of Lorraine in the hands of Germany would constitute not only a war indemnity and a support for the German fatherland, but also a guarantee of a lasting peace and a gauge for the security of the Empire. Our victory gives us the occasion and the right to add to the most vulnerable point of attack on the German Empire a sharp rock against which every enemy assault will be broken."

This proposal there was every reason to suppose would have been carried out had Germany been physically able to annex those districts. They were very early occupied by her army, and held to the last gasp. Their purpose meant not only an exaltation of a position in steel, which was already far superior to that of any other Continental power, but meant also an intention to destroy the competition and the defensive power of France. When coupled with the malicious destruction of coal-fields in Northern France, before evacuating those regions, it looks as though the principal offence of France, which forced Germany to go to war, was the possession of coal-mines, ore-beds, and steel-works which Germany coveted in order to destroy competition.

With this cool and calculated idea of war, not for the purpose of equalizing the advantages of Europe, but of giving to Germany the preëminence in steel which is the life-blood of manufactures, commerce, shipbuilding, and the carrying on of war, should be compared the equally frank explanation of Maximilian Harden, a journalist, who lived

to look at the matter from a different point of view.

"The explosion was bound to come sooner or later. What alone could have stopped it would have been England's stepping out of the conspiracy. That she did not do so, but,



Tenniel in Punch

Rival Arbiters

Napoleon and Bismarck at the time of the Austro-Prussian War. In 1866 Bismarck had successfully humbled Austria, and from that time a united Germany loomed large as the final arbiter of Europe. Five years later Napoleon III met his eclipse at Sedan.

in fact, became its really directing power, will forever remain a blot on her history. . . .

"No! Civilization and freedom have nothing to do with the issues at stake now, least of all in the sense as if our enemies had drawn the sword for their cause. It is a war for conquest and supremacy, stirred up by all the hateful passions in human nature, fully as much as any war that has ever been waged before. But we did not stir it up. We are fighting for our existence; right and justice are on our side, and so we trust will victory be."

THE CRITICAL TWELVE DAYS

Sir Edward Grey Makes Every Effort to Prevent General War,
but Germany Stands in the Way

XIX

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR?

IN following the crisis through to its awful termination, and in undertaking to fix the responsibility for war where it belongs,

cipher, Prime Minister Asquith was not an inspiring leader, and the burden of making some combination for peace fell upon Sir Edward Grey. The Germans accused him at the time of falsehood, of determination to force Germany into war, of the intention to destroy the rival of his country. The cold evidence



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Celebrating King George's Birthday

England's monarch and the Duke of Connaught on their way to the saluting base for the trooping of the colors, which was a part of the King's birthday celebration.

the narrative has for the moment passed over the terrible anxiety and the crushing strains of the twelve days from July 23 to August 1, during which strong men in great nations were doing their utmost to prevent a world war. In this wrestling of the diplomats the primacy, by common consent, went to Great Britain, where the King was politically a

bears out none of these charges. Grey was an Englishman, spoke for Great Britain, realized the tremendous interest of the British Empire, and believed with all his soul that European peace was desirable for his country and equally desirable for all other nations.

Some months later in a public address, he said: "The expenditure of hundreds of mil-

lions of money and the loss of millions of lives might have been avoided by a conference of the European powers held in London, or at The Hague, or wherever and in whatever form Germany would have consented to hold it. It would have been far easier to have



Sir Edward Goschen

The British Ambassador in Berlin at the outbreak of the war. It was in conversation with him that the German Chancellor referred to the Belgian treaty as a "scrap of paper."

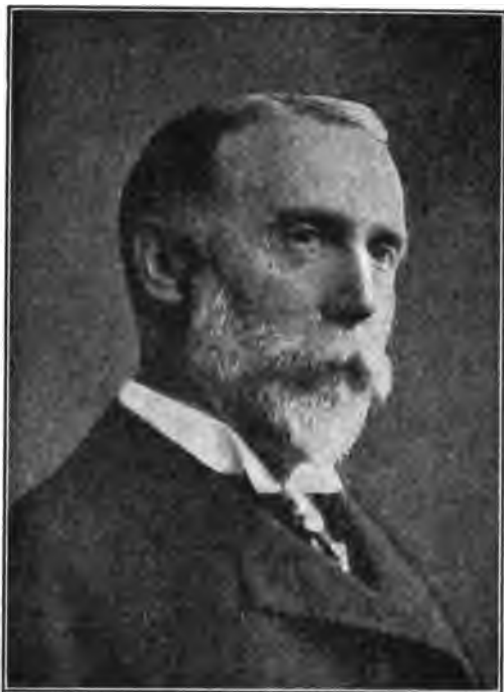
settled the dispute between Austria-Hungary and Serbia which Germany made the occasion for war than it was to get successfully through the Balkan crisis of two years ago. In recent years we have given Germany every assurance that any aggressive movement upon her would receive no support from us. We withheld from her only one thing—the unconditional promise to stand aside, however aggressive Germany herself might be to her neighbor. Last July, before the outbreak of the war, France, Italy, and Russia were ready to accept a conference. Germany refused every suggestion made for settling the dispute in this way, and on her must rest now and for all time the appalling responsibility of having plunged Europe into this war."

The great part played by Great Britain in the preliminaries of the war was to bring Germany time after time face to face with the question: "Will you, Germany, join with other nations in trying to find a solution that will satisfy Austria and Russia?" The first attempt to arouse Germany began on July 24. The theory of the Germans (which is absolutely disproved by their own documents, subsequently revealed) was that the whole trouble was between Austria and Serbia, that all other nations must stand aside and let them fight it out; that Russia was not concerned, and any attempt of Russia to call Austria to account would present a "*casus fœderis*," a defensive war in which Germany was bound to aid Austria. Therefore, all attempts to induce Germany to put the weight of its foreign office into restraint of Austria failed from the beginning. That is, Germany would take no part in the effort to hold back Austria which was the most obvious road to a settlement.

WHY NOT A EUROPEAN CONFERENCE?

Again Sir Edward Grey came to the front with a second proposition, July 26: "Would Minister for Foreign Affairs be disposed to instruct Ambassador here to join with representatives of France, Italy, and Germany, and myself, and meet here in conference immediately, for the purpose of discovering an issue which would prevent complications?" Italy accepted on the spot; France, the next day. Grey notified Germany that "it would not be an arbitration, but a private and informal discussion to ascertain what suggestions could be made for a settlement." Germany replied: "Conference you suggest would practically amount to a court of arbitration. . . . Such a conference as you propose is not practicable." Next day (July 28), the German Chancellor stated that the proposed conference would "have had appearance of an 'areopagus' consisting of two Powers of each group, sitting in judgment upon the two remaining Powers."

Still a third effort was made by Grey, representing the nation which the Germans insisted was driving them to war. On July 29, Grey urged "that the German government should suggest any method by which the



Sir Maurice de Bunsen

The British Ambassador in Vienna at the outbreak of the war.

influence of the four Powers could be used together to prevent war." On July 31, Grey was working with the German Ambassador in London, and with the English representatives in Berlin and elsewhere, making a fourth and final suggestion that "it would be possible for the four disinterested Powers to offer to Austria that they would undertake to see that she obtained full satisfaction from her demands on Serbia, providing they did not impair Serbian sovereignty and the integrity of Serbian territory."

It is impossible to read and analyze the mass of dispatches of this period without seeing that England wanted peace, and did the utmost to induce Germany to sit down with representatives of the Western Powers, and talk things over. It was Germany that directly refused and indirectly obstructed all peace propositions that could work.

AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA

One of the most perplexing things about this period of storm and stress is that while

the Germans grew more and more stiff and surly, the Austrians showed signs of making concessions. Granting that the real issue was between the two neighbor empires, Serbia being only the occasion of their rivalry, why could not these two find some compromise that would avert war? July 25 official notice was given to Russia by Austria that, "despite all, we aim at no territorial acquisitions, and have no intention of impairing the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Serbia." This, however, did not prevent the declaration of war, July 28; for several days the Russians and Austrians could not seem to connect with each other's views either at Vienna or at St. Petersburg.

In the very last days, July 29, "conversations" were resumed at the Russian capital, where the military men were making a drive against the civilians who would have made peace. On July 31, the Russian Foreign Minister stated that "the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador declares the readiness of his government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia." There is much reason to believe that if the Austrians had been playing their own cards, they might have come into accord with Russia, perhaps at the expense of the Serbians, who were still to pay some penalty for the murder of the Austrian Archduke by Austrian subjects. The obstacles were, in the first place, the mobilization of Russia, who, as the later course of the war showed, had an accumulation of military forces that would have speedily smashed Austria if alone and unallied. The second difficulty was that the Germans had made up their minds to war, and were simply trying to repeat Bismarck's renowned diplomacy of forcing the other side to commit the first overt act.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA

The whole course of Germany's diplomacy was much affected by the absence of the titular head of the Empire, which (as was then suspected) was a camouflage. In fact it was confusing to the military party when this active person re-arrived in Berlin, and sat himself down by the telegraph on July 28 at 10:45 P.M. It took just sixty-two hours and a half for this arbiter of nations, this

author of a forty-four years' peace of Europe, to bring on the formal war. He began by promising to "exert all my influence to endeavor to make Austria-Hungary come to an open and satisfying understanding with Russia." The Czar next day replied, begging the Emperor "in the name of our old friendship

results of the mediation I am working at and left me without any news. I am off for Berlin to take measures for insuring safety of my eastern frontiers."

What was happening in St. Petersburg? Russia was mobilizing, and William refused to take account of the same thing on the other



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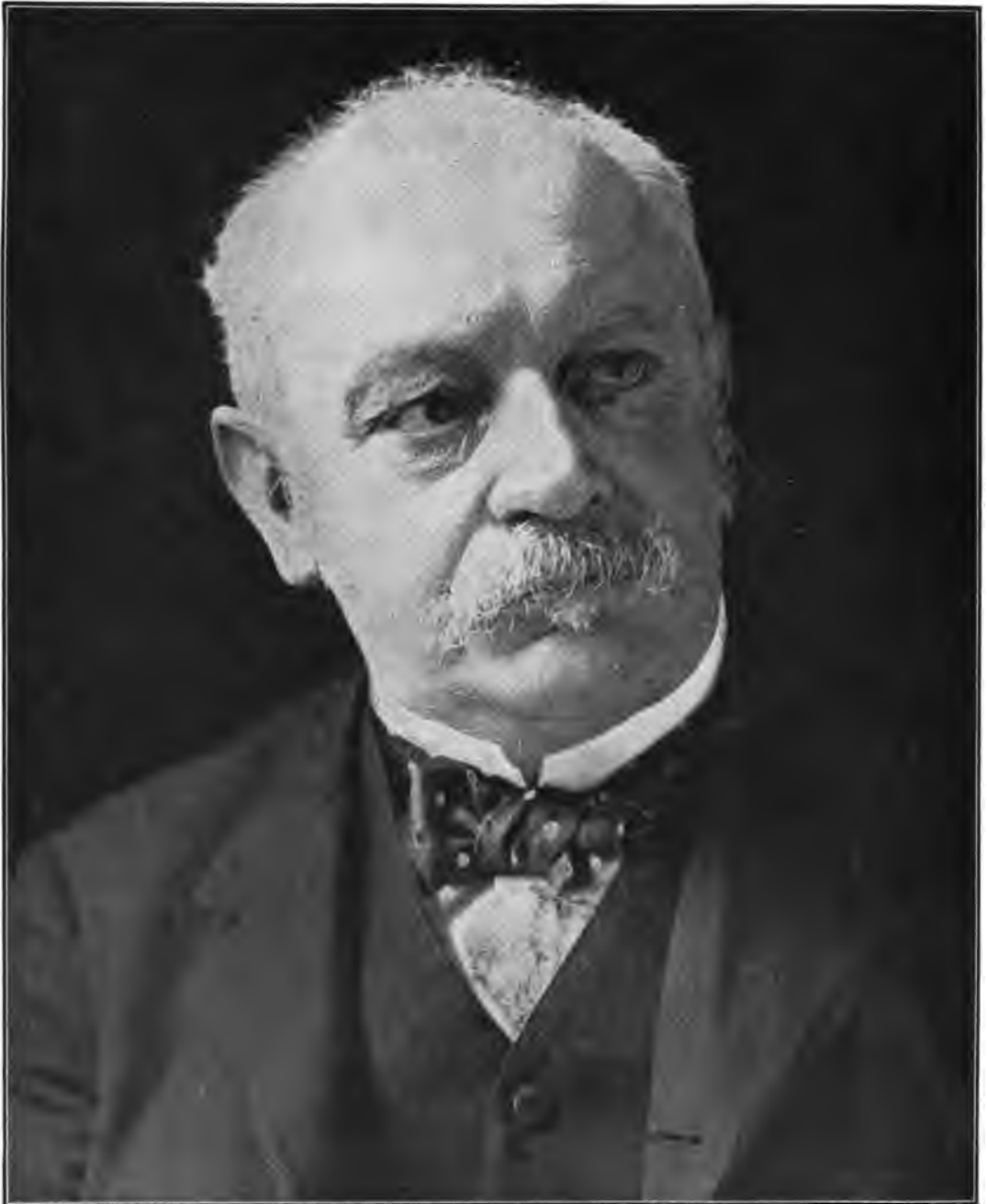
Buckingham Palace, London

This photograph, with the Queen Victoria Monument in the foreground, shows the home of King George V, the Kaiser's cousin.

to do all that is possible to you to prevent your ally from going too far." July 30 the Emperor's brother telegraphed to his cousin, King George V, "William is trying to meet Nicky's appeal to work for peace, but Russia is making military preparations equal to mobilization." One day later William took a hand with King George as follows: "Nicky has ordered the mobilization of his whole army and fleet. He has not even awaited the

side of the line, because "Austria-Hungary mobilized only against Serbia, and at that she mobilized only a part of her Army." The final crisis was reached when, July 30, the Russian Sazonof drew up the so-called "formula":

"If Austria, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian question has assumed the character of a European question, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum the points



© Paul Thompson

Jules Cambon

One of the French delegates to the Peace Conference and one of the most distinguished statesmen of France. M. Cambon was French Ambassador to the United States at the time of the Spanish-American War, during which conflict he took charge of Spanish interests in America. He was Ambassador to Berlin when war broke out in August, 1914.

which are an infringement of the sovereign rights of Serbia, Russia undertakes to cease her military preparations." Next day, July 31, this proposition was restated in a form which was the last peace effort of Russia.

"If Austria will agree to check the advance of her troops on Serbian territory; if, recognizing that the dispute between Austria and Serbia has assumed a character of European interest, she will allow the Great Powers to look into the matter and determine whether Serbia could satisfy the Austro-Hungarian government without impairing her rights as a sovereign State or her independence, Russia will undertake to maintain her waiting attitude."

THE RELATIONS OF THE ENTENTE

Did Russia insist to the end on the moral right to prevent the crushing of Serbia, because of assurances of support from the Western Powers, even if Germany also became an enemy? In the bitterness of their disappointment at the cleaving together of the Entente, the Germans freely asserted that the Russians would have given way, but for positive backing and offer of aid by France and by England. So far as France was concerned, no new pledge was necessary. The French government and people were allied heart and soul with the Russians in the hope of just such an opportunity. This was the moment for which the French had been waiting for years. It happened that President Poincaré and the French Foreign Minister had been in Russia two days before the conflict blazed up. The French were ready to join in peace if that would satisfy their friend Russia; they were ready to risk everything in war. The German Ambassador in Paris made efforts to hold France, but without any real expectation. The Germans were perfectly aware that war with Russia meant war with France, and were massing troops in the west days before the upset.

The situation of the English was very different. They had settled up their old quarrels with Russia and were rumored to be just on the point of making a naval treaty, the nature of which has never been made public, and its actuality is openly discredited. Their obligations to France have already been

stated. They were practically pledged to protect the western coast of France, in case of defensive war. No such promise had been made to Russia. July 31, Cambon, French Ambassador in London, in vain asked Grey for a flat promise to support France. When the question directly arose whether the place in Europe, in which lay the power to stop the war, was St. Petersburg or Berlin, Grey from the first believed that the decision lay with the Germans and not the Russians. Early in the war, a letter was found in the German Post Office sent by one L'Escaille, from the Belgian legation at St. Petersburg, July 30, in which occurs the passage: "To-day, however, St. Petersburg is strongly convinced, and has even the assurance that England will support France. This assurance carries great weight, and has done not a little to give the upper hand to the war party." The letter, of course, is the gossip of a person not admitted to the inner councils. We know much better than he could guess what was happening on the thirtieth of July from the reports of Ambassadors who took part in these conferences; and are aware that, however much Russia desired the alliance of Great Britain for war, no such promise was made.

THE IMMEDIATE RESPONSIBILITY

From whatever point of view the outbreak of the World War is approached, it comes back to the one clear, indisputable truth, that the Germans gave no assistance to those who were trying to keep the peace. Since, from evidence that cannot be gainsaid, we are sure that Germany desired war, had long planned war, and for some weeks before the crisis had been arranging for war, it is impossible to resist the conviction that these negotiations, so full of anguish and desperation, were stopped by the iron-bound "policy" of Germany.

The point selected by Emperor William as the reason for war was mobilization. Of course, the military men magnified the usefulness of twenty-four or forty-eight hours' start on either side. It was asking too much of human nature that the Russians should carefully abstain from moving their distant troops forward while ten divisions of Austrians were called out and placed near their



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The Kaiser at a Council of War

The man seated at the extreme left is Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria. The third man seated from left to right is General von Kluck, the fifth General von Haeseler, with General von Hindenburg next to him. Admiral von Tirpitz is seated at the extreme right. Behind Crown Prince Rupprecht are Generals von Mackensen, von Moltke, and the Crown Prince of Prussia respectively. The sixth man of those standing from left to right is von Ludendorff, the seventh von Falkenhayn, the eighth von Einem, the tenth Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, while Prince Leopold of Bavaria is standing at the extreme right.

borders. Austrian mobilization was the thing to stop and there was where Germany had the diplomatic and political weight to prevent mobilization.

Right here is the fatal defect in the whole argument and attitude of Germany on the outbreak of the war. In all the mass of Berlin correspondence, published by Germany on these fateful days, there is almost nothing of the intimate telegrams which went to and fro from Vienna; not a single evidence that any effort was made to secure a real investigation of the assassination of the Archduke; not a syllable to soften the severity of the ultimatum; not a hint that forty-eight hours was rather a brief time-limit on a question which involved the peace of Europe. Austria was bidden to talk things over with the Russians if they felt like it. Without doubt, it was Germany who directed the Austrians to make the promise that they would not destroy the country of Serbia, reserving the privilege of killing the people. Not a vestige of a dispatch or personal appeal to the Austrian Cabinet has ever been published urging it to soften its demands or to meet the hopes of Europe, still less to cut the ground from under the Serb nationalist propaganda by giving the rights of human beings to the Austrian-Serbs.

Why should there be such a warning? The

German Junkers were of the same kind as the Austrian Archdukes and the Hungarian magnates. They had no intention of giving way, because they were organizing for a predatory war on their neighbors; nor were the German people in Germany and Austria and the Hungarian people free from national responsibility. The Emperor of Germany was after all only a kind of water-master, who could keep his eye on the gush of national forces and with his spade turn them to one side or the other. He did not furnish the war spirit to Germany; he could not set himself against it. The German people, intelligent, educated, acquainted with foreign lands, adept in public law, knew where they stood, and what they wanted. The Pan-German movements, the mid-European movement, the African movement, the Berlin-to-Bagdad movement, all seem to have sprung out of an over-strained national spirit, which demanded more space and more power.

So in Austria-Hungary, the twenty-two million of the dominant races were looking southward beyond the Balkan mountains for other people's property. The reason why Germany encouraged Austria to take hostile steps, which the German military leaders knew must lead to general hostilities, was simply because they thought they saw a big profit in a great war.

GERMANY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR

Startling Evidence Proves That Germany Backed Austrian Ultimatum and Planned *Der Tag*

XX

PLANS FOR THE NEXT WAR

MANY more personal and intimate proofs could be brought forward to show that the military party was eager for war, and had been for years. Bernhardt in 1912 leisurely discussed the "Next War." "We must not hope to bring about this attack by waiting passively. Neither France, nor Russia, nor England needs to attack in order to further their interests. So long as we shrink from attack, they can force us to submit to their

will by diplomacy. . . . If we wish to bring about an attack by our opponents, we must initiate an active policy, which without attacking France, will so prejudice her interests or those of England, that both those States would feel themselves compelled to attack us."

All the naval men knew that a favorite toast on German ships of war was "Der Tag," the day of attack on England. The activity of Germany in fortifying Baltic and Atlantic ports and defences did not look like peace. The submission of the highest civil authorities to the army was not peaceful. In 1913, the German Army was much increased,

coming up from a total of 627,000 officers and men in the Army and 33,000 in the Navy in 1911 to 807,000 soldiers and 73,000 sailors as the "peace establishment" of 1914. The official reasons for this increase and also for the special war contribution of 250 million dollars authorized in 1913 was a similar increase in the French Army, which from

New uniforms had been recently designed and prepared in immense numbers.

The German General Staff as early as June 9, 1914, thought it expedient to make certain war preparations; for on that day, they notified some of the manufactories that they were authorized to unseal certain "documents with industrial mobilization plans." Still



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A Bird's-eye View of Copenhagen

The palaces and docks of Copenhagen as seen from the dome of the Marble Church.

1911 to 1914 was raised from about 610,000 troops in France and Algeria and 25,000 men in the Navy to 703,000 and 26,000 sailors. Another reason which the Emperor is alleged to have stated in public was that the Balkan wars showed such a military capacity on the part of the little nations down there that the German Army must be enlarged. Rumors were current in the spring of 1914 that military leaves were cut short and certain forms of military preparation were hastened. We know now that Germany had constructed new guns of marvelous range and destructiveness, which were a profound military secret.

more significant was the authority given to embassies at various courts to draw on funds that had been established in advance "for the destruction of the enemy's factories, plants, and the most important military and civil structures."

All this makes clear that in the early summer of 1914 the belief was filtering through high German circles that war was likely. If precautions had been taken at that time for warning the great merchant fleet, it would be reasonable to suppose that the government was resolved on war as early as July 1. The United States had an unsuspected share in

these tentative preparations for war. July 10, weeks before the final crisis, a party of Germans were gathered together for instruction and in August sailed under the general command of Doctor Heinrich Albert, a trusted

effort to construct a public opinion favorable to Germany. Other funds were also drawn upon forthwith for the destruction of the lives and property of American citizens, who might venture to be neutral.



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Haakon VII, King of Norway

In whose country William II was a visitor when the Great Explosion was about to occur.

German official, to manufacture public opinion favorable to Germany in the United States. It appears that this cohort was part of a larger body of men who for some time had been in training with a view to service when the special need should arise. It was no coincidence that shortly after they reached the United States the German government through Ambassador Bernstorff in Washington started up this machine. First and last Albert handled about \$35,000,000 in the vain

SUPPORT OF THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM

Inasmuch as the first declaration of war was that of Austria against Serbia on July 25, and as the initial diplomacy was between Austria and Russia, the responsibility for the war would fall upon Austria if that Empire acted as an independent agent; and the German government at the time took the ground that it had no knowledge of the contents of the fatal ultimatum, till it was sent out to the European capitals. The records show that on July 20, Sir Edward Grey was informed by the German Ambassador at London of some step to be taken by Austria; and two days later Ambassador Goschen reported that the German Secretary of State expected there would be "an Austrian *démarche*" at Belgrade, but it would be a matter between Serbia and Austria. Emperor William was at the moment absent on a vacation in Norway, and somehow did not return till the danger of war was threatening. Not being apprised of the nature of the document, how could the German government be held responsible?

First, because a step by Austria which was almost certain to arouse Russia, if taken without previous understanding with Germany, would have been an affront; and second, because there is positive proof that the German Chancellor, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Emperor, and chief military authorities knew precisely what Austria was going to demand, approved it, and promised to back it up. Possibly, they expected that Russia would give way rather than go to war. If not, they were ready to meet that issue also.

The principal evidence on this point is the revelation made by Doctor Mühlön, a German diplomat, and one of the directors of the great Krupp steel and arms factory. In 1918, he published in a German newspaper a statement, of which the following extracts cover this point:

"In the middle of July, 1914, as on many other occasions, I had a conversation with Dr. Helfferich, who was at that time the Director of the

Deutsche Bank in Berlin and is now the official representative of the Imperial Chancellor. . . .

"The political situation has become very threatening. In any case the Deutsche Bank must wait before committing itself further in foreign countries. The Austrians have been with

"Dr. Helfferich added that the Kaiser had expressed his decided approval of this Austro-Hungarian move. The Kaiser had said that he regarded a conflict with Serbia as a domestic affair concerning Austria-Hungary and Serbia alone, and that he would not allow any other



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A Bird's-eye View of Stockholm

Stockholm was one of the places visited by the Kaiser on his cruise, just before the outbreak of the war.

the Kaiser during the last few days. In eight days' time Vienna will deliver a very sharply worded Ultimatum to Serbia. The Ultimatum, which will have a quite short time-limit, will contain demands of the following nature: punishment of a number of officers, dissolution of political associations, criminal investigations in Serbia with the coöperation of officials of the Dual Monarchy. In fact, immediate satisfaction will be demanded on a number of definite issues, failing which Austria-Hungary will declare war on Serbia.'

state to interfere; that if Russia mobilized, he would mobilize too; that mobilization in his case meant immediate war; and that this time there should be no wavering. The Austrians, according to Dr. Helfferich, were delighted at the Kaiser's determined attitude.

"Thereupon I remarked to Dr. Helfferich that, even before his disquieting communication, I had been very much afraid that a world-war was coming, and that my fears were now converted into absolute certainty. He replied that 'things certainly looked like war, but that perhaps



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Krupp von Bohlen

The husband of Bertha Krupp. He took her name, as there were no male heirs in the Krupp family. The Krupp works at Essen, where Germany's munitions were made, employed over 100,000 men.

France and Russia would after all reconsider their attitude in the matter. The Serbs decidedly deserved a lasting lesson."

Mühlön goes on to say that he brought this matter to the attention of von Bohlen, head of the Krupp company, who added to the previous information:

"He had himself been with the Kaiser during the last few days. The Kaiser had spoken to him too about his conversation with the Austrians and its result, but had so emphasized the secrecy of the matter that he would not have ventured to tell even his own Board of Directors. But, as I already knew about it, he could tell me that Helfferich's statements were correct. Indeed, Helfferich appeared to know more details than he (Bohlen) himself. The position was, in fact, very critical. The Kaiser had told him he would declare war at once if Russia mobilized. This time people would see that he would not change his mind. The Kaiser's emphatic and repeated asseveration that this time nobody would be able to reproach him with irresolution had produced an almost comic effect."

"Vienna's Ultimatum to Serbia made its appearance on the very day which Helfferich had predicted to me. I was again in Berlin at the time, and said frankly to Helfferich that I found the Ultimatum, in form and in content, simply monstrous. . . . On the same occasion Helfferich also told me that the Kaiser's Scandinavian cruise was only a blind; that he had not arranged it on the customary scale, but was keeping it in constant communication and near enough to be reached at any moment. All one could do now was to wait and see what happened. One must hope that the Austrians—who of course did not expect the Ultimatum to be accepted—would act quickly, before the other Powers had time to interfere. The Deutsche Bank had already made its preparations, so that it was ready for all eventualities. . . .

"Very soon after the Viennese Ultimatum to Serbia the German government issued an announcement to the effect that Austria-Hungary had acted on its own account without Germany's foreknowledge. If one endeavored to reconcile this announcement with the events which I have described above, the only possible solution was that the Kaiser had already committed himself, without allowing his government any hand in the matter; and that the German representatives had not attempted, in their conversations with the Austrians, to draft an agreed text of the Ultimatum.

"For the contents of the Ultimatum, as I have shown above, were known with considerable accuracy in Germany. . . .

"After he (Bohlen) had spoken to von Jagow he gave me the following account of the interview: Herr von Jagow persisted in assuring him that he had taken no part in composing the text of the Austro-Hungarian Ultimatum, and that Ger-

many had never even asked to collaborate. To Herr von Bohlen's objection that this was really inconceivable, Herr von Jagow had answered that of course he himself, as a diplomat, had thought of making a demand of the kind, but that, by the time he was informed of the matter and had been called in, the Kaiser was so deeply committed that it was already too late to take any steps consistent with diplomatic usage, and that there was nothing more to be done. The situation had been such that it was impossible any longer to propose any reservations and conditions. Moreover he, Jagow, had come to the conclusion that there would be one advantage in the omission, viz., that a good effect would be produced in Petrograd and Paris by the announcement, which Germany would be able to make, that we had not collaborated in the Viennese Ultimatum."

No further comment or discussion of this amazing document is necessary. It has never been set aside, and it proves that the All-Highest and the many-lowest combined to deceive their own countrymen, and to send forth to the world a statement of Germany's position which was a clumsy lie.

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE

If Mühlön had kept silence, we should still be certain that Germany egged Austria on, in pursuance of a plan formed at an official conference, called by the Emperor on July 5, 1914. Hugo Haase, Socialist member of Parliament, in 1917 made a public reference to "a meeting of July 5, 1914." The Chancellor, Admiral von Tirpitz, several high military officers, and the Foreign Ministers of Austria and of Hungary, he said, as well as the German Minister to Turkey, were present, and took part. This is confirmed by statements, made to the American Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople, by the German Ambassador to Turkey, Wangenheim, who said that he was himself present, and the decision was there made to go to war, following up a strong declaration by Austria. Here is his tale:

"The Kaiser presided; nearly all the ambassadors attended. . . . Moltke, then Chief of Staff, was there, representing the Army, and Admiral von Tirpitz spoke for the Navy. The great bankers, railroad directors, and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparations as the Army itself, also attended."

This meeting is in conformity with the general trend of the Mühlen disclosure, which has been backed up by recent published extracts of Mühlen's diary, for instance, the following entry August 23:

"People blame our diplomats for muddling the war. My opinion is that these diplomats have been handicapped by the power, the vacillating character and the continual interference of the Kaiser in their work. Only men who would dance to his piping could remain in office, and such men were always determined to remain in office come what might. They are full of the desire for power but have no convictions."

An entry from Lichnowsky's memorandum in the same direction follows:

"On my arrival in Berlin [end of June or beginning of July] I saw the Chancellor . . . Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, who complained about Russian armaments. . . . Thereupon I went to Doctor Zimmermann. His language betrayed unmistakable annoyance with Russia, which was 'everywhere in our way.' . . . On my return from Silesia to London [presumably about the middle of July] I stopped only a few hours in Berlin, where I heard that Austria intended to take steps against Serbia in order to put an end to an impossible situation. Subsequently I ascertained that, at the decisive conference at Potsdam on the 5th July, the Vienna inquiry received the unqualified assent of all the leading people, and with the rider that no harm would be done if a war with Russia should result. . . . At that time I received instructions to induce the British Press to adopt a friendly attitude should Austria administer the *coup de grâce* to the 'Great Serbia' movement, and to exert my personal influence to prevent public opinion from becoming inimical to Austria."

THE CHARGE OF MOBILIZATION

Inasmuch as Germany made the first declaration of war on a great power, it was thought necessary to frame an indictment against Russia, which would show that the declaration was absolutely necessary on account of the criminal and deceitful action of Russia in mobilizing her army, and thus attempting to take Germany by surprise. Part of the propaganda in America was a booklet called *Truth about Germany*, in which occurs the surprising statement:

"Emperor William was to be cruelly disappointed; he finally saw himself obliged to proclaim a state of war for Germany, but at that time the Russian and French armies were already

in a state of complete mobilization. . . . The Russian Government stooped to a course of conduct, as to which there can be but one judgment among brave and upright opponents."

This is in accordance with the official statement of the German government, sent out on August 3. The Emperor on July 31



Count Berchtold

The Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was he who sent the ultimatum to Serbia at the outbreak of the World War.

telegraphed to the Czar: "It is still possible for you to maintain the peace of Europe if Russia will decide to put a stop to the military measures that threaten Germany and Austria-Hungary." It is true that the Russians were engaged in mobilizing in the three days just previous to war. It was likewise shown in the later criminal trial of certain Russian officials that the Czar gave an order to discontinue mobilization, and that the military authorities disregarded the order; and that the Minister of War declared to the Germans on his honor that mobilization was not proceeding.

This is, however, not the whole story. Since all the central European powers were

organized on the basis of "an army under the colors," and an additional large body of trained soldiers, who were technically part of the active army, while beyond that there was a second line of *Landwehr* and reserves, "mobilization" was the technical term that covered the calling out and putting in the posture of war of these additional troops. It was not mobilization to move regular troops to any part of the country of which they

cause they were engaged in a controversy with Austria-Hungary, which had already declared war against Serbia, and was mobilizing on the theory that the men were going southward, but, really, to mass a force on the eastern frontier. If it were no breach of international morality for Austria to mobilize, it was no breach for Russia to mobilize with reference to Austria. The Germans, whose spy system must have been adequate, were convinced



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The Night of the Declaration of War in London

The King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales acknowledging the cheers of the great crowds at Buckingham Palace.

were the defence. Of the 800,000 Germans, who were actually in service, and subject to immediate command, it is reasonable to suppose that at least half were sent to the eastern frontier as soon as the German government crystallized its determination to fight.

A glance at the map of the German-Polish frontier shows how complete was the system of German military railroads, parallel with the frontier, and how deficient on the Russian side. The Russians admitted earlier in 1914 a peace strength of 1,300,000. They, therefore, without doubt, began to move up their regular troops, and also to call on the next stratum of soldiers; this was, strictly speaking, mobilization, but to the Russian mind only equalization.

Why must they mobilize? Primarily be-

that they were moving up troops north of Galicia, which they chose to accept as a malicious attack upon peace-loving Germany, which justified war to the utmost. In fact, the Emperor's statement of the reasons for war in the address sent out to the German nation on August 7 took quite a different view: "Our adversaries, however, are jealous of the successes of our work and there has been latent hostility to the east and to the west and beyond the sea. . . . They will not suffer that we maintain our resolute fidelity to our ally, who is fighting for her position as a great power and with whose humiliation our power and honor would equally be lost. So the sword must decide. In the midst of perfect peace the enemy surprises us. Therefore to arms!"

LINE-UP FOR THE WAR

France Fulfils Her Russian Alliance—England Defends Belgium—
Italy Remains Neutral

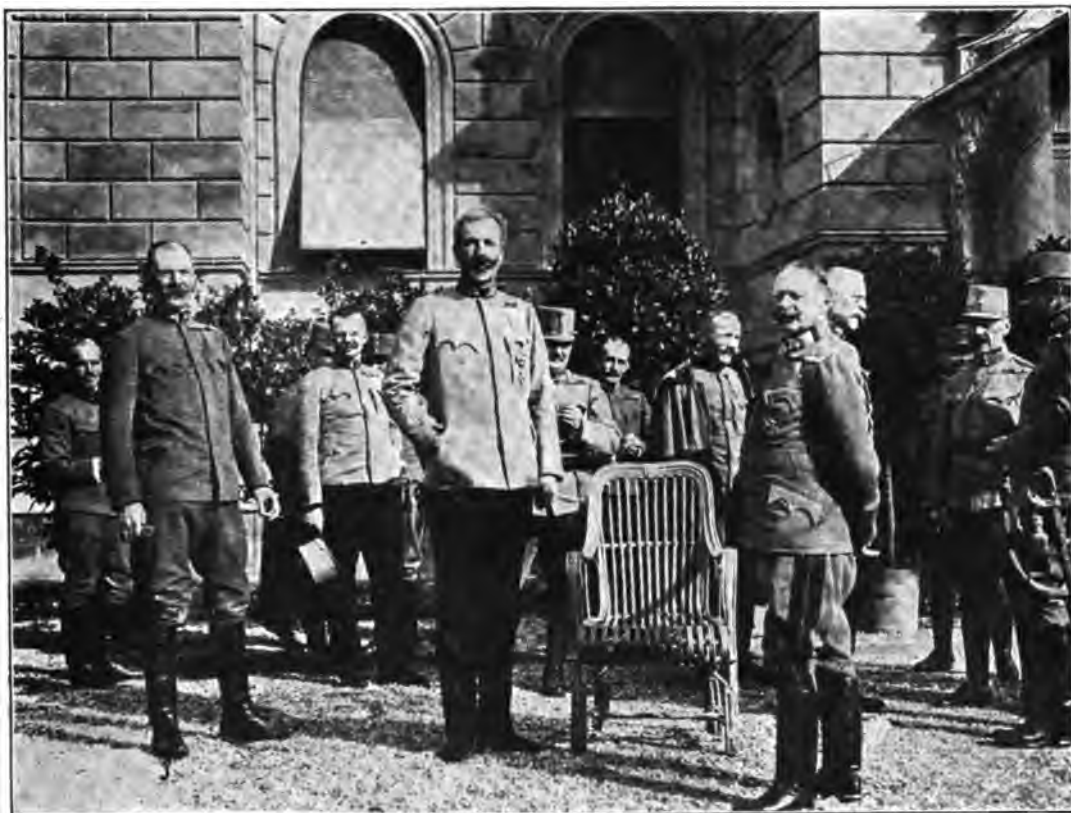
XXI

THE WORLD WAR BEGINS

THE declaration of Germany upon Russia dated "August 1, 10 minutes past 7 in the evening," sets forth the desire of Germany to find a specific solution and the

fused to accede to this demand and having manifested by this refusal that its action was directed against Germany—"His Majesty, the Emperor, Mighty August Sovereign in the name of the Empire, taking up the challenge, considers himself in a state of war with Russia."

This first of many declarations against



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Archduke Eugene of Austria and His Staff

General Archduke Eugene, in center; on his right, War Minister Krobatin; on his left, Assistant War Minister Earl Edler von Nellmond; in the rear, at right, General-of-Staff F. M. C. Krauss.

alleged assumption of a "mediator rôle by the Emperor, which was broken up when Russia without awaiting the result of this proceeded with the complete mobilization of her forces on land and sea." The essential terms of the German declaration are: Russia, having re-

large powers threw all Europe into confusion. If we are to believe one of the most unblushing apologists for the Germans, "Without a declaration of war Russian troops crossed the German border, opened fire on German troops, and attempted to dynamite bridges and

buildings. In like manner without a declaration of war French aviators appeared above unfortified cities in South Germany and sought by throwing bombs to destroy the railways. French detachments crossed the German border and occupied German villages. French aviators flew across neutral Belgium to carry out warlike plans against the lower



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Grand Place and the Town Hall of Brussels

The beautiful town hall of Gothic structure dates in part from the 15th century. It has a spire 364 feet high.

Rhine district of Germany. A considerable number of French officers, disguised in German uniforms, tried to cross the Dutch-German frontier in an automobile in order to destroy institutions in German territory. It is plain that both France and Russia desire to compel Germany to make the first step in declaring war, so that the appearance of having broken the peace might in the eyes of the world rest upon Germany."

This statement is as true as most of the German discussions at the time. That is to say, it was proved afterward that the French withdrew their troops 10 kilometers along the boundary so as to prevent collisions on the frontier. The most adroit stickler for niceties in international law could hardly deny

that when Germany declared war on Russia, the Russians were, whether they liked it or not, also at war with the Germans, and no declaration on their side would strengthen that situation. The tale that Nuremberg was bombarded from the sky was denied by the civic authorities of that city. That aviators from France, which was still a neutral power, should cross the territory of Belgians or Dutch who were likewise neutrals can hardly be tortured into an act of war against Germany. The tale of the French officers disguised in German uniforms is so exactly in accordance with the strategy later employed by the Germans that it would naturally occur to an apologist; but both charges were refuted at the time by both French and Dutch.

The amazing thing is that, in spite of the terrific pressure of the three days following August 1, the Western Powers bore themselves with so much dignity and courage. For the danger was fearful: the French knew that, though they had a slight advantage in men actually under arms, they were inferior to the Germans in equipment and transportation and the fortification of their frontier. The Swiss within a few hours called out their six months' trained army which was their wall throughout the war. The Dutch and Belgians appeared to have had not the slightest immediate expectation of invasion. Across the Channel lay England, the real rival of Germany among world powers. To the German mind it was suspicious that the British fleet, which happened to be on its usual summer cruise, was not dispersed but remained athwart the islands. A few hours were to settle the line-up in the west.

FRANCE IN THE WAR

That the French would enter on the war was absolutely certain. They only waited in the hope of bringing the English into the combination. The Germans had been filling in on the frontier ever since July 25, and by the twenty-eighth, they were summoning reservists in a fashion which, had it happened in Russia, would probably have been looked upon as "mobilization." On July 31, the Germans gave another evidence of their confidence that war was coming by requiring their Ambassador in Paris to "kindly ask the French gov-

ernment whether it would remain neutral in a Russian-German war. Answer must come within eighteen hours." On August 2, the German troops crossed the French frontier. August 3, at 6:45 P.M. the German Ambassador filed with the French government the statement that in consequence of "definitely hostile acts committed on German territory by French military airmen . . . the German Empire considers itself to be in a state of war with France by the act of the latter power."

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

Next to be swept over the precipice was Belgium. No power in Europe had less to do with the troubles in the Balkans which had started the fire. No power had less reason to suspect the hostility of a powerful neighbor. Belgium as an independent nation counted back only to 1830; but the people had for many centuries been associated. The geographical situation of the country made it a fighting ground for other nations in many European wars. It was therefore rather for the protection of other countries than for the protection of Belgium that the liberty-loving provinces in 1830 declared themselves independent from the Kingdom of Holland. Later the five great European powers of the time made a treaty of neutrality to the effect that "Belgium shall form a perpetually Neutral State," the five powers guaranteeing this neutrality, a guaranty twice repeated later.

By the treaty of 1831 the five great powers agreed to two significant promises: (1) "Belgium . . . shall form an independent and perpetually Neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such Neutrality toward all other States." (2) The five powers "guarantee to His Majesty the King of the Belgians the execution of all these preceding articles." Holland was in a sullen frame of mind and was not a party to this treaty, but in 1839 signed a second treaty with the powers to the effect that "Belgium shall form an independent perpetually Neutral State which shall be bound to observe such Neutrality toward all other States." This treaty was intended to, and did supersede the treaty of 1831, and there is no evidence that it was anything but satisfactory to Prussia, which was one of the signatories.

CONTROVERSY OF 1870-1872

From 1866 to 1870 France was skirmishing about trying to get some sort of hold on Belgium, and when the war of 1870 with Prussia broke out, the British government was very nervous lest the French should throw a force into the neutralized State. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, in a speech in the House of Commons, declared that, "if, in order to satisfy a greedy appetite for aggrandizement, coming whence it may, Belgium were absorbed, the day that witnessed that absorption would hear the knell of public right and public law in Europe." On the Prussian side Bismarck notified Belgium: "I have the honor to give in writing a declaration, which, in view of the treaties in force, is quite superfluous, that the Confederation of the North and its allies (Germany) will respect the neutrality of Belgium on the understanding, of course, that it is respected by the other belligerent."

This was satisfactory to England on one side, and in order to hedge off France, England pressed for a special convention between England, France, and Germany, and France yielded and signed the treaty of 1870. The object was not to supersede the treaty of 1839, which by the terms of the new convention was to come into force again at the end of the war; but simply to provide a special guaranty under which the French might expect immediate war by England if they invaded Belgium. In the course of the debate Gladstone made use of the oft-quoted statement that: "It is not necessary, nor would time permit me, to enter into the complicated question of the nature of the obligations of that Treaty; but I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine . . . that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it irrespectively altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises."

Any one who reads the whole debate in Hansard will see that Gladstone's position is substantially the following: (1) a change of circumstances does not entitle a power to invade a neutralized country in the guaranty of which it has previously joined; but a change of circumstances may justify another



France Aroused

From the sculpture by J. Davison

The indomitable spirit of France was one of the wonderful manifestations of the war. In this sculpture is personified the courage and reckless abandon born of despair in the face of overwhelming odds—the spirit which defied the Germans before Verdun and stopped them there and saved civilization with the immortal slogan “They shall not pass!”

guarantor for taking up arms for no other reason but to protect the neutralized State. (2) This being the case, England will make a positive agreement to fight for the protection of Belgium if either France or Prussia should invade it.

NEUTRALITY CONTINUED (1871-1914)

The treaty of 1839 again came in force in 1872 and its validity was not questioned by

discussed between German officers and Turkish officers for the defence of Turkey in case that power were engaged in war. The later German effort to make out that this was a treaty of offensive alliance between England and Belgium has no foundation in any documents or statements that have reached the public. A report of Baron Greindell, Belgian Minister to Germany, of December, 1911, was found by the Germans in the Belgian archives, which is the expression of his



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The Fortress and Town at Dinant

any of the signers of the treaty. The Belgians, however, were nervous and in 1890 constructed forts at Liège and Namur, as they had a right to do under the terms of the treaty of 1870.

In 1906 an English officer, Colonel Barnardiston, under direction of the British General Staff, discussed with Belgian officers what common measures might be taken in case Belgium were at war with Germany. No treaty or agreement was made, and it does not appear that the proceeding in any way differed from plans which presumably were

personal opinion that the French in alliance with the English were as likely to invade Belgium as was Germany. In 1913, however, the Belgian government did ask Grey whether England had any designs on Belgium, and he gave a positive assurance that "as long as it [neutrality] is not violated by any other power, we shall certainly not send troops ourselves into their territory."

On the German side the Belgians felt some apprehensions which the German government sought to remove. King Leopold was himself a German by birth, and Germany gave aid in

securing the Congo region for him. Nevertheless Belgium was so uneasy that in 1909 steps were taken for building up an efficient army, which by an act of 1912 was to be doubled. It is impossible to discover hostility to Germany in any evidence that has been



General Leman

The gallant defender of Liège.

given to the public from any source. That is why the German government never made any protest against any public act of Belgium; why they never withdrew their guaranty of Belgian neutrality, as would have been an undoubted international right if they could have proved a previous breach of the condition by Belgium; why they never protested at the fortifications and the new army of Belgium. The treaty of neutralization was an advantage which Germany enjoyed to the full; and that is doubtless why, when in 1871 the Belgians felt nervous about the French and the English, the Germans renewed their adherence to the neutrality.

FATE OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

Not only did Germany recognize in the clearest manner that it had no grievance

against Belgium, but the Belgians on their part felt innocent of any failure in their duties, as is shown by the communication sent out by the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs to his representatives in the capitals of the Five Great Powers July 24, 1914, on the news of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. He inclosed a document entitled "To the Powers who have guaranteed Belgian independence and its neutrality, a communication for the purpose of confirming to them its resolution to carry out the international duties which are imposed upon it by treaties in the event of war breaking out on the Belgian frontiers." Four days later, when the danger of war between France and Germany loomed up distinctly, steps were taken to prepare the Army and the forts. On July 31 the Belgians mobilized their troops as a means of placing the country in an attitude of defence.

For years it had been a matter of common report that the French defences along the eastern boundary were so strong that the Germans were likely in case of another war to attack France through Belgium. Bernhardt three years before suggested that both Holland and Belgium "would have to face the momentous question, whether they would conform to England's will, and thus incur Germany's enmity, or would prefer that adhesion to the German Empire which geography dictates."

Hence the nervousness of the Belgians, which was greatly enhanced by the news, August 2, that Luxemburg had been occupied by German troops, "intended to insure against a possible attack of a French Army." The obligations of Germany to respect the neutrality of Luxemburg were even stronger than in the case of Belgium because it was the German government which in 1867 demanded and secured the neutrality of Luxemburg.

The next day the turn of the Belgians came. While they were hoping for a formal disavowal by the German government of any intent to make use of Belgium,—such a disavowal as was given by Bismarck in 1870—the German minister suddenly presented an official communication to the effect that as the Germans had "received reliable information according to which the French forces intend to march upon the Meuse by the way of

Givet and Namur—it is an imperative duty for the preservation of Germany to forestall the attack of the enemy.” An announcement within eight hours was made that resistance on the part of the Belgians would be treated as war. Next morning Belgium answered that she would “repulse by every means in

the English started the war in order to despoil Germany, all point to a conclusion reached by that nation that the English were too much afraid of their skins and their pockets to go into a war that was not put straight at them.

Lichnowsky in his memorandum tells us



Crowd at the Royal Exchange in London Listening to the King's Reading of the War Proclamation

her power any attack upon her rights.” The following day, August 4, the Germans crossed the boundary and the Belgian nation at once and by irresistible force was made a belligerent and a participant in hostilities along with the Allied Powers.

It seems incredible that the Germans could have expected that the British would remain neutral under any circumstances. Their secret service must have got wind of the English agreement to protect the French coast, which meant practically to protect France from any enemy. Nevertheless the intense bitterness of feeling toward Great Britain, the charges of perfidy, the violent assertion that

how hard he worked to cultivate the good will of the English, and how much friendship he found in commercial circles. He even thought at one time that England was ready to stay out of the war if the Germans would promise not to take French colonies; on the other hand, he records his firm “convictions that under no circumstances had we to fear a British attack or British support for any foreign attack, but that under any circumstances England would protect the French.”

August 2, just before the invasion of Belgium, Sir Edward Grey gave to the French the following memorandum: “I am authorized to give an assurance if the German fleet

comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power." This was really the turning point. The first appearance of the German fleet in the Channel would have led to war.

The situation was made acute by the invasion of Belgium. Of course the Great General Staff tried with all its rhetoric to make out that England was the aggressor there by the treacherous invasion of that country she would have made if she could. The fact remains that the attack upon Belgium was recognized as virtually an attack on England's sea front. Antwerp was closely bound to England by commerce. Ostend is almost in sight of the English coast. The invasion of Belgium was probably intended from the first to be a permanent conquest, with the purpose of establishing a new naval station three hours from Dover. Nothing could now stay the entrance of England into the war. She was not bound to support Russia nor formally pledged to send armies to the relief of France. The truth was that a second focus of war was developed when the Germans seized the coast of the North Sea. England could not refuse that challenge, for it meant war to the death for the colonies and her seaports.

At this terrible moment a German statesman furnished an epitaph for himself and an eternal brand for his country. On August 4, 1914, the British Ambassador in Berlin, Goschen, went to the Foreign Office to protest. Von Jagow, the Secretary of State, reasoned with the Englishman about Belgium. "They had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way." "It was a matter of life and death for them." "The safety of the Empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the imperial troops should advance through Belgium." When informed that in that case the British must make war, Von Jagow "expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain and then through Great Britain to get closer to France."

Goschen as a last resort went to see Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg. "His Excellency at once began a harangue which lasted about twenty minutes. He said that the step

taken by His Majesty's government was terrible to a degree. Just for a word—'Neutrality,' a word which in wartime had been so often disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen."

On that day war was declared by England upon Germany. The Triple Entente had become a military alliance. On that very day was signed an agreement between Russia, France, and Great Britain providing that they would make war in common and no peace without the consent of all three. Serbia and its ally Montenegro instantly swept in as partners in opposing the impending invasion by the Austrians. Italy weighed the matter carefully and held that this was no "defensive war" for her two allies, and she stood neutral. How other powers were drawn in, in Europe and Asia, in Africa and in Oceanica and North America, and in South America belongs to later parts of this book.

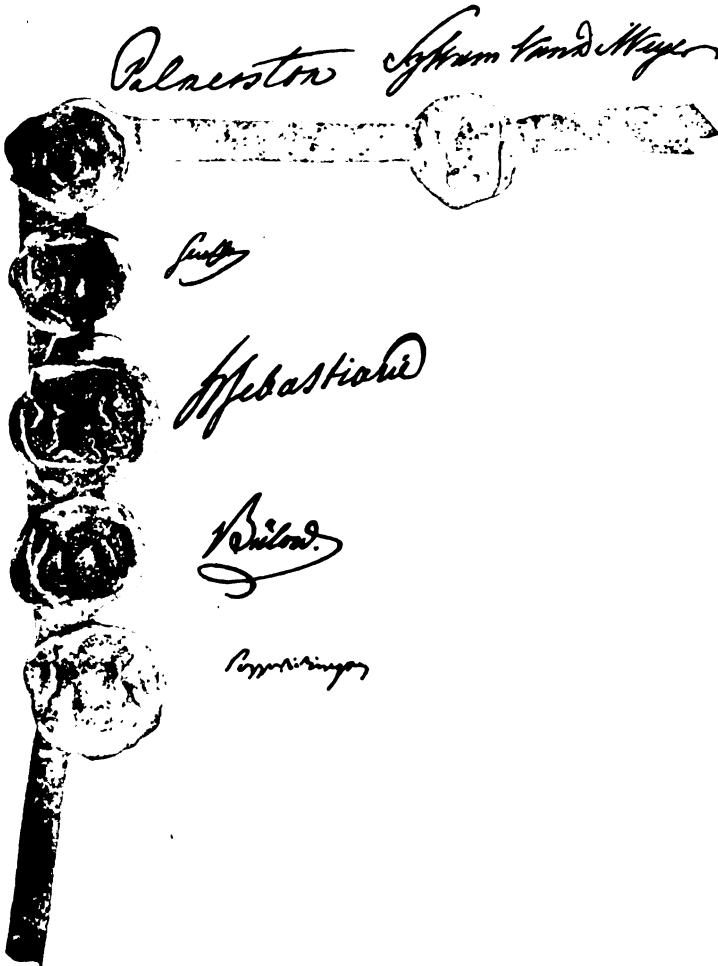
We have followed the whole question from the development of a common consciousness among European nations to the creation of a world's system of state, thence to the influence which built up the European Great Powers. Those influences led finally to an articulation of Europe in which nations had their part, both great and small, and statesmen were pilots and engineers. We have found the ultimate cause of the war in ambitions, not so much personal as national. Among them grew up to vast proportions the purpose of a great and gifted people to build an empire on the living bodies of their fellowmen, on the wrecks of states. The immediate active cause and the most important proximate cause of the World War were the pride and vainglory of the Empire, Government, Kultur, Militarism, and public feeling of Germany.

ARTICLE II.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, His Majesty the King of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, declare, that the Articles mentioned in the preceding Article, are considered as having the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted in the present Act, and that they are thus placed under the guarantee of their said Majesties.

ARTICLE VII.

Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I., II., and IV. shall form an independent and perpetually neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such neutrality towards all other States.



PALMERSTON
British Plenipotentiary
SYLVAN VAN DE WEYER
Belgian Plenipotentiary
SENNFT
Austrian Plenipotentiary
H. SEBASTIANI
French Plenipotentiary
BULOW.
Prussian Plenipotentiary
POZZO DI BORGO
Russian Plenipotentiary

The "Scrap of Paper"

The above is a facsimile of that part of the treaty of 1839 in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia guaranteed Belgium as a perpetually neutral state. It was Germany's deliberate violation of this treaty which precipitated the World War.

GERMANY BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF MANKIND *

EDITED BY JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

Professor of History in Smith College

THE GERMAN STATE OF MIND

All Individuality Lost in Obedience to the State, Which Worships
Only Material Success

I

THE NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

WHEN, as often during the war, the German government, or any of its agents, committed an action more than usually reprehensible, and it seemed as if plain common sense must have prevented the deed, even if a feeling of common humanity failed, the French people would remark: "There is your German mentality!"

It is manifest that the German "mentality" which brought on and conducted the war is in many respects different from that of other peoples. How this difference was caused is worth our investigation.

THE STATE NOT BOUND BY MORAL LAW

One of the worst features of the German militaristic philosophy was the idea that the State is not bound by the ordinary moral obligations of individuals. At the last resort it may do anything to preserve itself. Says Von Treitschke, in his *Politik*, I, §3:

"The individual must sacrifice himself for the higher community of which he is a member; but the State is itself the highest conception in the wider community of man, and therefore the duty of self-annihilation does not enter into the case. The Christian duty of sacrifice for something higher does not exist for the State, for there is nothing higher than it in the world's history; consequently it cannot sacrifice itself to some-

thing higher. When a State sees its downfall staring it in the face, we applaud if it succumbs sword in hand. A sacrifice made to an alien nation not only is immoral, but contradicts the idea of self-preservation, which is the highest ideal of a State."

Noteworthy also are Treitschke's statements:

"A State cannot bind its will for the future as against another State. A State has no superior judge over itself and it will conclude all treaties with this tacit reservation." "The establishment of an international court of arbitration is irreconcilable with the nature of the State. To the end of history, weapons will retain their rights; and precisely therein lies the sanctity of war." "Of all political sins the most abominable and the most contemptible is *weakness*; this is, in politics, the sin against the Holy Ghost."

THE GERMAN THEORY OF THE STATE

A writer in the *Round Table* for 1914-15 has thus described the German theory of the State:

"The most conspicuous aspect of the new school of thought was a blind and uncritical belief in the superiority of the German race, and in the destiny of the autocratic Germanic State eventually to dominate the world by force of arms. The State, according to Treitschke and the dominant Prussian School, is an end in itself. 'States,' he says, 'do not arise out of the peoples' sovereignty, but they are created against the will of the people.' The State is something

* In the following pages the causes of the World War are dealt with as they were revealed in official documents, and by the utterances of statesmen and publicists of England, Germany, and America.

beyond the people. It 'protects and embraces the life of the people, regulating it externally in all directions. . . . It demands obedience.' Hence the State stands superior to the laws of morality. 'It will always,' says Treitschke, 'redound to the glory of Machiavelli that he has placed the State on a solid foundation, and that he has freed the State and its morality from the moral precepts taught by the Church, but especially because he has been the first to teach that the State is power.' Thus to modern official Germany the State is a non-moral predatory organism, whose primary function is the acquisition of power in order that it may prevail in the struggle for existence with other States. The law of its being is not the law of truth, justice, and honor, but the law that might is right. Hence the noblest duty of the subject is dedication and sacrifice to the will of the State, without criticism and without question, and the noblest function of the State is to express its power by domination, repression, conquest, and war. This doctrine, so subversive of political morality and the true welfare of the community, is the inevitable outcome of the autocratic system. It is certain to arise where the government is a body of men distinct from the people and always in power, for they invariably come to regard their own power as the essence of the State and they attempt by every possible means to preserve their own privileged position and to persuade their subjects that it is unpatriotic, disloyal, and even impious to dispute their will."

PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY

In the liberal countries of the world a tremendous pressure is brought to bear upon the government by organized public opinion; and existing governments are usually bound to follow, in the long run, the will of that public opinion as expressed, for example, in the newspapers. In Germany, such was far from being the case. Public opinion was formed, not by independent expression from below, but by the will of the government from above. Newspapers, with rare exception, doled out to their readers what the government wished them to believe, not the independently formed ideas of the editors. Professor Nippold, of Berne University, thus explains how public opinion in Germany is formed:

"Public opinion is regarded in Germany as a thing that is made from above; and since the press and the people consciously or unconsciously accept this situation as a matter of course, it is precisely those views which are regarded as desirable by the powers that be that are dom-



An Austrian Postcard

The English *Daily Mail* thought this conception of hate superior to most German pictorial representations.

inant in Germany in all questions of foreign policy. Under these circumstances it was, of course not difficult to divert the attention of the German public from the mistakes which its own statesmen had made in the last decades. This of course was most easily done by rolling off these mistakes upon others. Thus the self-encirclement of Germany, for which German policy was responsible, was artfully converted into an encirclement (*so wurde aus der Selbstauskreisung Deutschlands, die eine Schuld der deutschen Politik war, künstlich eine Einkreisung gemacht*)."

A MIND THAT YIELDS TO CENTRAL CONTROL

The average German, of course, considered that this sinking of the individual into the State was not a fault, but a virtue. To him the Anglo-Saxon ideal of the importance of the individual was a false ideal. The success of a State is, to him, determined by the military and economic strength of the State, not by the happiness and culture of the individual citizen. Professor von Schulze-Gaevernitz of Freiburg made the following contrast between the two ideals, which well illustrated the German viewpoint:

"The discipline of the individual as a part of the social whole is, for the German, no servitude, as the Briton is wont to imagine, but a higher step toward freedom. For the individual in that way confers the place of transcendent value upon society.

"Law seems to bind with rigid fetters
Only the mind of the slave who spurns it."

"The collective force of Germany, which interlocks the free individual with the social whole,

is stronger than the forceful individuals whom old England produced. This tendency is observable in the German Army, in German state enterprises, and in the *kartel* organization of German capital. At his best the Briton succeeded in subjecting the world to British dominion through strong personalities for the glory of a world-strange God.

"The German, on the other hand, does his best in creating a highly organized community for the purpose of furthering in society the historic

dream years more for the attempt to build out of the germs then in existence a new social order.

"Beyond these national aims the German does not strive for world dominion, but for a rational organization of the world on the basis of voluntary coöperation. Kant's *Eternal Peace* is to him an ideal always to be striven for, even though unattainable. But between this indefinite remote aim—'One flock and one shepherd!'—and the to-day, full of national antagonisms, the German believes that he can realize certain intermediate



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Emperor William I Entering Berlin in Triumph in 1871

From a painting by Camphausen

development of eternal values. Thus the idea of the Kingdom of God (*Civitas Dei*) and its visible manifestation in the Christian Church continue to produce beneficent results. Corresponding to this difference in philosophic outlook between the two races, there is a difference in political aims. The formal freedom of the Briton the German regards only as the first step beyond which he must go, by bringing about a rational organization of the State for material justice, and in this respect the Prussian State Socialist and the Social Democrat are at one.

"The German strives for rational order, where the British ideal of competition places the blind forces of finance upon an arbitrary throne. No one knew this better than an Englishman himself—Carlyle—who thought that Germany when she took the lead in Europe had secured several hun-

steps through a welding for a federal union of nations akin in interests and civilization.

"That such a political organization can be expected Germany has proved by its *kartels*, wherein stronger and weaker units exist with advantage to all. Switzerland, essentially German in character, constitutes such a federation, comprising three of the principal European nationalities. Similarly, Austria-Hungary should be such a federation, assuring equal rights to Germans, Magyars, Rumanians, west and southern Slavs."*

PRUSSIAN IDEALS BASED ON FORCE

With such ideals it was perhaps inevitable that Germany had made of force its religion.

* *New York Times Current History of the War*, III.



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London Scanning the Skies for German Dirigibles and Bomb Throwers

The photograph shows the sky illuminations at Charing Cross. In front is the Victoria embankment along the Thames, with Cleopatra's Needle, an ancient Egyptian monument, standing out prominently.

After Prussia got control of the other German States, Prussian ideals were imposed upon the others, and Prussia has been, since its inception, devoted to the worship of brute force. In the *Round Table*, again, this is well expressed:

"The doctrine of winning ascendancy by force was also the traditional policy of Prussia. From its inception the Prussian State has been based on force. It was Christianized, not by the slower and more stable method of voluntary conversion, but by force. It was given unity by the forcible overthrow of the semi-independent knights and cities. It was by force that its boundaries were steadily and deliberately extended; by force that the German ascendancy over the Slavs was preserved; by force that internal order and unity were maintained—force applied through the army or the police at the sole discretion of the king. And war, the final triumph of the policy of force, had always been a familiar idea with Prussia. As Mirabeau said, 'War is Prussia's national industry.'"

GERMANY MORALLY ISOLATED

The effect of such political beliefs upon the German nation was thus described by Henri Bergson, the French philosopher, in the *Bulletin des Armées*:

"What of moral forces, which are invisible, though of the greater importance, because they can supplement the others, and because without them material forces are worth nothing?

"The moral energy of races, as of individuals, subsists only through an ideal that is superior to them and stronger than they. When courage wanes, they hold fast to this ideal. Now what is the ideal of Germany of to-day? The time is past when her philosophers proclaimed the inviolability of right, the eminent dignity of the person, the obligation of one people to respect another. Germany, militarized by Prussia, has cast aside these noble ideas, which for the most part she imbibed from France of the eighteenth century and of the Revolution. She has created a new soul for herself, or rather she has meekly accepted the one that Bismarck gave her. The famous line—'Might makes Right'—has been attributed to this statesman. In truth, Bismarck never said it, for he knew the distinction between right and might. Right, in his eyes, was simply the will of the strongest, which is embodied in the law that the conqueror imposes on the conquered. In this consisted his morality; and Germany of to-day knows no other.

"From this pride proceeds her energy. Her moral force is only the confidence that her material force inspires. That is to say, here again she is living on her reserves, and has no means

of replenishment. Long before England began to blockade her coast, she had blockaded herself morally by isolating herself from all ideals capable of revivifying her.

"Consequently she is going to see her forces and her courage used up simultaneously. . . . Against this force, which is nourished on its own brutality, we oppose that which seeks, outside of itself, above itself, a principle of life and of renewal. While the former exhausts itself little by little, the latter renews itself unceasingly."

PAN-GERMANISM

The German mind was, it seems, peculiarly attracted by the idea that any territory the inhabitants of which speak a language akin to German, should thereby belong politically to the German Empire. This belief was the basis of the more moderate section of what was called the "Pan-German Party." The more advanced Pan-Germans apparently dreamed of a world empire for the German race; but the moderates saw in the Dutch, the Flemings, and elsewhere, races which should be incorporated. Von Bernhardt, in *Germany and the Next War*, p. 72, explains this point:

"The German Empire has suffered great losses of territory in the storms and struggles of the past. The Germany of to-day, considered geographically, is a mutilated torso of the old dominions of the Emperors; it comprises only a fraction of the German peoples. A large number of German fellow-countrymen have been incorporated into other States, or live in political independence, like the Dutch, who have developed into a separate nationality, but in language and national customs cannot deny their German ancestry. Germany has been robbed of her natural boundaries; even the source and mouth of the most characteristically German stream, the much lauded German Rhine, lie outside the German territory. On the eastern frontier, too, where the strength of the modern German Empire grew up in centuries of war against the Slavs, the possessions of Germany are menaced. The Slavonic waves are ever dashing more furiously against the coast of that Germanism, which seems to have lost its old victorious strength."

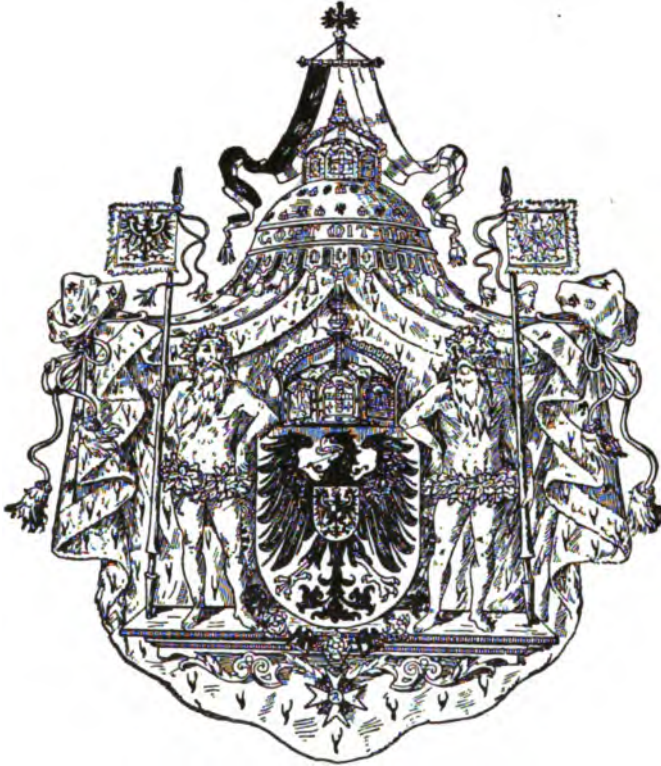
GERMANY LOSES ITS IDEALISM

Of recent years it had become evident, even to many former admirers of Germany, that the younger German generation had abandoned the old German love of knowledge for its own sake and become quite materialistic. Another writer in the *Round Table* drew this

striking contrast between the old, idealistic Germany and the new devotee of Mammon:

"The name of Germany calls to mind two dissimilar human types. The one, sanctioned by a moribund tradition, is a genial wool-gathering professor in a formidable pair of spectacles, untidy of habit and far from athletic in form, the

powerful arm encased in mail. This warrior type has come into existence, so far as the British public is concerned, only during the present century. We have regarded it with increasing dislike and anxiety, as a somewhat uncivilized *parvenu* in the comity of nations. It has, to our eye, an outline of primitive and almost brutal suggestion, like the rudimentary masses favored by some modern German architecture. Contrasted



The Coat of Arms of the House
of Hohenzollern

"God with us" is the meaning of the inscription above.

dedicated slave rather than the possessor of several large notebooks and a collecting-box. We have all laughed at that German professor in our infancy. Like John Bull or Uncle Sam, he is an established type. He was the only kind of German who figured in boys' books of adventure, at any rate till the end of the nineteenth century, and we gave him our affectionate patronage—the sort of patronage a public-school boy in the first eleven would bestow upon an amiable bookworm.

"The other type of German is in spirit the absolute antithesis of the professor, though he conceals a strong touch of the professor under his uniform. He is a military figure of imposing build, helmeted, cuirassed and spurred, with up-turned mustaches, a commanding eye, and a

with the public school type which we prefer, it calls to mind a strong and clever, but ungentelemanly bully.

"Like John Bull or Uncle Sam, these two German figures are, of course, merely the rough types of popular caricature; but like all such types they represent an instinctive popular judgment which is seldom very much astray. In the case of Germany, as in other cases, the two figures are founded on broad truth, and they epitomize together in a very significant way the origin and character of the new German Empire. The transformation of the one into the other is one of the most remarkable events in history. Even so, Faust, calling in a dangerous doctor for the trouble of his soul, abandoned his study,

his books, his tubes and retorts, his doctor's gown, in order to live the worldly life he had hitherto despised."

THE NEW GENERATION OF YOUNG GERMANS

Dr. Wolf von Schierbrand, writing for an American audience, admitted the truth of the change in German thought:

"The whole spirit has greatly changed in German schools and higher educational institutions. This is but natural in a nation whose conditions of life have been so greatly modified of late. And this change is even more noticeable among the students and pupils than among their teachers. The spirit of bold militarism is rampant among these boys and young men. For the specific form it has taken, *streberthum* has been coined in Germany, which in its generally accepted meaning stands for a hard striving after material success, no matter what the means employed to that end. There is, indeed, no disguising the fact that German youth of today is no longer distinguished for that idealism, that love of science and knowledge for their own sake, which formed one of the prime characteristics until not many years ago. The present generation of young Germans has discarded old aims and ideals, and indulges no longer in ideals of any kind. They are severely matter-of-fact. This change is most pronounced among the university students."

WHAT THE WORLD OWES TO GERMANY

An English writer in the *Round Table* paid a well-expressed tribute to the glories of the old Germany, in such striking contrast to the new, and to its contributions to the true culture, of which modern Germany was so contemptuous:

"It was due to these great differences of character and temperament that, while England was building up her Empire, Germany, divided into many States, was making little impression upon the world except in the things of the mind. The world's debt to Germany for thought and knowledge is inestimable; for political science it is small. Germany was a land of dreams. Her peoples from the earliest times had been children of romance, and they became, not only pioneers of thought, but the unequalled masters of certain forms of imaginative art. Of that the mere names of their composers and poets—Grimm and Humperdinck, Schubert and Schumann, Schiller, Heine, Weber, Brahms—are sufficient testimony. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner—no other people has had such genius in the world of blended thought and emotion out of which music springs; and no other people has shown so constantly the power of laborious

craftsmanship which musical creation demands. Goethe, who represented in his single work all three of the great movements of German mind—in science, in thought, and in romance—was typical of German capacity, and in his attitude to the world a typical German of his own time.

"Voltaire's saying that while France ruled the land, and England the sea, Germany ruled the clouds, was therefore profoundly true of the Germany of his day. It was the peculiar feature of the Germany which Napoleon overran that her greatest men were either indifferent, like Goethe, to the violent political upheavals of the period, or else, like Beethoven, moved rather by the abstract ideas evolved in revolutionary France than by any German patriotism. The ideal of that Germany was art and culture, not patriotism. Its vital forces were turned to the production, not of political efficiency or military leadership, but of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, and Goethe's *Faust*.

"This was the Germany on which the figure of the genial professor, familiar to caricature, was founded. To it the whole world owes, and has always paid, a steady tribute of affection and gratitude."

NATIONAL EGOISM

The German mind is very remarkable for its assumption that the German race has a special mission in the world and a higher destiny than the other, inferior races. Professor Kuno Francke, in a criticism of Schiller's *Hymn to Germany*, written in 1907, rather sympathetically noticed this trait:

"Apparently Schiller wanted to proclaim the greatness of Germany in the midst of national disasters; he wanted to tell his people, threatened in its very existence by the Napoleonic invasion, that there was still a hope left for it; he wanted to contrast the brute force of military prowess with the eternal achievements of literature and art. Bereft of political power, he says, the German has found his worth in another sphere, a sphere of his own; and even if the empire should crumble to pieces, German greatness would remain unimpaired. To him, the German, the highest destiny has been set. He has been chosen by the world spirit, in the midst of temporary struggles, to devote his work to the eternal structure of human culture, to give permanence to what the fleeting moment brings.

"The brotherhood of nations has no particular charm for the German of the twentieth century. Enlightenment? The time has long passed when this word thrilled the élite of the nation beyond any other. We have come to see that, priceless a possession as intellectual enlightenment is, it is after all not without its dangers, and easily leads the masses to materialism and moral indifference."

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

A Leading German Historian Praises the Very Elements in His Government Which Foreigners Criticize

II

POLITICAL FREEDOM IN GERMANY

MOST German writers complacently saw in the German government an almost perfect creation. Professor Karl Lamprecht, perhaps the best known of modern German historians, gives the following characteristic effusion:

"The gravest and perhaps most widely spread misconception about us Germans is that we are the serfs of our Princes, (*Fuerstenknechte*), servile and dependent in political thought. That false notion has probably been dispelled during the initial weeks of the present war.

"With absolute certainty the German Nation, with one voice and correctly, diagnosed the political situation without respect to party or creed and unanimously and of its own free will acted.

"But this misconception is so deep rooted that more extended discussion is needed. I pass on to other matters.

THE VOTING SYSTEM

"The essential point is that public opinion have free scope of development. Every American will admit that. Now, public opinion finds its expression in the principles that govern the use of the suffrage. The German voting system is the freest in the world, much freer than the French, English, or American system, because not only does it operate in accordance with the principle that every one shall have a direct and secret vote, but the powers of the State are exercised faithfully and conscientiously to carry out that principle in practice. The constitutional life of the German Nation is of a thoroughly democratic character.

"Those who know this were not surprised that our Social Democrats marched to war with such enthusiasm. Already among their ranks many have fallen as heroes, never to be forgotten by any German when his thoughts turn to the noble blood which has saturated foreign soil—thank God, foreign soil! Many of the Socialist leaders and adherents are wearing the Iron Cross, that simple token that seems to tell you when you speak of its bearer, 'Now, this is a fearless and faithful soul.'

"Let it be said once and for all: He who wants to understand us must accept our conception that constitutionally we enjoy so great a

political freedom that we would not change with any country in the world. Everybody in America knows that our manners and customs have been democratic for centuries, while in France and England they have been ever aristocratic. Americans, we know, always feel at home on German soil.

THE GERMAN PRINCES

"But the Kaiser, you will say, speaks of 'his monarchy,' therefore must the Germans be *Fuerstenknechte* (servants of Princes).

"First of all, as to the phrase *Fuerstenknechte*. Does not the King of England speak of his 'subjects'? That word irritates a German, because he is conscious that he is not a subject, but a citizen of the Empire. Yet he will not infer from the English King's use of the term in formal utterances that an Englishman is a 'servant of his King.' That would be a superficial political conception.

"As to our Princes, most of us, including the Social Democrats, are glad in our heart of hearts that we have them. As far back as our history runs, and that is more than 2,000 years, we have had Princes. They have never been more than their name, *Fuerst*, implies, the first and foremost of German freemen, *primi inter pares*. Therefore they have never acted independently, never without taking the people into counsel. That would have been contrary to the most important fundamental principles of German law; hence our people have never been *de jure* without their representatives. Even in the times of absolute monarchy the old 'estates of the realm' had their being as a representative body, and wherever and whenever these privileges were suppressed it was regarded as a violation of our fundamental rights and is still so regarded.

"Our princely houses are as old as our monasteries, our cities, and our cathedrals. A thousand years ago the Guelphs were a celebrated family, and the Wettins have ruled over their lands for eight centuries. In the twelfth century the Wittelsbachs and Thuringians were Princes under the great Kaisers of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Among these great families the Hapsburgs (thirteenth century) and the Hohenzollerns (fifteenth century) are quite young. All have their roots in Germany and belong to the country.

"We glory in our Princes. They link our existence with the earliest centuries of our history. They preserve for us the priceless independence of our small home States.

"We are accused of militarism. What is this new and terrible crime? Since the years of the

wars of liberation against France and Napoleon we have had what amounts practically to universal conscription. Only two generations later universal suffrage was introduced. The nation has been sternly trained by its history in the



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German Fortress at Ehrenbreitstein
One of "the castled crags" of the Rhine.

ways of discipline and self-restraint. Germans are very far from mistaking freedom for license and independence for licentiousness.

"Germany has a long past. She enjoys the inheritance of an original and priceless civilization. She holds clearly formulated ideals. To the future she has all this to bequeath and, in addition, the intellectual wealth of her present stage of development. Consider Germany's contributions to the arts, the poetical achievements of the period of Schiller and Goethe, the music of Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven; the thought systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel!

"The last decade has reawakened these great men in the consciousness of the German Nation. Enriched by the consciousness and message of an intellectual past, our people were moving forward to new horizons."

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

Germany's enemies have been agreed that her government was an autocracy concealed under a veneer of democracy, and that this autocratic control was to a large extent responsible for the war. Professor Davis, of the University of Minnesota, gives, in *The Roots of the War*, the following brief sketch of the former German imperial government, which well illustrates this conception:

"From 1871 down to the outbreak of the Great War Germany was governed essentially upon the following system. The King of Prussia became *ipso facto* 'German Emperor.' Since the offices of King and Emperor were inseparable and Prussia was an hereditary monarchy, the 'Kaisership' was also hereditary. The Emperor could declare offensive war only after consulting the 'Federal Council,' but *defensive* war he could declare on his own personal fiat. Since no modern government has ever admitted that any war it has had to wage was other than 'defensive,' the Emperor thus really held the supreme issues in his own hands. He controlled foreign affairs, and the Army and Navy. Under him was one arch-minister, the chancellor—his factum and representative in everything, and holding office at the sole will of his imperial master, to whom he was 'responsible' for the government of the Empire. There were lesser ministers of state, but they were really only the chancellor's high clerks and handy assistants. They were responsible to the chancellor only and not to any parliamentary body.

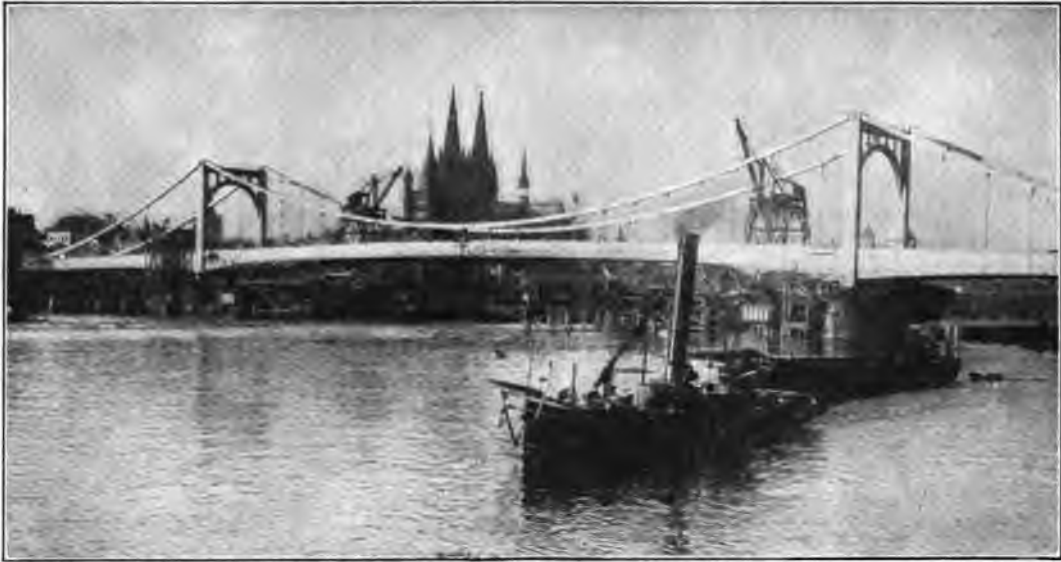
THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT

"Under the Emperor was the *form* of a free legislature. The lower house of this parliament, the *Reichstag*, consisted of 397 members elected by pretty complete manhood suffrage. Bismarck was no lover of parliaments, but he understood the need of affecting to conciliate the liberal elements in his hour of triumph; he also understood the great value of a large 'talking' body—to voice public opinion and to let off explosive ideas in a harmless manner:—in short, of an imperial safety valve. He took ample precautions that the powers of the Reichstag should be so limited that it was not a great deal better than a pretentious official debating club, although in theory it had the right to amend the budget and originate laws.

"The real governing body (and in truth Bismarck's masterpiece) was not the Reichstag, but the 'Federal Council' (*Bundesrat*). Its functions were often executive and judicial as well as merely legislative. Its meetings were private. It initiated nearly all the legislation presented to the Reichstag, and its consent was needful

to validate any bill the Reichstag might have managed to pass. The Bundesrat was, in short, the mainspring of the whole Bismarckian régime. It was not responsible to the people, nor elected by the people, but was a council of 61 members *representing very strictly the princes of Germany*. Prussia had 17 of these votes, Bavaria six, some of the lesser states two, three or four, and four-

gracious concession for her King to be content with only seventeen votes—fourteen less than a majority.* But the fact was that the Prussian government with its great influence could almost invariably win over by means of very small favors enough of the lesser princes to command a sure majority. With a little tact in the Bundesrat, Prussia could always have her way; and



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Germans Constructing a Bridge Across the Rhine

This suspension bridge constructed across the Rhine at Cologne, to replace the old wooden bridge made of boats, is 830 meters in length, 20 meters wide, and 17 meters above the level of the river.

teen of the lesser 'sovereign,' like the starving little prince of Schaumburg-Lippe, had only one apiece, as did the three 'free cities' (Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck).

PRUSSIAN INFLUENCE SUPREME

"These 61 'Excellencies' in the Bundesrat were mere dummies, or perhaps it were more respectful to say instructed ambassadors for their royal, ducal, or princely masters, appointed and removed at the respective august pleasures of said masters. They were obliged to vote the way their rulers ordered, no matter what arguments might come up in debate. Since Prussia now supplied over 60 per cent of both the area and the population of the Empire it seemed a

thus by means of this monarchic, non-parliamentary, *secret*, and utterly un-democratic Federal Council the King of Prussia could place an absolute veto on all legislation, could hem in the Reichstag, and, since the Bundesrat had large duties of administration and acted often as a court of high appeal, affect a great part of the official machinery throughout the land. The Bundesrat was content to exclude the public from its debates and leave the noisy Reichstag in the lime-light. None the less it was the mainspring of the whole Bismarckian régime."

* Also it requires only 14 votes to defeat any change in the Federal Constitution, while changes in the Army and Navy laws and in the most important tax laws are specifically made subject to the absolute veto of the Kaiser.

Perverted German Education

The Imperial Government of Germany has, to suit its own ambitious purposes, deliberately directed and perverted the education of the German people so as to implant in them a false conception of duty and a debased morality. Such an influence cannot finally prevail. There is in mankind a sense of obligation (due to age-long experience and tradition) to a moral law founded on truth, justice, honor, and loving-kindness, which no system of repression and perverted education can permanently eradicate from a population of seventy millions. It rejects absolutely as a vile thing hostile to human progress and happiness the doctrine that "Might is Right."—Sir E. Ray Lankester, in *Daily Telegraph*, London.

CULTURE VS. GERMAN KULTUR

Germany Declares Itself the Most Cultured Nation—and Points to Its Success as Proof!

III

ORGANIZED EFFICIENCY

THE German people have long boasted that their *Kultur* is superior to that of all other nations. What do they wish us to understand by such a claim? Professor Frank J. Mather, of Princeton University, defines *Kultur* as the organized efficiency of

alent is *Bildung*, is the opposite of all this. It is an attribute, not of nations as a whole, but of accomplished individuals. It acquires national import only through the approval and admiration of these individuals by the rest, who share but slightly in the culture they applaud. The aim of culture is the enlightened and humane individual, conversant with the best values of the past and sensitive to the best values of the present. The open-mindedness and imagination implied in culture are potentially destructive to a highly organized national *Kultur*. A cultured



The Royal Palace and Lustgarten—Berlin

a nation in the broadest sense—its successful achievement in civil and military administration, industry, commerce, finance, and in a quite secondary way in scholarship, letters, and art. He explains it as follows:

KULTUR DEFINED

"*Kultur* applies to a nation as a whole, implying an enlightened government to which the individual is strictly subordinated. Thus *Kultur* is an attribute not of individuals—whose particular interests, on the contrary, must often be sacrificed to it—but of nations.

"Culture, for which the nearest German equiv-

leader is generally too much alive to the point of view of his rival to be a wholly convinced partisan. Hence he lacks the intensity, drive, and narrowness that make for competitive success. He keeps his place in the sun not by masterfully overriding others, but by a series of delicate compromises which reconcile the apparently conflicting claims. Moreover, he has too great a respect for the differences between men's gifts to formulate any rigid plan which requires for its execution a strictly regimented humanity. He will sacrifice a little efficiency that life may be more various, rich, and delightful.

"Hence nations with cultured leaders have generally been beaten by those whose leaders had merely *Kultur*. The Spartans and Macedonians had abundant *Kultur*; they generally beat

the Athenians, who had merely very high culture. The Romans had *Kultur*, and the Hellenistic world wore their yoke. Germany unquestionably had admirable *Kultur*, and none of the mere cultured nations who are leagued against her could hope to beat her singly.

GERMAN CULTURE SWALLOWED UP BY KULTUR

"On the other hand, Germany has singularly little culture, has less than she had a hundred years ago, does not apparently desire it. She

GERMAN SCIENCE, SAYS BERNHARDI, THE BEST

But German writers do not choose to speak of Professor Mather's "the enlightened and humane individual." They prefer to dwell upon the great achievement of the organized German mind in science. Von Bernhardt, in his much quoted book, *Germany and the Next War*, thus enlarges upon that point:



The Throne-Room of the Royal Palace at Potsdam

has willingly sacrificed the culture of a few leading individuals to the *Kultur* of the Empire as a whole. Thus it is not surprising that Germany, as measured by the production of cultured individuals, takes very low place to-day. Not only France and England, Italy and Spain, but also Russia and America may fairly claim a high degree of culture. Here the fetish of German scholarship should not deceive us. Culture—a balanced and humanized state of mind—is only remotely connected with scholarship or even with education. A Spanish peasant or an Italian waiter may have finer culture than a German university professor. And in the field of scholarship, Germany is in the main chiefly laborious, accurate, and small-minded. Her scholarship is related not to culture, but is a minor expression of *Kultur*. Such scholarly men of letters as Darwin, Huxley, Renan, Taine, Boissier, Gaston Paris, Menendez y Pelayo, Francis J. Child, Germany used to produce in the days of the Grimms and Schlegels. She rarely does so now. Her culture has been swallowed up in her *Kultur*."

"Germany, nevertheless, is in social-political respects at the head of all progress in culture. German science has held its place in the world. Germany certainly took the lead in political science during the last century, and in all other domains of intellectual inquiry has won a prominent position through the universality of her philosophy and her thorough and unprejudiced research into the nature of things.

"The achievements of Germany in the sphere of science and literature are attested by the fact that the annual export of German books to foreign countries is, according to trustworthy estimates, twice as large as that of France, England, and North America combined. It is only in the domain of the exact sciences that Germany has often been compelled to give precedence to foreign countries. German art also has failed to win a leading position. It shows, indeed, sound promise in many directions, and has produced much that is really great; but the chaos of our political conditions is, unfortunately, reflected in it."

GERMANISM AND LATINISM

In their determination to create enthusiasm for German ideas the leaders of German nationalism ignored the influence of Rome and Greece. They seemed determined to go back to the origin of culture and trace its progress without considering the influence of the classical period. They tried to reconstruct many of the world's theories with this object in view. Von Bernhardi, while not an authority in the philosophy of history, summed up correctly a popular German idea when he wrote the following:

"When the Roman Empire broke up before the onslaught of the barbarians, there were two main elements which shaped the future of the West, Christianity and the Germans. The Christian teaching preached equal rights for all men and community of goods in an empire of masters and slaves, but formulated the highest moral code, and directed the attention of a race, which only aimed at luxury, to the world beyond the grave as the true goal of existence. It made the value of man as man, and the moral development of personality according to the laws of the individual conscience, the starting-point of all development. It thus gradually transformed the philosophy of the ancient world, whose morality rested solely on the relations with the State. Simultaneously with this, hordes of Germans from the thickly populated North poured victoriously in broad streams over the Roman Empire and the decaying nations of the Ancient World. These masses could not keep their nationality pure and maintain their position as political powers. The States which they founded were short-lived. Even then men recognized how difficult it is for a lower civilization to hold its own against a higher. The Germans were gradually merged in the subject nations. The German element, however, instilled new life into these nations, and offered new opportunities of growth. The stronger the admixture of German blood, the more vigorous and the more capable of civilization did the growing nations appear."

NAPOLEON AND GOETHE

In the following characteristic words Von Bernhardi expresses the German veneration of German Goethe and disdain of Latin culture:

"The meeting of Napoleon and Goethe, two mighty conquerors, was an event in the world's history. On one side the scourge of God, the great annihilator of all survivals from the past, the gloomy despot, the last abortion of the revolution—a

"Part of the power that still
Produces Good, while still devising Ill";

on the other, the serenely grave Olympian who uttered the words, 'Let man be noble, resourceful, and good'; who gave a new content to the religious sentiment, since he conceived all existence as a perpetual change to higher conditions, and pointed out new paths in science; who gave the clearest expression to all aspirations of the human intellect, and all movements of the German mind, and thus roused his people to consciousness; who finally by his writings on every



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Alfred Krupp

The founder and former head of the famous Krupp Works at Essen.

subject showed that the whole realm of human knowledge was concentrated in the German brain; a prophet of truth, an architect of imperishable monuments which testify to the divinity in man.

"The great conqueror of the century was met by the hero of intellect, to whom was to fall the victory of the future. The mightiest potentate of the Latin race faced the great Germanic who stood in the forefront of humanity.

"Truly a nation which in the hour of its deepest political degradation could give birth to men like Fichte, Scharnhorst, Stein, Schiller, and Goethe, to say nothing about the great soldier—

figures of the Wars of Liberation, must be called to a mighty destiny."

The right that comes from possessing superior "Kultur" was ever in the minds of the Germans, although other people had some difficulty in seeing why superiority gives a nation the right to destroy. Maximilian Har-

ruled great stretches of the most fruitful soil. Now strikes the hour for Germany's rising power. The terms of a peace treaty that does not insure this would leave the great effort unrewarded. Even if it brought dozens of shining billions into the national treasury, the fate of Europe would be dependent upon the United States of America.

"We are waging war for ourselves alone; and



Before the War

The Kaiser and Theodore Roosevelt are here seen at the military maneuvers in Germany.

den, in the autumn of 1914, enunciated this view in his peculiarly vigorous way, saying:

KULTUR GIVES THE RIGHT TO EXPAND

"We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved peoples and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the unselfish and useless consciousness of our own righteousness. We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements and in proportion to them, is justified in asking, and must obtain, wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. The Powers from whom she forced her ascendancy, in spite of themselves, still live, and some of them have recovered from the weakening she gave them. Spain and the Netherlands, Rome and Hapsburg, France and England possessed and settled and

still we are convinced that all who desire the good would soon be able to rejoice in the result. For with this war there must also end the politics that have frightened away all the upright from entering into intimate relations with the most powerful Continental Empire. We need land, free roads into the ocean, and for the spirit and language and wares and trade of Germany we need the same values that are accorded such goods anywhere else.

"Only four persons not residents of Essen knew about the new mortar which the firm of Friedrich Krupp manufactured at its own expense and which later, because its shell rapidly smashed the strongest fortifications of reinforced concrete, our military authorities promptly acquired. Must we be ashamed of this instrument of destruction and take from the lips of the 'cultured world' the wry reproach that from *Faust* and the *Ninth Symphony* we have sunk our national pride to the 42-centimeter guns?"

"Only three existing European Governments will endure, I think—the British, the French, and the Swiss. Britain is as republican as our own United States. The King is its social head, but Parliament makes its laws. A new order is coming everywhere, and it will be the republican order. The non-republican Governments will die."—Thomas A. Edison.

MILITARISM A MENACE

Trusting in Its "Shining Armor," Germany Saw in Her Army
an Instrument of the Almighty

IV

THE GERMAN VIEW

THE Allied nations often declared that "German militarism" was the main cause of the war and the chief obstacle to a permanent peace. German writers either indignantly deny the existence of such a thing or explain that Germany is no worse in this respect than other nations. To understand the basis of the accusation against Germany, it is best to use the words of Germans themselves.

WAR A NECESSITY, SAY GERMANS

To the German philosophical politician war was necessary. Von Bernhardi, in *Germany and the Next War*, was but expressing a truism of the ruling class when he said:

"There is no impartial power that stands above the rivalry of States to restrain injustice, and to use that rivalry with conscious purpose to promote the highest ends of mankind. Between States the only check on injustice is force, and in morality and civilization each people must play its own part and promote its own ends and ideals. If in doing so it comes into conflict with the ideals and views of other States, it must either submit and concede the precedence to the rival people or State, or appeal to force, and face the risk of the real struggle—i.e., of war—in order to make its own views prevail. No power exists which can judge between States, and makes its judgments prevail. Nothing, in fact, is left but war to secure to the true elements of progress the ascendancy over the spirits of corruption and decay."

LONG PEACE A DANGER TO THE STATE

Von Bernhardi considered the growing wealth and increasing love of peace in Germany a serious evil. As a true representative of the military class he sought to call the people back to what he considered German ideals:

"The political power of our nation, while fully alive below the surface, is fettered externally by

this love of peace. It fritters itself away in fruitless bickerings and doctrinaire disputes. We no longer have a clearly defined political and national aim, which grips the imagination, moves the heart of the people, and forces them to unity of action. Such a goal existed, until our wars of unification, in the yearnings for German unity, for the fulfillment of the Barbarossa legend. A great danger to the healthy, continuous growth of our people seems to me to lie in the lack of it, and the more our political position in the world is threatened by external complications, the greater is this danger."

MILITARY SERVICE THE BEST EDUCATION

Von Bernhardi found great educational value in universal military service, and defines it as follows, pointing out also the claims of those who think money well spent in supporting such training:

"Military service not only educates nations in warlike capacity, but it develops the intellectual and moral qualities generally for the occupations of peace. It educates a man to the full mastery of his body, to the exercise and improvement of his muscles; it develops his mental powers, his self-reliance and readiness of decision; it accustoms him to order and subordination for a common end; it elevates his self-respect and courage, and thus his capacity for every kind of work.

"It is a quite perverted view that the time devoted to military service deprives economic life of forces which could have been more appropriately and more profitably employed elsewhere. These forces are not withdrawn from economic life, but are trained for economic life. Military training produces intellectual and moral forces which richly repay the time spent, and have their real value in subsequent life. It is therefore the moral duty of the State to train as many of its countrymen as possible in the use of arms, not only with the prospect of war, but that they may share in the benefits of military service and improve their physical and moral capacities of defence.

"The sums which the State applies to the military training of the nation are distinctly an outlay for social purposes; the money so spent serves social and educative ends, and raises the nation spiritually and morally; it thus promotes the highest aims of civilization more directly than achievements of mechanics, industries, trades, and commerce, which certainly discharge the material duties of culture by improving the



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After the French Defeat at Sedan

Bismarck is dictating the unconditional surrender of the French forces to the German conquerors in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.

national livelihood and increasing national wealth, but bring with them a number of dangers, such as craving for pleasure and tendency to luxury, thus slackening the moral and productive fibers of the nations. Military service as an educational instrument stands on the same level as the school. A people which does not willingly bear the duties and sacrifices entailed by school and military service renounces its will to live, and sacrifices objects, which are noble and assure the future, for the sake of material advantages which are one-sided and evanescent."

A GERMAN DEFENCE OF MILITARISM

The *Kölnische Zeitung*, in the first weeks of the war, admitting the existence of "militarism," told what it had done for Germany in the following words:

"Call it militarism or what you will, it is the development of a century of strain and stress, and our system of universal military duty is nothing more than a system of national defence, which for us Germans is a national, an ethical ideal, yea, the most democratic of all institutions on earth, by which every one, noble and peasant,

rich and poor, feels obliged to offer up for his Fatherland his all, his best, his heart's blood! We have nothing but contempt for the English phrase-makers and English business-politicians who with contaminated fingers try to soil our national ideal. Let them but read our list of casualties: princes and laborers, counts and peasants, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Social Democrats, Conservatives, Centrists, and Liberals, all without exception heroes on the field of honor, martyrs for the Fatherland!

"Your stakes, O Englishmen, are not equal to ours. Only by enrolling in your army the flower of your people, instead of the scum of your Empire, will you be heard to discuss these things. When the command 'mobilize' was given, when the military system began to move and operate with the accuracy of a machine, when the German nation as a matter of course transformed itself into an army in gray uniforms, when our youth, singing and garlanded, marched out against our enemies, we overheard an old woman exclaim: 'See what we have for our taxes after all!' That is the spirit of Prussian, of German militarism, the spirit which animates our entire people, from the Emperor down to the beggar, the spirit which stakes everything on national honor. Follow our example, if you can, O Englishmen, then we can resume our discussion."



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Pope Benedict XV in His Study at the Vatican

Taken in September, 1916, on the second anniversary of the elevation of His Holiness to the Papal throne. Since the new Italian kingdom was born there has been no *rapprochement* between the monarchy and the Papacy.

WAR AND CHRISTIANITY

Von Bernhardt had no trouble with the Golden Rule; he said it did not apply in politics. His views are clear and succinct:

"Again, from the Christian standpoint we arrive at the same conclusion. Christian morality is based, indeed, on the law of love. 'Love God above all things, and thy neighbor as thyself.' This law can claim no significance for the relations of one country to another, since its application to politics would lead to a conflict of duties. The love which a man showed to another country as such would imply a want of love for his own countrymen. Such a system of politics must inevitably lead men astray. Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature cannot be political. Its object is to promote morality of the individual, in order to strengthen him to work unselfishly in the interests of the community. It tells us to love our individual enemies, but does not remove the conception of enmity. Christ Himself said: 'I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword.' His teaching can never be adduced as an argument against the universal law of struggle. There never was a religion which was more combative than Christianity. Combat, moral combat, is its very essence. If we transfer the ideas of Christianity to the sphere of politics, we can claim to raise the power of the State—power in the widest sense, not merely from the material aspect—to the highest degree, with the object of the moral advancement of humanity, and under certain conditions the sacrifice may be made which a war demands. Thus, according to Christianity, we cannot disapprove of war in itself, but must admit that it is justified morally and historically."

AN ENGLISH VIEW

Mr. Austin Harrison, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, in 1914, gave evidence of understanding, though not sympathizing with the German idea of the value of an army and Germany's contempt for England's lack of militarism:

"To the German professors, this military-political carelessness of ours amounts to criminality. They cannot understand how a people can be so foolish, just as we cannot understand how the Germans can be so politically immoral. Tell a German professor that, and he would gasp. Immoral! How so? For years, he would respond, Germany has proclaimed the intention of war. 'If a man has the chance, is he not to take it?' There can be no immorality about a policy explained in every German newspaper for the last fifteen years, in every professorial chair, in every responsible utterance. Rather is it im-

moral for a nation, like the English, to pretend that they were the friends of a people whom they now denounce as wicked for doing the very thing they have proclaimed to the world as the national policy and religion, and so leading the German people astray. The German supposition was that as England did not prepare to oppose Germany therefore she did not intend to oppose her. From the fullness of our hearts we may thank our stars that the accident of Russian coöperation has saved England from the ruin that otherwise would have overtaken her with France."

THE RELIGION OF WAR

Finally, a summary of the Anglo-Saxon view of German militarism appeared in the *Round Table* for 1914-15, and merits quotation in full:

"The root of all modern German policy is a belief in material power, expressed in armaments. It is derived in the main from Bismarck's confidence in 'blood and iron,' and from Bismarck's reiterated statement that the international position of every people depends on material, not moral, guarantees.

"This was Bismarck's theory, but his practice showed a lively appreciation of the fact that material power, however great, cannot afford to disregard the force of moral ideas. No statesman labored harder to secure his country in the good opinion of the world.

"Bismarck's successors at the helm of the German ship have flung those qualifications into the sea. Power is now the sole consideration—'the end-all and be-all of a State.' 'The morality of the State,' says the same popular writer, 'must be judged by the nature and *raison d'être* of the State, and not of the individual citizen.' The State is thus exalted as something separate from the mind and conscience of its citizens, a non-moral and predatory organism seeking only a strength superior to that of other States. Given that superiority, everything else will be added unto it, and its culture, throned on bayonets, will prevail. The creed of modern Germany not merely postulates material power as necessary to a State, if it is to maintain its civilization and its distinctive cast of moral ideas; but it sets material power above all other factors whatsoever, and makes morality subservient to that governing idea.

THE ENGLISH IDEA OF THE STATE

"There is, of course, no absolute standard of morality in international relations; and the German theory may no doubt be effectively illustrated by incidents in the practice of even the most enlightened States in their dealings with less powerful neighbors. But it is neither Pharaonic nor far-fetched to point out that the British political system has been built up on

presumptions of an utterly different kind to these modern German canons. Englishmen are not strong in theory; but their practice in the gradual development of their institutions—first in England and then through kindred stocks throughout the world—has been to test the State by its capacity to produce self-respecting and independent citizens. It is the English belief that goodness in a citizen, as in a human being, involves the power to choose between one course and another. In other words, it is not the business of the State to mold the general will of its citizens, but to represent it; and that State is the best which carries with it in all its activities, at home and abroad, the mind and conscience, freely developed, of the greatest number of citizens. In such a State the views, the feelings, and the moral ideas of individual citizens do largely influence its policy; the personal judgment, for instance, of Edmund Burke regarding the actions of Warren Hastings is ultimately expressed in the temper of British government in India. And this same moral sanction influences its relations with foreign governments, since British statesmen, with all their authority when once office has been accorded them, are the creatures of British opinion and responsible to it for their use of national power.

"Germany as a claimant for power has found itself a late-comer among the strong peoples of Europe. Germany was dreaming while other nations, and England in particular, were acquiring vast properties in different parts of the earth. She cannot play her part in the world, the part due to German mind and energy, without acquiring a similar dominion; and since the path of peaceful acquisition is closed to her—or at any rate not sufficiently open to gratify her ambition as rapidly and extensively as she desires—she must force her way by violence.

CLAUSEWITZ'S WARLIKE PHILOSOPHY

"In accordance with these ambitions Germany has developed within the last twenty-five years an entirely new religion of war. It is based, not on Bismarck, who in theory at least repudiated it, but on the old Prussian military authorities, and in particular on Clausewitz. To Clausewitz war was merely 'a continuation of policy,' to be invoked whenever expedient. He was a soldier of the Napoleonic era, and though he fought against Napoleon as a good Prussian, he regarded Napoleonic methods as the basis, not merely of successful war, but of all sound statesmanship. The methods by which German union was achieved between 1866 and 1871 have seemed to modern Germans to establish the wisdom of Clausewitz above all other wisdoms. A strong Prussian school had long inculcated this warlike philosophy. In the reaction after 1871 it was taken up under Prussian inspiration and gradually fitted out with an immense paraphernalia of historical, scientific, and ethical arguments. There is no intellectual life in German universities which is not colored by this teach-



Carl von Clausewitz

He was the founder of Prussian military science and a voluminous writer on the art of war.

ing. Treitschke, the great historian of Prussian achievement and the relentless enemy of England, is only the best known of a multitude of influences, great and small, which have carried the propaganda through the whole German system. A recent observer has found that an average of seven hundred books is published annually in Germany dealing with the subject of war. Western civilization has come to regard war as an evil to be avoided by every resource of statesmanship—the last dread arbitrament when every other means of settlement has failed. German thought meanwhile has been taking exactly the opposite course, and has preached war as the necessary instrument of policy, good as a means and good in itself, to be used without scruple whenever the national interest may be advanced thereby, without regard to human loss or suffering. The governing stocks of humanity it holds with some crude passages in Nietzsche, are above humane considerations. Nietzsche wrote:

"These men are, in reference to what is outside their circle (where the foreign element, or foreign country, begins) not much better than beasts of prey. . . . They feel that in the wilderness they can revert to the beast of prey conscience; like jubilant monsters who perhaps

come with bravado from a ghastly bout of murder, arson, rape, and torture. . . . It is impossible not to recognize at the core of all these races the magnificent blonde brute, avidly rampant for spoil and victory.'

"The reaction to this cult of dominion by force over other nations has told of necessity on Bismarck's cautious scheme of foreign policy. In particular, Bismarck's principle of securing national interests by diplomatic arrangements creating a balance of power—this historic English policy, and the only policy of any rational statesmanship which aims at avoiding war—has been cast aside in favor of constant endeavors to create a German diplomatic hegemony. 'An attempt has been made,' says General von Bernhardt, ignoring Bismarck's sanction for that policy, 'to produce a real equilibrium by special alliances. One result only has been obtained—the hindrance of the free development of the nations in general, and of Germany in particular. This is an unsound condition.' If 'free development' means the advance of Germany toward European hegemony, the argument is unanswerable; and the further consideration that such 'free development' must mean war in no way weakens General von Bernhardt's desire for it. 'We must put aside,' he writes, 'all notions of equilibrium.'

"MUST SQUARE ACCOUNTS WITH FRANCE"

"From these premises it is a very short step to the complete abandonment of Bismarck's

whole scheme of security, and General von Bernhardt makes it without flinching. The Triple Alliance, he says, is inadequate because of its 'purely defensive character.' It ignores 'the necessary development of events,' and 'does not guarantee to any of its members help in the prosecution of their essential interests.' It is necessary, therefore, for Germany to take the initiative and establish a new position for herself at the head, if possible, of a dominant Federation of Central European States. Her destiny demands this process of aggrandizement; it must be achieved, if necessary, by force; it must proceed in any case without regard for any State which stands in Germany's way. In particular, Germany '*must square her account*' with France—they are the general's own italics—and since France will not accept an inferior position for her diplomacy, 'the matter must be settled by force of arms.' The alternatives before Germany are 'world-power or downfall.' She must dominate Europe, and through Europe, the world, since thus alone can she discharge her 'great duties of the future,' and 'stamp a large part of humanity with the impress of the German spirit.'

"General von Bernhardt is no mere fire-eater of the mess room, as many British and American critics were fain to believe until a few short weeks ago. He is typical of a movement which is at the root of the whole political and military system of the German Empire."

GERMANY LUSTS FOR EMPIRE

Aspiring Towards World Empire, She Finds Great Britain in the Way—
Hence, the Hymn of Hate!

V

THE GERMAN PORTRAIT OF ENGLAND

FOR twenty years the Germans had been taught to hate England. Professor Cramb, in his most illuminating book, *Germany and England* (E. P. Dutton & Co.), explains why:

"Now it is just at this moment in her history that Germany comes sharp up against England, as in the eighteenth century she comes up against Austria, and in the nineteenth against France. Yet in her past relations to England, Prussia, it may seem at first, can find no cause, personal and rancorous, such as animates her in 1760 or in 1870. From Austria and from France she had endured insult upon insult, measureless humiliations. But from England?

"England's possessions, England's arrogance on the seas, her claim to world-wide empire—these, Germany answers, are to Germany an insult not less humiliating than any she has met with in her past. And what are these English pretensions? And upon what are they based? Not upon England's supremacy in character or intellect. For what is the character of this race which thus possesses a fifth of the habitable globe and stands forever in the path of Germany's course toward her 'place in the sun,' in the path of Germany's course toward empire?

"It is from this first recrimination that, during the last three or four decades, largely under the influence of the Prussian School of History, there has been evolved a portrait of England as the great robber State. In one phase or another this conception is gradually permeating all classes, making itself apparent now in a character in fiction, now in a poem, now in a

work of history or economics, now in the lecture hall at Bonn or Heidelberg or Berlin, now in a political speech.

"And the theme is precise. England's supremacy is an unreality, her political power is as hollow as her moral virtues; the one an arrogance and pretence, the other hypocrisy. She cannot long maintain that baseless supremacy. On the sea she is rapidly being approached by other Powers; her resources, except by immigration, are almost stationary, and her very immigration debases still further her resources. Her decline is certain. There may be no war. The display of power may be enough, and England after 1900, like Venice after 1500, will gradually atrophy, sunk in torpor. An England insensibly weakened by brutalization within and the encroachments of an ever-increasing alien element, diseased or criminal, and, by concession on concession without, sinking into a subject province though nominally free, whilst Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, carves out each its own destiny—such an England is easily conceived.

"Who is to succeed her? It may not be Germany; some Power it must be. But if Germany were to inherit the scepter which is falling from her nerveless hands . . . ?



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The Hohenzollerns

Here are shown some of the children of the Kaiser and his "in-laws." Back row, left to right: Prince Joachim, the Duchess of Brunswick, and the Duke of Brunswick. Second row: Prince Oscar, Princess Augusta, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, and Prince Eitel. Front row: Princess Eitel Friedrich, the Crown Princess, and Prince August-Wilhelm.

"And, having visualized this future, the German imagination, in a tempest of envy or vehement hate, becomes articulate and takes various shapes, resulting in an almost complete arraignment of the British Empire, of the English character, and of all our institutions and all our efforts as an empire-building race."

FORMER FRIENDSHIP WITH ENGLAND ABANDONED

Describing the breach in the old friendship between Prussia and England, Cramb continues:

"The unity of modern Germany is the work of Prussia and the great Hohenzollern dynasty. What are the stages in the evolution of the relations between England and Prussia? There are four distinct phases: the period of Frederick the Great, the Napoleonic, the mid-nineteenth century, and the later nineteenth century.

"The definite relations of England and Prussia as State to State are synchronous with the history of Prussia as a kingdom; and in the first decades the terms are those of friendship. The son of the Great Elector, Frederick I, as first King of Prussia, sends his contingent to support Marlborough and Eugène. During Frederick the Great's time, England's relations to Prussia, beginning in hostility, owing to the sympathy of the English people for Maria Theresa, and their enmity to France, pass through a phase of variegated sullen friendship and alliance, and end again, at least on Frederick's part, in clear burning hostility and contempt when the government of Lord Bute abandons Prussia. Minor German historians have dwelt much on 1762 and the 'betrayal' of Frederick by the Cabinet of St. James's in the hour of his darkest fortunes. Frederick, in his correspondence on the subject, does not spare the character of Lord Bute; but he is too profound an observer of the life of States, and too frequent a student of *Il Principe*, and, above all, of *Il Discorsi*, not to know that alliances between States are based on self-interest.

"A generation passes. At the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, England is for nearly eight years the enemy of Prussia, the enemy, that is to say, of Napoleon's ally, or Napoleon's tributary State. Then in 1813, 1814, and 1815, England stands side by side with Prussia, and this friendship is not interrupted during the Holy Alliance, though it is easy to trace distrust and misgiving in the attitude of actual Prussians or of 'nationalized' Prussians, Prussians by sympathy like Niebuhr and Stein. These die. 'They see,' I have elsewhere said, 'the world rushing upon ruin; they see the unchaining of anarchy. But what do they hope from England? England, faster than all the rest, is plunging down the steep.'

"With the Revolution of February, 1848, with 1870 and 1875, it is possible already to discern the rise of the present hostility. And the under-



General Friedrich von Bernhardi

A consistent apostle of militarism and author of an epoch-making book,
Germany and the Next War.

lying cause, the *causa causans*? It is interesting; it is curious; it presents one of those movements, one of those visible invisible 'curves' traced in the Unseen, which in history affect the imagination like the great achievements in art. The workshop is flung open; we seem to witness the very operation of Fate; the Norns are weaving the destinies of men. This *causa causans* is not England. England is passive. The active agent is Prussia."

THE LOST PATH OF EMPIRE

Professor Cramb then defines the recent aspirations of the German people:

"If we ask what the aspirations of the German people are, the answer is this: Germany, not less than England, it is contended, is dowered with the genius for empire, that power in a race which, like genius in the artist, must express itself or destroy its possessor. An empire she once had, centuries before France and England fought. That empire is lost. But in the German race the instinct for empire is as ancient and as deeply rooted as it is in the English race; and in the Germany of the present time, above all, this instinct, by reason of the very strength of Germany within herself, her conscious and vital energy, her sense of deep and repressed forces, is not a mere cloud in the brain, but is almost an imperious necessity. This is the real driving force in German politics, the essential thing.

"Hence the further question which young Germany asks is the question which Treitschke asks: At what point in her history did Germany swerve from the path to empire? Can she again find that path, or is it irrecoverably lost? Germany, from her own inward resources, produces year by year greater surplus energy, mental and physical, than any other nation in the world; yet year by year, by emigration to America, to England, and to other lands, that surplus energy is lost to her. Year by year are we to look on in impotent anger or in apathy whilst the best and most enterprising of our citizens quit the Fatherland and, living under other governments, cease to be Germans, bequeath their worth, that is to say their valor, to those nations who may be ultimately Germany's deadliest enemies?

"These are the problems which, at the present hour, press in upon the mind of every thinking German. They have been the study of serious historians like Oncken, Treitschke, Mommsen, Sybel, even of Droysen. They are the questions which find their answer in novelists, poets, publicists, and politicians. Pamphleteers like Eisenhart and Bley here agree with men of academic rank like Schmoller and Maurenbrecher, Franke, and Müller.

"And the answer now given to the further question, What stands in the way of those desires and aspirations? is: Germany has one enemy. One nation blocks the way. That nation is England."

"WORLD POWER OR DOWNFALL!"

Von Bernhardt paints Germany's impending fate, as he put it, in such colors as to lead one to think that he was sincere in what he said. Such a picture must have had a stirring effect in Germany. He summed up his chapter on "the character of our next war" as follows:

"If we look at our general political position, we cannot conceal the fact that we stand isolated, and cannot expect support from any one in carrying out our positive political plans. England, France, and Russia have a common interest in breaking down our power. This interest will sooner or later be asserted by arms. It is not therefore the interest of any nation to increase Germany's power. If we wish to attain an extension of our power, as is natural in our position, we must win it by the sword against vastly superior foes. . . . Neither Austria nor Italy are in any way bound to support by armed force a German policy directed toward an increase of power. . . . It even seems questionable at the present moment whether we can always reckon on the support of the members of the Triple Alliance in a defensive war. . . . We may fairly doubt whether Italy would take part in a war in which England and France were allied against us. Austria is undoubtedly a loyal ally. . . . Nevertheless, there is cause for anxiety, because in a conglomerate State like Austria, which contains numerous Slavonic elements, patriotism may not be strong enough to allow the government to fight to the death with Russia, were the latter to defeat us. The occurrence of such an event is not improbable. . . .

"We shall therefore some day, perhaps, be faced with the necessity of standing isolated in a great war of the nations, as once Frederick the Great stood, when he was basely deserted by England in the middle of the struggle, and shall have to trust to our own strength and our own resolution for victory.

"Such a war—for us more than for any other nation—must be a war for our political and national existence. This must be so, for our opponents can only attain their political aims by almost annihilating us by land and by sea. . . . If, notwithstanding, circumstances make the war inevitable, then the intention of our enemies to crush us to the ground, and our own resolve to maintain our position victoriously, will make it a war of desperation. A war fought and lost under such circumstances would jeopardize the whole future of our nation, would throw us back for centuries, would shake the influence of German thought in the civilized world. . . . Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country and of mankind. This will invest it with importance in the world's history. 'World power or downfall!' will be our rallying cry."

GERMANY AND HER NEIGHBORS

Imperial Germany Insists that Weaker Nations Must Submit to Her Sovereign Will

VI

EXPANSION OF GERMAN INFLUENCE

IT is doubtful if the serious Pan-German leaders expected actually to annex the Central European States. Their purposes seem sufficiently explained in the following statement by Von Bernhardi:

"Finally, as regards our own position in Europe, we can only effect an extension of our own political influence, in my opinion, by awakening in our weaker neighbors, through the integrity and firmness of our policy, the conviction that their independence and their interests are bound up with Germany, and are best secured under the protection of the German arms. This conviction might eventually lead to an enlargement of the Triple Alliance into a Central European Federation. Our military strength in Central Europe would by this means be considerably increased, and the extraordinarily unfavorable geographical configuration of our dominions would be essentially improved in case of war. Such a federation would be the expression of a natural community of interests, which is founded on the geographical and natural conditions, and would insure the durability of the political community based on it."

PROGRESS OR DECAY

After discussing the aspirations and strength of the several great States and considering Germany's relations with them Von Bernhardi makes this observation, which, it must be confessed, is thoroughly consistent with his general views:

"We must make it quite clear to ourselves that there can be no standing still, no being satisfied for us, but only progress or retrogression, and that it is tantamount to retrogression when we are contented with our present place among the nations of Europe, while all our rivals are straining with desperate energy, even at the cost of our rights, to extend their power. The process of our decay would set in gradually and advance slowly so long as the struggle against us was waged with peaceful weapons; the living generation would, perhaps, be able to continue to exist in peace and comfort. But should a war be forced upon us by stronger enemies under con-

ditions unfavorable to us, then, if our arms met with disaster our political downfall would not be delayed, and we should rapidly sink down. The future of German nationality would be sacrificed, an independent German civilization would not long exist, and the blessings for which German blood has flowed in streams—spiritual and moral liberty, and the profound and lofty aspirations of German thought—would for long ages be lost to mankind."

THE GERMANS A RACE OF WARRIORS

The well-known general, Von der Goltz, uttered a characteristic burst of eloquence against those Germans who condemned the war:

"Then again, there are the false apostles of to-day who condemn the war as in itself reprehensible. A universal peace in which wolf and lamb shall dwell together in unity is proved possible by means of a multitude of misleading and seductive arguments. Thus do the shadows deepen over the ancient German ideal of a proud nation of warriors, an ideal which is bound to lose its power to attract, particularly in a prolonged peace, when even the most martial-minded see that all chances of testing their prowess are fading gradually away. . . .

"The warlike spirit must not be allowed to die out among people, neither must the love of peace get the upper hand, for all the greater would be the consternation at the moment of awakening. If the Fatherland is to remain victorious we must not let our old ideals of manly courage, fearless scorn of death, and knightly virtue be destroyed, but must cherish and uphold them to the utmost, both in this generation and in all that are to come."

THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW

From a *Secret Report*, issued by German Army officials, March 19, 1913, and published in the *New York Times Current History of the War*, the following extracts are taken from a section entitled the "Aim and Obligation of our National Policy":

"Our new army law is only an extension of the military education of the German nation. . . . We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the



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German Troops on Parade

German soldiers stationed in Lille, on Wachparade, or Guardmount.

French. We must accustom them to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversaries. . . . We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations, an outbreak should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870. . . . We must not arouse the distrust of our financiers, but there are many things which cannot be concealed.

"We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. . . . On the other hand, we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war.

"Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of

communication. . . . The Egyptian scheme is particularly suited to this purpose. . . .

GERMANY AND THE SMALL STATES

"However this may be, we must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful swoop our enemies in the east and west. But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States should be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralized; this would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland, so as to prevent our enemy in the west from gaining territory which they could use as a base of operations against our flank. In the north we have nothing to fear from Denmark or Scandinavia, especially as in any event we shall provide for the concentration of a strong northern army, capable of replying to any menace from this direction. In the most unfavorable case, Denmark might be forced by Great Britain to abandon her neutrality; but by this time the decision would have already been reached both on land and on sea. Our northern army, the

strength of which could be largely increased by Dutch formations, would oppose a very active defence to any offensive measures from this quarter.

"In the south, Switzerland forms an extremely solid bulwark, and we can rely on her energetically defending her neutrality against France, and thus protecting our flank.

"As was stated above, the situation with regard to the small States and our northwestern frontier . . . will be a vital question for us, and our aim must be to take the offensive with a large superiority from the first days. For this purpose it will be necessary to concentrate a large army, followed by strong Landwehr formations, which will induce the small States to follow us or at least to remain inactive in the theater of operations, and which would crush them in the event of armed resistance. If we could induce these States to organize their system of fortifications in such a manner as to constitute an effective protection for our flank, we could abandon the proposed invasion. But for this, army reorganization, particularly in Belgium, would be necessary in order that it might really guarantee an effective resistance. If, on the contrary, their defensive organization was established against us, thus giving definite advantages to our adversary in the west, we could in no circumstances offer Belgium a guarantee for the security of her neutrality. . . .

"The arrangements made with this end in view allow us to hope that it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower Rhine. An ultimatum with a short time-limit, to be followed immediately by invasion, would allow a sufficient justification for our action in international law."

GERMANY WANTS A PLACE IN THE SUN

Nineteen years ago, Von Bülow, Chancellor of the Empire, explained what Germany expected in the future:

"With regard to our overseas policy the position of the government is by no means an easy one. On the one side we are being urged, and occasionally we are urged in a stormy fashion, to safeguard our overseas interests with greater zeal; on the other side we hear that we are already too heavily engaged and are entering upon adventurous paths. I will endeavor to demonstrate that we have not fallen into either extreme, nor do we intend to fall into either, but on the contrary, to confine ourselves to the peaceful middle line which is equidistant from the neglect and likewise from the overstraining of our overseas interests. Upon one point, indeed, there can be no doubt, namely, that matters have arisen in the world's affairs which could not have been predicted two years ago.

"It has been said that in every century a great disintegration, a great liquidation, takes place in order that influence, power, and possessions may be divided up afresh. In the sixteenth century the Spaniards and Portuguese parceled out the New World amongst themselves; in the seventeenth century the Dutch, the French, and the English entered into competition with them while we were at fisticuffs with one another; in the eighteenth century the Dutch and the French lost most of what they had won to the English. In our nineteenth century England has continued to extend farther and ever farther her Colonial empire, the greatest empire known in the world since the days of the Romans; the French have firmly settled down in North Africa and East Africa and have founded for themselves a new empire in Farther India; Russia has begun her powerful course of conquests, which has been carried on to the boundaries of the high tableland of the Pamirs and to the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Four years ago the Chinese and Japanese War, and hardly eighteen months ago the Spanish-American War, have set things rolling that have brought about great, far-reaching, decisive effects—ancient empires being shaken, and new and vigorous ferments of effervescence introduced into the world's development. No one can overlook the consequences which will follow the war which has only a few weeks ago set South Africa aflame.

"An English Prime Minister observed long ago that the strong States would grow ever stronger and the weak ones ever weaker. Everything that has happened since has proved the correctness of this saying. Are we once again at the threshold of a new partition of the world as the poet dreamed a hundred years ago? I do not believe it, and, moreover, I would rather not believe it. But in any case we cannot allow any foreign Power, any foreign Jupiter, to say to us, 'What is to be done?' The world has already been given away. We do not wish to give offence to any foreign Power to tread on our toes; we will not allow ourselves to be pushed aside by any foreign Power either in a political or in an economic sense.

"It is high time that we should clearly determine what position we mean to take up in the face of the world-situation which has so materially altered during the last two years, with regard to the outlook for the future, which has become considerably modified, and with regard to the events taking place around us, which carry within them the germ of the future configuration of the relative importance of the Powers, perhaps for an immeasurable period of time.

"To stand aside, inactive, as we have so often done before, either out of modesty or because we were absorbed in our own internal dissensions or from doctrinarianism, dreaming while other people divide up the cakes amongst themselves, that we can not and will not do."

TREITSCHKE, THE CHAUVINIST

Professor of History at Berlin, He Teaches the Nation that the One Unpardonable Sin is Weakness

VII

A WORD-PICTURE OF THE MAN

WITHOUT Heinrich von Treitschke or another like him, it is hard to see how modern Germany would have been led to the World War of 1914-18. He fired the nation's imagination to the point at which it



Heinrich von Treitschke

The famous German professor and historian who glorified the Prussian tradition of militarism and subserviency to the State.

was willing to dare to strike for German domination.

He was born at Dresden, Saxony, in 1834, and died professor of history in the University of Berlin in 1895. Like Friedrich Nietz-

sche and perhaps like Von Ranke he was of Slavonic origin. He became stone deaf while a boy, as the result of fever. He was handicapped by this defect more than he knew. A man who can not hear his fellow-men talk can never know what they are thinking about. His lectures in Berlin were eloquent and inspiring. Journalists, teachers, preachers, statesmen, royal princes, and all who were interested in Germany from any part of the Empire flocked to hear him.

Of Von Treitschke's personal appearance Professor Cramb says:

"His appearance was striking: a tall, rather slim figure, marked nobility of feature and bearing, dark eyes, and masses of thick dark hair. He was sparing in gesture, abrupt and effective, more chary of pure rhetoric than Droysen, more regardful of fact than Häusser. His voice was harsh, the Saxon accent unmistakable, and he had often to pause for a word. He seldom mixed with his audience after his lectures; his deafness made this difficult, for, to a man of his sensitiveness, an ear-trumpet in general company was abhorrent. But this was no real drawback; it rather invested the speaker and his impassioned utterances with a touch of prophetic remoteness.

"'Is Treitschke an orator at all?' an English admirer of his writings once asked a member of the Reichstag. 'In the sense in which Mr. Gladstone was an orator,' was the reply, 'certainly not. In the Reichstag he is always listened to with respect; he never kindles enthusiasm; and yet, if the art of the rhetor is to compel men to action, how many greater orators are there in modern Germany, or, for that matter, in modern France or England, than simply Heinrich von Treitschke? When I first heard him many years ago I had been reading Palacky's *History of Bohemia*. You know the book? Well, in the thick of Ziska's tremendous duel I constantly saw young Treitschke—for at that time he was not more than thirty—pass between me and the page like a Hussite warrior, authentic, irresistible, a spiritual fatalist, like Racine's Joad girding on his sword in the name of the Lord of Hosts. And see, yonder he comes.' The excitement, the momentary pallor on the speaker's face, proved to the Englishman more powerfully than words the dominion which intellect united to moral greatness exercises over other men."

GERMANY'S GLORIOUS FUTURE

Von Treitschke's central thought was to rouse Germans to a realization of German power. Says Professor Cramb:

"His subject, of course, was History, or was Politics; but through all the mazes of historical narrative, carefully documented, fact on fact torn from hours in Berlin archives, and amid all the mazes of political speculation, close and stern reasoning, sometimes repellent by its accumulation of apparently redundant matter and irrelevant illustration—amid all this a man's soul was wrestling almost visibly to bring home to his hearers his own burning conviction of the greatness of Germany, her past, her present, and the unfathomable vistas which open out before her in the future.

"That is Treitschke's central theme. It is the informing thought of each of his distinctive books or collections of writings—the five volumes of his *History*, the two volumes of his *Politics*, his two series of *German Battles*, his *Pictures from German History*, his political essays and literary portraits, above all, his magnificent full-length portraits of Dahlmann and of the poet Heinrich von Kleist. This is Treitschke's governing idea—the greatness of Prussia, the glory of an army which is a nation and of a nation which is an army."

VON TREITSCHKE AND CARLYLE

Professor Cramb compares the influence of Von Treitschke on his generation of Germans with that of Carlyle on his contemporaries in the British Isles. He says:

"Treitschke and Carlyle resemble each other in their high seriousness, sincerity, downright-ness, and deep moral strength. Do not imagine, however, that there is any *further* resemblance between them. For instance, there is not in all the seventeen volumes of Treitschke any hint of that broad human laughter which you find in very nearly every page of the thirty volumes of Carlyle. In all Treitschke I doubt whether there is a single laugh. You may say, if you like, that this is because Germany has obtained free political institutions so recently and therefore has not yet acquired the power to take them humorously!

"Treitschke, observe, is nothing if not a politician. Carlyle, in a sense, has no politics. Certainly England never took Carlyle's politics seriously. England listened wondering, sometimes amazed, but always reverent, to his moral teaching. Every book he wrote seemed to prove the truth of Goethe's diagnosis of his character—'a new moral force, the extent and effects of which it is impossible to predict.' But England has ignored absolutely Carlyle's politics, whether in his attitude toward the American War, or again in *Shooting Niagara*, or in *Latter Day*

Pamphlets, or in his view of the careers of Cromwell or Frederick—that exaltation of beneficent despotism. Treitschke's political principles, on the other hand—the doing of great things greatly, heroic action, the glory of war, and the day of reckoning with England—are the very essence of his power over Germany. These principles underlie some of the soundest German, and, above all, Prussian thought at the present hour, as they have for the last thirty years.

"A further contrast between these two men is this: Treitschke is ethical rather than metaphysical. He has none of those dazzling gleams of profound metaphysical thought which constantly uplift Carlyle. Nor do you find in him the poetry of nature which you find in Carlyle—that feeling which gives Carlyle the power to turn from the massacres there in the streets of Paris to the fall of the autumn evening over French meadows. You do find, however, something of Carlyle's vivid insight into character, especially when Treitschke has the power of loving his characters (and unless a man loves his characters he should not write about them). This is noticeable in his incursions into English history, and even more in his studies of English literature. His sketch of Milton is still one of the very finest of that great man; and his sketch of Byron might quite easily be placed with that of the Spanish writer, Nuñez de Arce. But, again, that which appeals to Treitschke in Milton is the great political rebel. It is not the writer of the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*, or of the first, or of the ninth, or of the eleventh; it is the author of that noble pamphlet, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, which Milton sat writing in the very week when Charles I was being tried and doomed to death, Milton feeling it incumbent upon himself as an Englishman, though he is not a member of that high court of justice, to sit there day by day and night by night *trying* Charles I, as he maintained that every Englishman should try the king. So again, to Treitschke, with his deep Teutonic moral nature, it certainly is not the Byron of what, from a literary standpoint, is Byron's masterpiece, *Don Juan*, nor is it the poet of *Childe Harold*, that fascinates him. It is Byron's admiration and enthusiasm for liberty; and to Treitschke Byron's greatest verses are these:

"Yet, Freedom! yet, thy banner torn but flying,
Streams, like the thunderstorm, *against* the wind;
Thy trumpet voice, tho' broken now and dying,
The loudest still the tempest leaves behind."

VON TREITSCHKE AND ENGLAND

Von Treitschke hated England cordially. He despised her also and believed she was ripe for conquest. Says Professor Cramb:

"For Treitschke it is not genius, it is not valor, it is not even great policy, as in the case

of Venice, which has built up the British Empire; but the hazard of her geographical situation, the supineness of other nations, the measureless duplicity of her ministers, and the natural and innate hypocrisy of the nation as a whole. These have let this monstrous empire grow—a colossus with feet of clay. Along with this he has the conviction that such a power can be overthrown. And with what a stern joy and self-congratulation would not the nations acclaim the destruction of the island State, 'Old England,' old, indeed, and corrupt, rotten through and through!"

We shall better understand men like Von Treitschke if we remember they were descended from the numerous small feudal aristocracy, fiercely proud of their position and full of contempt for peasants and merchants. They saw in Great Britain a nation under the control of a class sodden with wealth. German poetry, music, and drama of the classical period glow with the idealization of heroes, fairies, and true gentlemen. But none but the well-born figure as gentlemen! To

such people England was an ignoble nation. Von Treitschke was a true aristocrat. His view of German nationality was an aristocratic view. In the following passage Professor Cramb gives us a striking view of the man:

"Almost the last time we see Treitschke, those noble features of his lit up, as they always were instantly lit up by any enthusiasm, whether of love or hate—almost the last time we really see him is on an evening in 1895, when, returned from a visit to England, he poured out to a company of friends all the vitriol of his scorn, antipathy, and hate for England and for the English, enduring no word of comment or contradiction, until someone quoted to him Heine's malicious *Englische Fragmente*, in which Heine discusses the question how it is that so ignoble a nation as England can possibly have produced a Shakespeare. And so the meeting ended in agreement and laughter. But all who listened to Treitschke that night seemed to hear in his words, as they had heard in his lectures again and again, the first dark roll that announces the



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Cyprus Annexed to Great Britain

Mr. Wadehouse, the British commissioner (dressed in white), has just read the proclamation which announced the annexation by Great Britain of the island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean.

coming dreadful storm, the coming war—the war that he regarded as simply inevitable—between these two empires, both the descendants of the war god Odin, and yet, *because* of that, doomed to this great conflict. Within six months Treitschke was dead.”

State is might, and if it should belie its very essence there would be no judgment severe enough for it.

“It is indeed political idealism which fosters war, whereas materialism rejects it. What a perversion of morality to want to banish heroism



Courtesy of Red Cross

Belgian Women Inquiring After Their Deported Husbands

The deportation of Belgian able-bodied men for labor within Germany aroused great indignation. German officials are here seen collecting data to aid in the identification and location of lost husbands.

ON THE SIN OF NATIONAL WEAKNESS

An excellent example of Treitschke's political teaching is the following, taken from his *Politics*:

“Thus we find it necessary to distinguish between public and private morality. The rank of the various duties must necessarily be very different for the State and the individual man. There is a whole series of these duties which are imposed upon the individual which are absolutely out of the question for the State. The State's highest law is that of self-assertion: that is for it the absolute morality. Therefore, one must assert that of all political sins, the worst and most contemptible is weakness; it is the sin against the holy ghost of politics. In private life certain weaknesses of the soul are excusable. But of these there is no question in the State; for the

from human life! The heroes of a people are the personalities who fill the youthful souls with delight and enthusiasm. Amongst authors, we as boys and youths admire most those whose words sound like a flourish of trumpets. He who cannot take pleasure therein is too cowardly to take up arms himself for his Fatherland. All appeal to Christianity in this matter is perverted. The Bible states expressly that the man in authority shall wield the sword; it states likewise that: ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that he giveth his life for his friend.’ Those who preach the nonsense about everlasting peace do not understand the life of the Aryan race; the Aryans are before all brave. They have always been men enough to protect by the sword what they had won by the intellect. . . .

“To the historian who lives in the realms of the will, it is quite clear that the furtherance of an everlasting peace is fundamentally reactionary. He sees that to banish war from history

would be to banish all progress and becoming. It is only the periods of exhaustion, weariness, and mental stagnation that have dallied with the dream of everlasting peace."

"THE MORAL MAJESTY OF WAR"

Treitschke had not merely a contempt for the pacifist, but an absolute conviction that war was in itself a moral benefit. He declared in his *Politics*, Vol. II, page 361:

"All the smokers of peace-pipes in the world will never bring it to pass that States will always be of one mind; and, if they are not, only the sword can decide between them. *We have learned to recognize the moral majesty of war exactly in those of its characteristics which to superficial observers seem brutal. That for the sake of your country you must suppress your natural humanity . . . at first glance seems to be the terrible side of war, but is really its greatness. A man must sacrifice his whole ego to a great patriotic idea. That is the morally sublime element in war.*"

RECALLED BY AN AMERICAN STUDENT

Discussion of Treitschke's influence on German thought brought out, in 1914, many interesting topics. An old student at Berlin, Professor H. W. Farnam, wrote of him as follows, in the *Yale Alumni Weekly*:

"I well remember the vigor with which in one of his lectures he said: 'If there is any unpardonable sin in politics, a sin against the holy

ghost of politics, it is weakness.' This sentence, which was incorporated in his posthumous book on politics, has been quoted with approval by General von Bernhardi, and is perhaps as good a summary as could be given in a single sentence of his leading thought. As I take down my old notebook of thirty-seven years ago and turn over its pages, I seem to see his flashing eyes and hear his raucous voice.

"The purpose of the State,' so read my notes, 'is power, and nothing can be more moral than this purpose. The statesman is often in a position to choose between two evils in order to maintain this highest good, but the diplomatist lies (if he does it) for the advantage of the State, while the merchant lies for his own advantage. The impulse of a youthful State to destroy an old and decaying State is higher than all maxims of positive law. The statesman who acts unwisely is immoral.' 'When a State has the choice between the moral and the immoral it should choose the moral, for good faith is in politics a real power, but it is often possible to obtain a moral purpose only by immoral means, although not every moral purpose sanctifies immoral means.'

"These brief sentences do not claim to be the exact words of Treitschke, but they certainly represent the impression which his words made upon me, and I believe that they do not do him injustice. The vigor of his utterances often called forth strong opposition among the students, which they expressed, according to the German custom, by rubbing the floor with the soles of their shoes. Although Treitschke was stone-deaf, it seemed as if he must have felt these demonstrations in some way, possibly through the vibrations of the floor, for whenever one occurred he would hit back with some oracular utterance like a sledge-hammer, calculated to crush, if not to convince, his critics."

TWO GERMAN PHILOSOPHIES

Bernhardi a True German Militarist—Nietzsche, Deeply Individual, Calls Germans Criminals

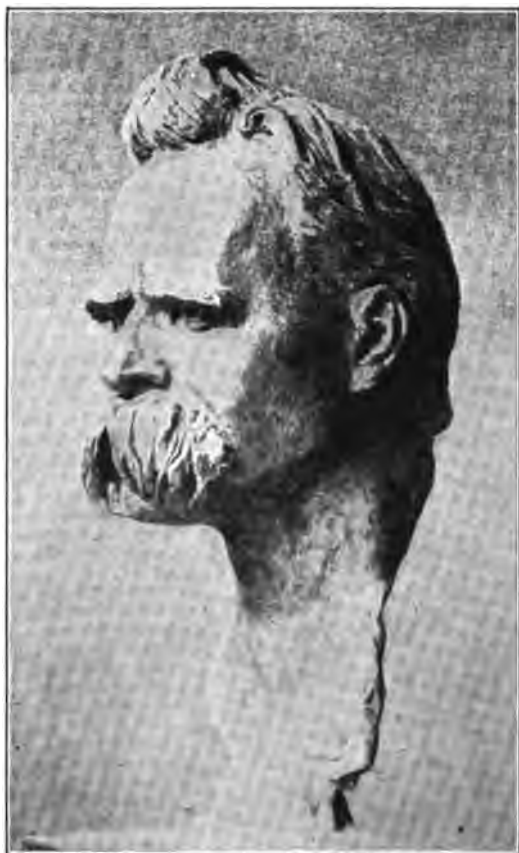
VIII

MILITARISM INTERPRETED

FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI has recently been repudiated by Germans. They say he did not express the German point of view, that he was an extreme chauvinist, and that his utterances made no impression in Germany. That he was an extremist may be conceded, but it was rather

in his manner of speech than in the content of that speech. He gave German militarism its real interpretation. It seems certain that the mass of German people themselves did not know whither they were drifting. Von Bernhardi's book did not arouse them. It did not seem to them, immersed in the system he described, a book worth making a noise about. If the book had been considered an erroneous and exaggerated view, as is now alleged, it would have found some portion

of the opposite-minded nation to repudiate it. It was only to such pacific people as those who lived in the British Isles and the United States that the words of Von Bernhardi seemed strong and ominous. Their ears had



A Bust of Friedrich Nietzsche
Modeled by Max Klinger

never heard such things before, save as faint echoes from Germany. They were not immersed in militarism, and to them it had a strange sound. Von Bernhardi's book, *Germany and the Next War*, sold in great numbers in Great Britain, while it was neglected in Germany. In Germany it preached an old doctrine; in England it proclaimed the antithesis of the prevailing opinion.

GEMS FROM *Germany and the Next War*

From Bernhardi's famous book some striking quotations can be made:

"War is in itself a good thing. It is a biological necessity of the first importance."

"The inevitableness, the idealism, the blessing of war as an indispensable and stimulating law of development must be repeatedly emphasized."

"War is the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power. Efforts to secure peace are extraordinarily detrimental as soon as they influence politics."

"Fortunately these efforts can never attain their ultimate objects in a world bristling with arms, where healthy egotism still directs the policy of most countries. 'God will see to it,' says Treitschke, 'that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race.'"

"Efforts directed toward the abolition of war are not only foolish, but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race."

"Courts of arbitration are pernicious delusions. The whole idea represents a presumptuous encroachment on natural laws of development, which can only lead to the most disastrous consequences for humanity generally."

"The maintenance of peace never can be or may be the goal of a policy."

"Efforts for peace would, if they attained their goal, lead to general degeneration, as happens everywhere in nature where the struggle for existence is eliminated."

"Huge armaments are in themselves desirable. They are the most necessary precondition of our national health."

"The end-all and be-all of a State is power, and he who is not man enough to look this truth in the face should not meddle with politics, (quoted from Treitschke's *Politik*).

"The State's highest moral duty is to increase its power."

"The State is justified in making conquests whenever its own advantage seems to require additional territory."

"Self-preservation is the State's highest ideal and justifies whatever action it may take if that action be conducive to that end. The State is the sole judge of the morality of its own action. It is, in fact, above morality, or, in other words, whatever is necessary is moral. Recognized rights (*i.e.*, treaty rights) are never absolute rights; they are of human origin, and, therefore, imperfect and variable. There are conditions in which they do not correspond to the actual truth of things. In this case infringement of the right appears morally justified."

"In fact, the State is a law unto itself. Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful and vigorous nations."

"Any action in favor of collective humanity outside the limits of the State and nationality is impossible."

Closely linked in the popular mind with Treitschke and Bernhardi, among the prime instigators of the war, is the philosopher Nietzsche. To a certain degree, it is true,

the great apostle of the "superman" may be considered responsible for the great wave of materialism, worship of power, and egoism which caught up the German people and carried them into the war. To Nietzsche the ideal man was one of such force and power that he was above all ordinary human laws, "above good and evil." And such became the ideal of the Prussian State, which may well have made the following quotation from Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* its motto:

"Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars—and the short peace more than the long.

"Ye say it is the good cause which halloweth even war? I say unto you: *it is the good war which halloweth every cause.* War and courage have done more great things than charity.

"Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not kill—such precepts were once called holy. Is there not in all life stealing and killing? For such precepts to be called holy, was not truth itself killed?

"This new commandment, my brethren, give I to you: *Be hard!*"

But, in spite of the dangerous ethical teachings, Nietzsche was deeply conscious of Germany's political vices, and warned his fellow-countrymen of those faults in no restrained words. As a writer in the *Round Table* remarks:

"Nietzsche's countrymen have in truth had no keener or more unsparing critic than the wild seer who is supposed, even by many of themselves, to have preached and justified their present ideals. His own preoccupation was not with physical but with spiritual wars; and, so far from esteeming the culture of modern Germany, he denounced it as the arch-enemy of that new aristocracy of character and intellect which he foreshadowed in visions of the superman. He was wont to call himself, above all things, a 'good European,' for his ideal of culture transcended national boundaries and looked only to the production of the highest human type. He must turn in his grave at the claims which German culture is parading with such fierce and unanimous conviction to-day."

It would be difficult to find more scathing criticisms of modern Germany than are to be found in Nietzsche's pages. Almost his last written words were these, taken from *Ecce Homo*:

"Not only have the Germans entirely lost the *breadth of vision* which enables one to grasp the course of culture and the values of culture; not only are they one and all political (or Church) puppets; but they have actually *put a ban upon* this very breadth of vision. A man must first and foremost be 'German,' he must belong to 'the race'; then only can he pass judgment upon all values and lack of values in history, then only can he establish them. To be German is in itself an argument: *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* is a principle; the Germans stand for 'the moral order of the universe' in history. Compared with the Roman Empire, they are the upholders of freedom; compared with the eighteenth century, they are the restorers of morality, of the Categorical Imperative. There is such a thing as the writing of history according to the lights of Imperial Germany. There is, I fear, anti-Semitic history. There is also history written with an eye to the Court, and Herr von Treitschke is not ashamed of himself."

And in the same article he wrote:

"I feel it my duty to tell the Germans, once and for all, all they have on their conscience. Every great crime against culture in the past four centuries lies on their conscience . . . and always for the same reason, the love of falsehood, which has become almost instinctive in them. 'German intellect' is to me foul air; I breathe with difficulty in the neighborhood of this psychological uncleanness, which in every expression betrays the German. They have never undergone a century of hard self-examination, as the French have—a Rochefoucauld, a Descartes are a thousand times more upright than the best Germans. But psychology is almost the standard of measurement for the cleanliness or uncleanness of a race; for if a man is not even clean, how can he be deep? That which is called 'deep' in Germany is precisely this instinctive uncleanness toward oneself of which I have just spoken; people refuse to be clear even in regard to their own natures."

The Kaiser to the German People, July 31, 1914

"A fateful hour has fallen for Germany. Envious people everywhere are compelling us to our just defence. The sword is being forced into our hand. I hope that if my efforts at the last hour do not succeed in bringing our opponents to see eye to eye with us and in maintaining peace, we shall with God's help so wield the sword that we shall restore it to its sheath again with honor."

OBSESSED BY "ENCIRCLEMENT"

Germans, Planted in the Middle of Europe, Imagined Themselves
Surrounded by Ravenous Enemies

IX

THE MANIA OF ISOLATION

NO words were more commonly used by the German political writer than attacks upon Edward VII for having "encircled" Germany with offensive alliances. Professor



Prince Gortchakoff

The Russian Chancellor who rebuffed all English, French, and Austrian protests against Russia's severity in crushing Poland and who, by an understanding with Bismarck, smoothed the way for the occupation of Holstein by Prussian troops in 1863. At this time he was the most powerful minister in Europe.

Munroe Smith, in *Disclosures from Germany*, explains the reason for that attack:

"We see to-day that the encirclement theory was one of the most valued drugs in Berlin's political medicine closet. It was at once an anodyne, by which the German people were made

to bear more quietly the growing burden of armaments, and a stimulant adapted to fire them with a sense of wrong and a conviction that by war alone could they obtain satisfaction. Germany's encirclement could also be represented, and was represented, as a prelude to aggressive action by the encircling Powers. Failing to stifle German competition by diplomatic wiles, these Powers would sooner or later seek to crush Germany in war. Thus the German people were prepared to look upon a European war either as necessary, in order to gain a free field for their industry and trade, or as inevitable for the defence of the Fatherland. And, since these different notions were simultaneously presented to them, and were not disassociated in their minds, the German people were adroitly prepared to regard an aggressive war, whenever it should please Berlin to start it, either as a 'preventive' war—that is, a war to anticipate attack—or as a war of defence.

"When war should come, the encirclement plea could of course be used, as in fact it was used, to influence neutral opinion. The theory was primarily constructed, however, for domestic use."

GERMANY'S GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

No thought was more continually present in the German mind than the geographical isolation of Germany. Said Von Bernhardt:

"Our German nation is beset on all sides. This is primarily a result of our geographical position in the midst of hostile rivals, but also because we have forced ourselves, though the last-comers, the virtual upstarts, between the States which have earlier gained their place, and now claim our share in the dominion of this world, after we have for centuries been paramount only in the realm of intellect. We have thus injured a thousand interests and roused bitter hostilities. . . . If a violent solution of existing difficulties is adopted, if the political crisis develops into military action, the Germans would have a dangerous situation in the midst of all the forces brought into play against them. On the other hand, the issue of this struggle will be decisive of Germany's whole future as State and nation. We have the most to win or lose by such a struggle. We shall be beset by the greatest perils, and we can only emerge victoriously from this struggle against a world of hostile elements, and successfully carry through a Seven Years' War for our position as a World Power, if

we gain a start on our probable enemy as soldiers; if the army which will fight our battles is supported by all the material and spiritual forces of the nation; if the resolve to conquer lives not only in our troops, but in the entire united people which sends these troops to fight for all their dearest possessions."

RIGHT TO ANNEX TERRITORY

The right to annex territory to protect the State against "encirclement" Von Bernhardt regarded as indisputable:

"Higher civilization and the correspondingly greater power are the foundations of the right to annexation. This right is, it is true, a very indefinite one, and it is impossible to determine what degree of civilization justifies annexation and subjugation. The impossibility of finding a legitimate limit to these international relations has been the cause of many wars. The subjugated nation does not recognize this right of subjugation, and the more powerful civilized nation refuses to admit the claim of the subjugated to independence. This situation becomes peculiarly critical when the conditions of civilization have changed in the course of time. The subject nation has, perhaps, adopted higher methods and conceptions of life, and the difference in civilization has consequently lessened. Such a state of things is growing ripe in British India.

"Lastly, in all times the right of conquest by war has been admitted. It may be that a growing people cannot win colonies from uncivilized races, and yet the State wishes to retain the surplus population which the mother country can no longer feed. Then the only course left is to acquire the necessary territory by war. Thus the instinct of self-preservation leads inevitably to war, and the conquest of foreign soil. It is not the possessor, but the victor, who then has the right. The threatened people will see the point of Goethe's lines:

"That which thou didst inherit from thy sires,
In order to possess it, must be won."

"The procedure of Italy in Tripoli furnishes an example of such conditions, while Germany in the Morocco question could not rouse herself to a similar resolution. In such cases might gives the right to occupy or to conquer. Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decision rests on the very nature of things."

DEFENCE THEORY OF ARMY AND NAVY

In the following brief statement Dr. Dernburg summed up the views held by most Ger-

mans in regard to the origin, growth, and purpose of the German military and naval establishments:

"When Belgium seceded from Holland the Powers selected a King who was both the son-in-law of the King of France and the uncle of the Queen of England, and therefore strongly affiliated with these two countries. The German Federation, in which Prussia had just one vote out of seventeen, was purposely made an unworkable machine, requiring the unanimity of votes for all important measures. This was the situation that Bismarck found when in 1852 he was appointed Prussian envoy to the Federation at Frankfort. He very soon perceived the absolute helplessness and the consequent misery of Germany, so he decided that if the German people were to become a nation and a power commensurate to its population and resources, Austria's dominion had first to cease. This was brought about by the war of 1866. The Norddeutscher Bund followed, and the common war with France welded Germany into an Empire. History, however, had taught Bismarck that this empire could only live and prosper, wedged in as it was in the middle of Europe between the great Powers, if it had an army strong enough to defend its frontiers against any attack and invasion; that it had to do as its neighbors had done before, *vis.*, to create and maintain a large standing force for its preservation and its peace, and for the possibility of developing its international advantages and prosperity.

"So the German military, as well as its naval force, has been created on purely defensive lines, its alliances have been concluded for defensive purposes only, and Germany holds the record for keeping peace within and outside of Europe for the last forty-four years. It has never coveted its neighbor's territory nor its colonies, it has never gone to war either in or out of Europe, and that is much more than can be said of any of its neighbors and antagonists.

"Let us pass them in review. Since 1870: England has conquered Egypt, shelled Alexandria, taken by force two Boer republics; it has added to its sphere, by force, southern Persia, and by intimidation a part of Siam. France has conquered Tunis, she is fighting for Morocco, she has made war on Madagascar, has tried to take the Sudan and conquered Indo-China in bloody war. Russia has fought the Turks in 1878 and the Japanese in 1904, she has torn from China the northern part of Manchuria and all of Mongolia, she has made war on Turkestan, she has bagged northern Persia, she has formed and fomented the Balkan combination and has all along proved herself the most aggressive European Power.

"All that time Germany has added to its territory only certain colonial possessions, all ceded to her by peaceful agreement and by common consent of the great Powers."



Emperor Frederick III of Germany

The father of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

FUTURE RELATIONS OF GERMANY

Lichnowsky's view of the probable position of Germany after the war, expressed in 1916, throws interesting light on the German state of mind before the war. He was the German Ambassador to England at the outbreak of the war, and writes:

"And to what outcome of the struggle of nations have we to look forward? The United States of Africa will be British, like those of America, Australia, and Oceania. And the Latin States of Europe, as I predicted years ago, will come into the same relation to the United Kingdom as their Latin sisters in America to the United States. The Anglo-Saxon will dominate them. France, exhausted by the war, will attach herself all the more closely to Great Britain. Nor will Spain maintain, in the long run, an attitude of resistance.

"In Asia, the Russians and the Japanese will

extend their frontiers and diffuse their customs, while the south will remain in the hands of the British.

"The world will belong to the Anglo-Saxons, the Russians, and the Japanese, and the German will be left alone with Austria and Hungary. His dominion will be that of thought and trade, not that of the bureaucrat and the soldier. He made his appearance too late; and his last chance of making up what he had missed, of founding a colonial empire, has been destroyed by the World War.

"For we shall not supplant the sons of Jehovah. The future will realize the program of the great Rhodes, who saw the salvation of humanity in the expansion of British influence, in British imperialism.

"Roman, be mindful to rule the people with orderly power.

These shall be thine arts: enforcing peace as a custom,

Warring the arrogant down, and sparing those who have yielded."

IS THE KAISER A MADMAN?

His Speeches and Interviews Suggest He Was Afflicted by a
Mania of Greatness

X

A DANISH PROPHECY

THE personality of the Kaiser was probably one of the main causes of the Great War. It is possible that later generations may see in him merely a weakling, yielding to his environment, and may come to feel that he was the creature rather than the creator of public opinion. A study of his career, however, is illuminating.

William II came to the imperial throne after the death of a father, Frederick III, whose accession had been anticipated with joy by all liberals. But Frederick III lived only a few weeks as emperor. His son began his spectacular reign in 1888 with a world looking on in sad wonder. George Brandes, the Danish philosopher, gave the following utterance to the general feeling of disappointment, with a certain prophetic power:

"There is not the least doubt as to the direction in which Frederick III would have guided the State had strength gone hand in hand with will.

The world has marveled at the spectacle of a dying man making head against Germany's *major domus*—an Emperor manifesting his horror of bureaucratic despotism and his unaffected love of political freedom. The fall of Puttkammer was an execution in effigy of the dominant reaction's shameless hatred of freedom.

"Only in effigy, alas! The wooden doll lies broken on the scaffold, and the living hatred of freedom, triumphing and spur-jingling, will now at its leisure form a ring around the throne. . . .

"Even when he [the Emperor Frederick] was in full cuirass, one could see in his aspect and bearing that he had one characteristic unshared by either his father or his son—namely, that the military corset had not squeezed his inward organs out of their natural position. He had not only a heart, like his father, but his heart was in the right place. . . .

"In this end of the nineteenth century there was no room on the throne of a great Power for a character like this. The great European reaction, that monstrous hell-hound, has swallowed his reign at a single gulp, and will now, after this short pause, begin to bay again with its three heads: chauvinism, sanctimoniousness, and war frenzy. . . .

"A hostile relation to its great southern neighbor is for Denmark a political impossibility. But this need not prevent us from recognizing that there are at this moment much more impetus and



From the painting by Max Koner

Ex-Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany

The young Emperor is here shown in his coronation robes, in 1888.

freedom of spirit in the Russian intelligence than in the German. Those whom our Pan-Germanists call 'our Germanic brothers' are our brothers in little else than philistinism, pedantry, and servility. Not freedom, but order and power, are the watchwords of the new Germany. What Europe has now to look forward to is that which the old song in *Vaulundur's Saga* calls: Bad-time, sword-time, death-time."

THE KAISER'S SPEECHES

For a short period after his accession, the new Emperor was too busy learning the business of government to indulge to any great extent in that theatrical eloquence which later characterized him. But after a short interval he broke the silence, and from that time to his abdication his subjects had more than enough opportunities to listen to his views upon politics. From among his many famous speeches, the following few quotations are characteristic:

"Just as in my grandfather's day, so now, also, distrust and discord are rife among the people. The only pillar on which the realm rested was the Army. Just so it is to-day!" (1894)

"God would never have taken such great pains with our German Fatherland and its people if He had not been preparing us for something still greater. *We are the salt of the earth.*" (1905)

"I welcome with all my heart those who wish to assist me in my work; but those who oppose me in this work I will crush." (1890)

"We shall conquer everywhere, though we be surrounded by enemies; for there lives a *powerful ally, the good old God in heaven, who . . . has always been on our side.*" (1901)

"Here in Königsberg my grandfather set the crown of Prussia upon his own head, once more emphasizing the fact that it came to him by the will of God alone . . . and that he looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of heaven. . . . *Looking upon myself as the instrument of the Lord, I go my way, without regard to the opinion of the day.*" (1910)

Ever remarkable as a living example of militarism will be the Kaiser's address to his soldiers who were about to start on the Chinese campaign in 1900. It was from these words that the well-known epithet of "Huns" for German is derived. The address was this:

"The Chinese have trampled on international law; they have, in a manner unheard of in the history of the world, hurled foul scorn at the sanctity of the Ambassador and the duties of

hospitality. Such conduct is all the more revolting because the crime was committed by a nation which is proud of its immemorial civilization. Maintain the old Prussian excellency: prove yourselves Christians in the cheerful endurance of suffering; may honor and glory attend your colors and your arms; set an example to all the world of discipline and obedience.

"Remember when you meet the foe that quarter will not be given and that prisoners will not be taken. Wield your weapons so that for a thousand years to come no Chinaman will dare to look askance at a German. Pave the way once for all for civilization. . . .

"May you all prove your German efficiency, devotion, and bravery, bear joyfully all discomfort, and uphold the honor and glory of our arms and colors. You must set an example of discipline, self-domination, self-control. You will fight against a well-armed and well-equipped foe, but you have to avenge not only the death of our Minister, but that of many Germans and Europeans. May the name of Germany make itself so felt in China that for a thousand years to come China shall never dare even to look askance at a German. *Be as terrible as Attila's Huns.*

"The blessing of the Lord be with you. The prayers of the whole people accompany you in all your ways. My best wishes for yourselves, for the success of your aims, will ever follow you. Give proofs of your courage, no matter where. May the blessing of God rest on your banners, and may He vouchsafe to you to find a path for Christianity in that far-off country. For this you have pledged yourselves to me with your oath to the colors. I wish you God-speed. Adieu, comrades!"

And as a last example of the Kaiser's eloquence, and one which to a non-German suggests insanity, may be quoted a proclamation of the Kaiser to the Army of the East in 1914:

"Remember that you are the chosen people. The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am Emperor of the Germans.

"I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am his sword, his agent! Woe and death to all who oppose my will! Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to the cowards!

"Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people! God demands their destruction, God, who, by my mouth, bids you do His will!"

THE *Daily Telegraph* INTERVIEW

From about the year 1900 a growing ill-will between Germany and England was manifested, until, by 1908, "hatred" of England was widespread in Germany. This moment the Kaiser chose to send to Lord Tweedmouth a letter virtually reprimanding the

British Admiralty for building their fleet on the "two power" standard, and protesting that German naval expansion was not aimed at England. By this letter he angered the English people; and, a still more famous episode, he caused to be published in the London *Daily Telegraph* on October 28, 1908, what purported to be an interview between himself and a "prominent Englishman," an interview declared by the Berlin Foreign Office to be an authentic imperial "message to the English people." "The prominent Englishman" reported the interview as follows:

"Moments sometimes occur in the history of nations when a calculated indiscretion proves of the highest public service. It is for this reason that I have decided to make known the substance of a lengthy conversation which it was my recent privilege to have with the Emperor.

"I do so in the hope that it will help to remove that obstinate misconception of the character of the Emperor's feelings toward England, which I fear is deeply rooted in the ordinary Englishman's breast. It is the Emperor's sincere wish that it should be eradicated. He has given repeated proofs of his desire by word and deed. But, to speak frankly, his patience is sorely tried now; he finds himself so continually misrepresented and has so often experienced the mortification of finding that any momentary improvement in relations is followed by renewed outbursts of prejudice and a prompt return to the old attitude of suspicion.

"His Majesty spoke with impulsive and unusual frankness, saying: 'You English are as mad, mad, mad as March hares. What has come over you that you are completely given over to suspicions that are quite unworthy of a great nation? What more can I do than I have done? I declared with all the emphasis at my command in my speech at the Guildhall that my heart was set upon peace and that it was one of my dearest wishes to live on the best terms with England. Have I ever been false to my word? Falsehood and prevarication are alien to my nature. My actions ought to speak for themselves, but you will not listen to them, but to those who misinterpret and distort them.

"This is a personal insult which I resent; to be forever misjudged, to have my repeated offers of friendship weighed and scrutinized with jealous, mistrustful eyes taxes my patience severely. I have said time after time that I am a friend of England, and your press, or at least a considerable section of it, bids the people of England to refuse my proffered hand and insinuates that the other hand holds a dagger. How can I convince a nation against its will?"

ENGLISH DISTRUST OF GERMANY

"Complaining again of the difficulty imposed on him by English distrust, his Majesty said:

'The prevailing sentiment of large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England. I am, therefore, so to speak, in the minority in my own land, but it is a minority of the best element, just as it is in England respecting Germany.'

"The Englishman reminded the Kaiser that not only England, but the whole of Europe,



The Kaiserin

The wife of William II was beloved by the people for her kindness and charity. As all good German women were told to do, she brought up a large family.

viewed with disapproval the recent sending of the German Consul at Algiers to Fez and forestalling France and Spain by suggesting the recognition of Sultan Mulai Hafid. The Kaiser made an impatient gesture and exclaimed: 'Yes, that is an excellent example of the way German actions are misrepresented,' and with vivid directness he defended the aforesaid incident, as the German government has already done.

"The interviewer reminded the Kaiser that an important and influential section of the German newspapers interpreted these acts very differently, and effusively approved of them because they indicated that Germany was bent upon shaping events in Morocco.

"There are mischief-makers,' replied the Emperor, 'in both countries. I will not attempt to weigh their relative capacity for misrepresentation, but the facts are as I have stated. There has been nothing in Germany's recent action in regard to Morocco contrary to the explicit dec-

laration of my love of peace made both at the Guildhall and in my latest speech at Strassburg.'

THE KAISER AND THE BOER WAR

"Reverting to his efforts to show his friendship for England, the Kaiser said they had not been confined to words. It was commonly believed that Germany was hostile to England throughout the Boer war. Undoubtedly the newspapers were hostile and public opinion was hostile.

of a telegram, now in the archives of Windsor Castle, in which I informed the sovereign of England of the answer I returned to the powers which then sought to compass her fall. Englishmen who now insult me by doubting my word should know what my actions were in the hour of their adversity.

"Nor was that all. During your black week in December, 1899, when disasters followed one another in rapid succession, I received a letter from Queen Victoria, my revered grandmother,



Edward VII of England and Wilhelm II of Germany

Uncle and nephew were never great friends.

'But what,' he asked, 'of official Germany? What brought to a sudden stop, indeed, to an absolute collapse, the European tour of the Boer delegates, who were striving to obtain European intervention?

"They were fêted in Holland. France gave them a rapturous welcome. They wished to come to Berlin, where the German people would have crowned them with flowers, but when they asked me to receive them I refused. The agitation immediately died away and the delegates returned empty-handed. Was that the action of a secret enemy?

"Again, when the struggle was at its height, the German government was invited by France and Russia to join them in calling upon England to end the war. The moment had come, they said, not only to save the Boer republics, but also to humiliate England to the dust. What was my reply? I said so far from Germany joining in any concerted European action to bring pressure against England and bring about her downfall Germany would always keep aloof from politics that could bring her into complications with a sea power like England.

'Posterity will one day read the exact terms

written in sorrow and affliction and bearing manifest traces of the anxieties which were preying upon her mind and health. I at once returned a sympathetic reply. I did more. I bade one of my officers to procure as exact an account as he could obtain of the number of combatants on both sides and the actual positions of the opposing forces.

"With the figures before me I worked out what I considered the best plan of campaign in the circumstances, and submitted it to my General Staff for criticism. Then I dispatched it to England. That document likewise is among the State papers at Windsor awaiting the serenely impartial verdict of history.

"Let me add as a curious coincidence that the plan which I formulated ran very much on the same lines as that actually adopted by Gen. Roberts and carried by him into successful operation. Was that the act of one who wished England ill? Let Englishmen be just and say.'

THE GERMAN NAVY

"Touching then upon the English conviction that Germany is increasing her Navy for the

purpose of attacking Great Britain, the Kaiser reiterated the explanation that Chancellor von Bülow and other Ministers have made familiar, dwelling upon Germany's worldwide commerce, her manifold interests in distant seas, and the necessity for being prepared to protect them. He said:

"Patriotic Germans refuse to assign any bounds to their legitimate commercial ambitions. They expect their interests to go on growing. They must be able to champion them manfully in any quarter of the globe. Germany looks ahead. Her horizons stretch far away. She must be prepared for any eventualities in the Far East. Who can foresee what may take place in the Pacific in the days to come, days not so distant as some believe, but days, at any rate, for which all European powers with Far Eastern interests ought to steadily prepare?"

"Look at the accomplished rise of Japan. Think of a possible national awakening in China, and then judge of the vast problems of the Pacific. Only those powers which have great navies will be listened to with respect when the future of the Pacific comes to be solved, and if for that reason only Germany must have a powerful fleet. It may even be that England herself will be glad that Germany has a fleet when they speak together in the great debates of the future."

The interviewer concludes:

"The Emperor spoke with all that earnestness which marks his manner when speaking on deeply pondered subjects. I ask my fellow-countrymen who value the cause of peace to weigh what I have written and revise, if necessary, their estimate of the Kaiser and his friendship for England by his Majesty's own words. If they had enjoyed the privilege of hearing them spoken they would no longer doubt either his Majesty's firm desire to live on the best of terms with England or his growing impatience at the persistent mistrust with which his offer of friendship is too often received."

THE EMPEROR REPRIMANDED

The *New York Times Current History of the War* reports the results of the interview as follows:

On November 17th following, Prince von Bülow met the Kaiser at Kiel, taking with him evidence of the feeling in Germany regarding the Emperor's published interview and setting forth:

"First, that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, is firm in the opinion formulated at the meeting held yesterday that it would be wiser for the Emperor not to express views affecting the relations of the Em-

pire with other countries except through his responsible Ministers. This expression derives weight from the fact that the governments of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony were represented on the committee.

"Second, that the entire Reichstag assented to the declarations made by the speakers on Tuesday that the Emperor had exceeded his constitutional prerogatives in private discussion with foreigners concerning Germany's attitude on controverted questions.

"Third, that the feeling of the people at large on this matter was accurately indicated by the press of the country."

The Kaiser's reply was published on the same date in the *Reichsanzeiger*, in the form of a communication, which read:

"During to-day's audience granted to the Imperial Chancellor, his Majesty, the Emperor and King, listened for several hours to a report by Prince von Bülow. The Imperial Chancellor described the feeling and its causes among the German people in connection with the article published in *The Daily Telegraph*. He also explained the position he had taken during the course of the debates and interpellations on this subject in the Reichstag. His Majesty the Emperor received the statements and explanations with great earnestness, and then expressed his will as follows:

"Heedless of the exaggerations of public criticism, which are regarded by him as incorrect, his Majesty perceives that his principal imperial task is to insure the stability of the policies of the Empire, under the guardianship of constitutional responsibilities. In conformity therewith, his Majesty the Emperor approves the Chancellor's utterances in the Reichstag, and assures Prince von Bülow of his continued confidence."

LLOYD GEORGE HITS THE KAISER

A speech of Mr. Lloyd George, delivered on September 29, 1914, gives an interesting view of the Kaiser's personality, as it seemed to the British after the beginning of the war:

"Have you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy I advise you to buy one; they will soon be out of print, and you will not have many more of the same sort. [Laughter and applause.] They are full of the glitter and bluster of German militarism—'mailed fist,' and 'shining armor.' Poor old mailed fist! Its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armor! The shine is being knocked out of it. [Applause.] There is the same swagger and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. The extract which was given in *The British Weekly* this week is a very remarkable product as an illustration of the spirit we have

to fight. It is the Kaiser's speech to his soldiers on the way to the front:—

"Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, the German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His sword, His weapon, and His vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient, and death to cowards and unbelievers."

Lunacy is always distressing, but sometimes it is dangerous; and when you get it manifested in the head of the State, and it has become the policy of a great empire, it is about time that it should be ruthlessly put away. [Loud applause.] I do not believe he meant all these speeches; it was simply the martial straddle he had acquired. But there were men around him who meant every word of them. This was their religion. Treaties? They tangle the feet of Germany in her advance. Cut them with the sword! Little nations? They hinder the advance of Germany. Trample them in the mire

under the German heel! The Russian Slav? He challenges the supremacy of Germany and Europe. Hurl your legions at him and massacre him! Britain? She is a constant menace to the predominance of Germany in the world. Wrest the trident out of her hand! Christianity? Sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others! Poor pap for German digestion! We will have a new diet. We will force it upon the world. It will be made in Germany—[Laughter and applause]—a diet of blood and iron. What remains? Treaties have gone. The honor of nations has gone. Liberty has gone. What is left? Germany! Germany is left!—*Deutschland über Alles!*

"That is what we are fighting—['Hear, hear!']—that claim to predominance of a material, hard civilization, a civilization which if it once rules and sways the world, liberty goes, democracy vanishes. And unless Britain and her sons come to the rescue it will be a dark day for humanity. [Applause.]"

THE HYMN OF HATE IS SUNG

Before the World War, German Dislike of Britain is Keen—with the War a Frenzy of Hate Follows

XI

HATRED OF ENGLAND

THE outburst of hate directed by Germans against the British deserves a special chapter because of its dramatic character; writing before the war, Bernhardi gave a foretaste of what was to come:

"It became England's task to spread European civilization over the other Continents. That country accomplished a truly world-historic mission—on the one hand, by founding new and essentially Germanic States in North America, by subjecting India and Australia to European influence, and by effecting settlements on the coasts of East Asia; and on the other hand, by creating the framework of the modern State, by organizing the world's commerce, and by giving an enormous impetus to the manufacturing industries. By this activity England has created factors which promise to be of permanent value.

GREAT BRITAIN A DECLINING STATE, SAID BERNHARDI

"At the present moment it is difficult to say whether England has arrived at the zenith of her greatness. It is certain that she makes colos-

sal exertions to maintain her predominance, and even to increase it, and she will obviously not allow herself to be deprived of her great position without a struggle.

"History teaches us that the great civilized nations have always gradually declined when they had fulfilled their civilizing mission, when they had reached their zenith. This is a law of nature, and there is no reason to believe that that law will be invalid in the future.

"The white population of the entire British Empire, with its colossal territories, is smaller than that of the comparatively small German Empire. It is worth noting that in the year 1911 alone 260,000 English people emigrated on balance from the United Kingdom. For 1912 the number of emigrants will probably be higher. At the same time, the excess of births over deaths in Great Britain is declining, and the female population exceeds by 1,400,000 the male. In view of these circumstances, it is clear that the number of British people does not suffice to people and exploit the enormous British possessions.

"Thus the English are virtually compelled to employ foreigners. Besides, German business men are generally considered to be more reliable and painstaking than Englishmen, and German technical workers of every kind are by many more highly esteemed than their British competitors. Even in Manchester, one of the most important centers of British industry, many Germans act as technical managers, and many English business

firms are directed by Germans. We Germans have no reason to thank England for being allowed to trade in her colonies. On the contrary, the English are indebted to us, for without us Germans they would not be able to maintain their enormous commerce. . . .

"The recent political and economic progress of Germany has caused England to become our most determined enemy, for she has begun to fear that she will lose her naval supremacy and her predominance in foreign trade. Eng-

umns and trains. The regular troops in the United Kingdom which do not form part of the regular field army are some 100,000 strong. They consist of a very small number of mobile units, foot artillery, and engineers for coast defence, as well as the reserve formations. These troops, with some 13,000 militia artillery and militia engineers, constitute the Home Army, under whose protection the Territorial field army is completing its organization. Months must certainly elapse before portions of this army can strengthen the



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German Volunteers Leaving Berlin

Accompanied by their sweethearts, wives, and daughters, a detachment departs for the front.

land opposes Germany as an enemy in all parts of the world, and prevents her Colonial expansion, which for Germany is a question of life or death."

ENGLAND'S MILITARY WEAKNESS

Germany's disdain for the British Army, on account of its size, was one of the reasons she went so lightly into the war. Von Bernhardt in 1911 described this army as follows:

"For a war in Continental Europe, we have only to take into account the regular army stationed in England. When mobilized, it forms the 'regular field army' of 6 infantry divisions, 1 cavalry division, 2 mounted brigades and army troops, and numbers 130,000 men, without col-

regular army. At the most 150,000 men may be reckoned upon for an English expeditionary force. These troops compose at the same time the reserve of the troops stationed in the Colonies, which require reinforcements at grave crises. This constitutes the weak point in the British armament. England can employ her regular army in a Continental war so long as all is quiet in the Colonies."

Famous, in this respect, is the Kaiser's order to his armies, issued on August 19, 1914:

"It is my imperial command that you concentrate your energies for the present upon the attainment of one particular object, that you employ all your skill in exterminating the treacherous English, in shattering and annihilating General French's *contemptible little army*."

EMPRESS VICTORIA DISLIKED BY GERMANS

Austin Harrison, writing in the *English Review* in 1914, declares that the Kaiser's treatment of his mother, whose last years he made miserable, was largely caused by the German hatred for everything English; for his mother, the Empress Victoria, was Queen Victoria's eldest child. Mr. Harrison writes:

"All the same, this explosion of anti-English feeling is instructive, brushing away the last vestige of doubt the wildest sentimentalist among us may have entertained regarding the justice of British participation in the war which, as the Germans have informed us, is aimed primarily and essentially at the overthrow of British power. This hatred has, of course, been the dominant reason of German policy ever since the Kaiser ascended the throne. It was first apparent as a force in German public opinion at the time of the death of the Emperor Frederick, when antagonism at the presence of Sir Morell Mackenzie, called in as consulting physician, burst all bounds of national decency. German antipathy to the Empress was ascribed by many people here to her want of tact, her somewhat assertive personality which chafed at the formalities and restrictions of a Court to which she was foreign; but in reality it was due to no such reason. The Germans hated the Empress because she was English, because her sympathies, habits, manners, and outlook brought into the Court, which Germans were determined should be fiercely and radically German, a point of view hateful to the new national spirit. Since the war of '70 it had become the burning desire of Germans to emancipate their foreign policy from attachment, whether dynastic or otherwise, to England; to cut adrift from what was called the 'Prussian tradition.' To this day the Empress is spoken of with execration. At one time it was common for German officers in public places to rattle their swords in their scabbards at the mention of her name. Hatred of her became almost a legend. It is true that the high-spirited Empress made little attempt to correct the impression public opinion had formed of her, but her real fault consisted in her nationality, for which she was not responsible.

"If we wish to fathom the depth of the German hatred of this country, we must remember that it dates from the day of the proclamation of German unity in Paris, since when it has been nurtured and upheld as an axiom of Germanic truth. Nor is it an exaggeration to say that the popularity and almost curious power of the Kaiser, who consistently shunned his mother till the reconciliation at her deathbed, has been due to the significance of the Imperial Head of German opinion as the arch-hater of Great Britain, whose power he was 'destined' to cast down."

THE KRÜGER TELEGRAM

Ill feeling between Germany and England developed rapidly after the famous Krüger



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Oom Paul Krüger

The "Grand Old Man" of the Transvaal, to whom the Kaiser sent a telegram of sympathy at the time of the Jameson Raid, thereby arousing England's ire.

telegram episode (1896), which Munroe Smith thus describes:

"One of the aspirations of Germany has been the creation of a great colonial empire in Africa. To that end she began, in the nineties, to cultivate intimate relations with President Krüger of the Transvaal, in the hope of controlling and, possibly, of ultimately absorbing the Boer republic. German support of Krüger, it was clearly realized, would make trouble for Great Britain, between which and the Transvaal there were serious controversies over suzerainty and over the political grievances of the Uitlanders. Early in 1895 President Krüger stated, at a celebration in honor of the Kaiser's birthday, that 'the time had arrived for the establishment of the closest

friendly relations between the Transvaal and Germany.'

"On December 29, 1895, in response to an invitation from the Uitlanders, Dr. Jameson, with 400 or 500 troopers of the British South African Company, crossed the Transvaal frontier and marched toward Johannesburg. The Reform Committee (Uitlanders) failed to coöperate, and Jameson was forced to surrender. The situation, already serious, was intensified by the action of the Kaiser, who, on January 3, 1896, after consultation with his chancellor and other ministers, sent the following telegram to President Krüger:

"I express to you my sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of friendly powers, you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country and in maintaining the independence of your country against foreign aggression.'

"In Great Britain this telegram caused profound indignation. It was felt to be directed against Great Britain, and it was regarded as a deliberate attempt to challenge the British position in South Africa. The incident marked the beginning of, and in large part contributed to, that settled antagonism between Great Britain and Germany which is being fought out in the present war. By holding out specious hopes to President Krüger, it helped to bring on the South African War and the defeat of the Boers. In this instance, as in others, Germany, as Lichnowsky points out, 'backed the wrong horse.'

COMMERCIAL JEALOUSY

German propagandists have been quick to explain that England started the war to crush a commercial rival. Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador in London in 1914, tells a different story:

"The [theory of] commercial jealousy, of which there has been so much talk in our country, rests on an erroneous view of the situation. Germany's growing importance as a commercial power, after the war of 1870 and in the following decades, undoubtedly menaced the interests of British trade circles, since with their industry and their export houses these had a sort of monopoly. On the other hand, the increasing exchange of goods with Germany, to which Great Britain exported more merchandise than to any other country in Europe—a fact to which I invariably alluded in my public speeches—had created a desire to maintain good relations with their best customer and business friend and had gradually supplanted all other considerations.

"The Briton is a matter-of-fact person; he adjusts himself to conditions and does not tilt against windmills. It was precisely in commercial circles that I found the liveliest disposition to establish good relations and to promote common economic interests. As a matter of fact,

there was in these circles no particular interest in the Russian, the Italian, the Austrian, or even the French representative, in spite of the latter's marked personality and political successes. Only the German and the American ambassadors attracted public attention.

"In order to get in touch with the most important trade circles, I accepted invitations from the United Chambers of Commerce and also from the London and Bradford Chamber. I was also entertained by the cities of Newcastle and of Liverpool. I received everywhere cordial tributes of respect. Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh had also sent me invitations, and I intended to visit these cities later."

GERMAN PROFESSORS ON ENGLAND, 1914

With the outbreak of war, a frenzy of insane hatred for England swept Germany. Two famous and hitherto respected professors, Eucken and Haeckel, delivered themselves as follows:

"It is England whose fault has extended the present war into a world war, and has thereby endangered our joint culture. And all this for what reason? Because she was jealous of Germany's greatness, because she wanted to hinder at any price a further growth of this greatness. For there can not be the least doubt on this point that England was determined in advance to cast as many obstacles as possible in the way of Germany's existence in this struggle of the giants, and to hinder her as much as possible in the full development of her powers. She (England) was watching only for a favorable opportunity when she could break out suddenly against Germany, and she therefore promptly seized on the invasion of Belgium, so necessary to Germany, in order that she might cover with a small cloak of decency her brutal national egoism. Or is there in the whole wide world any one so simple as to believe that England would have declared war on France also if the latter had invaded Belgium? In that event she would have wept hypocritical tears over the unavoidable violation of international law; but as for the rest she would have laughed in her sleeve with great satisfaction. This hypocritical Pharisaism is the most repugnant feature of the whole matter; it deserves nothing but contempt.

"The history of the world shows that such sentiments lead the nations not upward but downward. For the present, however, we trust firmly in our just cause, in the superior strength and the unyielding victorious spirit of the German people. Yet we must at the same time lament deeply that that boundless egoism has disturbed for an immeasurable period of time the spiritual coöperation of the two peoples which promised so much good for the development of mankind. But they wished it, so there—on England alone—fall the monstrous guilt and the historical responsibility."

THE HYMN OF HATE

The German hatred of England found its most extreme expression in the following poem:

A CHANT OF HATE AGAINST ENGLAND

BY ERNEST LISSAUER IN *Jugend*

Rendered into English verse by
Barbara Henderson

"French and Russian, they matter not,
A blow for a blow and a shot for a shot;
We love them not, we hate them not,
We hold the Weichsel and Vosges gate.
We have but one and only hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone.

"He is known to you all, he is known to you all.
He crouches behind the dark gray flood,
Full of envy, of rage, of craft, of gall,
Cut off by waves that are thicker than blood.
Come let us stand at the judgment-place,
An oath to swear to, face to face,
An oath of bronze no wind can shake,
An oath for our sons and their sons to take.

"Come, hear the word, repeat the word,
Throughout the Fatherland make it heard.
We will never forego our hate,
We have all but a single hate,

We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!

"In the captain's mess, in the banquet hall,
Sat feasting the officers, one and all;
Like a saber blow, like the swing of a sail,
One seized his glass held high to hail;
Sharp-snapt like the stroke of a rudder's play,
Spoke three words only: 'To the Day!'

"Whose glass this fate?
They had all but a single hate.
Who was thus known?
They had one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!

"Take you the folk of the earth in pay,
With bars of gold your ramparts lay
Bedecked the ocean with bow on bow,
Ye reckon well, but not well enough now.
French and Russian they matter not,
A blow for a blow, a shot for a shot,
We fight the battle with bronze and steel,
And the time that is coming Peace will seal,
You will we hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forego our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown,
Hate of seventy millions, choking down.
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!"

ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL RIVALRY

Germany Plans a Bigger Navy Than That of Britain While the
Latter Seeks a Plan for Mutual Reduction

XII

LORD HALDANE'S MISSION

THE Liberal British government, anxious over the growing naval rivalry with Germany, sent Lord Haldane in 1912 on a mission to Berlin, which Professor Munroe Smith thus described:

"The rapid development of German naval power had, as Prince Lichnowsky indicates, aroused anxiety in Great Britain; and the necessity, arising from Britain's insular position, of keeping its fleet equal to the combined fleets of any two other Powers was throwing a heavy burden on the British taxpayers. Lord Haldane was sent to Berlin early in 1912, to see whether the German plan for the creation of a third squad-

ron could not be modified. This suggestion being negatived, he inquired whether it would not be possible to delay construction, to 'spread the tempo.' It was indicated, on the German side, that no concessions could be made in the matter of naval construction unless Germany could be assured that, in case it should be involved in war, Great Britain would remain neutral. It was proposed that such assurance should be given by a formal treaty. After Haldane's return to London, negotiations on this matter were continued between Sir Edward Grey and the German ambassador, Count Metternich. Various formulas were suggested, but no agreement was attained, because the German diplomats found the British proposals inadequate, while the British regarded the German proposals as ambiguous. The Germans wished for an agreement that, if either nation should become involved in a war 'in which it cannot be said to be the aggressor,' the other nation should remain neutral; but they proposed to add:

"The duty of neutrality which arises out of the preceding article has no application in so far as it may not be reconcilable with existing agreements which the high contracting parties have already made."

"This, as Lord Haldane puts it, meant that 'while Germany, in the case of a European conflict, would have remained free to support her friends, this country would have been forbidden

"'England will make no unprovoked attack upon Germany, and pursue no aggressive policy towards her.

"'Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.'

"Count Metternich thought this formula inadequate, and suggested two alternative additional clauses:

"'England will therefore observe at least a benevolent neutrality should war be forced upon Germany, or: England will therefore, as a matter of course, remain neutral if a war is forced upon Germany.'

"Sir Edward Grey considered that the British proposals were sufficient. He explained that if Germany desired to crush France, England might not be able to sit still, though if France were aggressive or attacked Germany, no support would be given by His Majesty's government or approved by England. He eventually proposed the following formula:

"The two powers being mutually desirous of securing peace and friendship between them, England declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.'

"Count Metternich, in accordance with instructions received from Berlin, stated that the project for a further increase of the German Navy could not be abandoned except on the basis of a neutrality treaty of a far-reaching character and leaving no doubt as to its interpretation. 'He admitted,' Lord Haldane writes, 'that the chancellor's wish amounted to a guaranty of absolute neutrality.'

"At this point the negotiations for a reduction of naval armaments and for a neutrality agreement were dropped.

"Sir Edward Grey, however, expressed the hope that this result would not put an end to negotiations or form an insurmountable obstacle to better relations. The British government hoped that the formula which it had suggested might be considered in connection with the discussion of territorial arrangements, even if it did not prove effective in preventing the increase of naval expenditure. Sir Edward Grey added that, if some arrangement could be made between the two governments, it would have a favorable, though indirect, effect upon naval expenditure as time went on; it would have, moreover, a favorable and direct effect upon public opinion in both countries."



Labour Leader (London)

The Triumph of Hate

to raise a finger in defence of hers. Germany could arrange without difficulty that the formal inception of hostilities should rest with Austria.'

"Another clause in the German draft forbade 'the making of new agreements which render it impossible for either of the parties to observe neutrality toward the other.' This, of course, meant that while the Triple Alliance treaties were to remain binding and Great Britain was to be pledged to neutrality if Germany should make war to support Austria, Great Britain was to make no similar treaty arrangements with Russia or with France. 'In a word,' as Lord Haldane observes, 'there was to be a guaranty of absolute neutrality on one side, but not on the other.'

ENGLAND'S COUNTER-PROPOSALS

"In response to a request for counter-proposals, Sir Edward Grey, on March 14, 1912, gave Count Metternich the following draft formula, which had been approved by the Cabinet:

GERMANY'S VIEW OF DISARMAMENT

Professor Cramb, himself an admirer of strength, easily appreciated the German point of view. He wrote:

"'If you are not a coward,' says a character in one of the Sagas, 'stand still whilst I send you this gift—the hurling of a spear! Similarly Germany retorts when England, under her hypocritical or anxious dread, proposes to disarm—



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Prince Lichnowsky

The German Ambassador to England leaving his office for the last time.

'You are the great robber State; yet now in the twentieth century, as if the war for the world were over because you are glutted with booty, now it is you, you who preach to us Germans universal peace, arbitration, and the diminution of armaments! But our position is that this war is *not* over.' And they exhibit England's overtures to Germany as due to subtlety or cowardice.

"That is the significance of Germany's reply to

the offer of the British government in 1907 to reduce her program from three 'Dreadnoughts' to two. Her answer was to increase her estimates and accelerate her program. That is the significance of her answer in 1908, when England laid down only two 'Dreadnoughts' and Germany retorted by laying down four. That, above all, is the significance of Germany's action in 1911, when, amid all the froth and loathsome sentiment and empty vaporing around President Taft's 'Message'—when it seemed as if humanity, in politics, at least, had forgotten its own semblance—suddenly a man's voice, human at last, announced itself in the courage and common sense of Bethmann-Hollweg's utterance (March, 1911), 'The vital strength of a nation is the only measure of that nation's armaments.' And that, in 1913, is still the significance of Germany's answer to the egregious proposal of 'a naval holiday': a war levy of £52,000,000 to be expended on fortresses, aircraft, and barracks; the peace strength of the Army to be raised from six hundred thousand to between eight and nine hundred thousand men.

"Germany will never sincerely cease arming. If England builds on the dream of Germany acquiescent she is destined to a bloody and terrible awakening. Bethmann-Hollweg, in 1911, but repeats the truth enunciated by Treitschke in 1890, that a nation's armed force is the expression of a nation's will to power, of a nation's will to life, and must advance with that life. We can understand the elation of Bernhardt, his pride in his country and its great past, his belief in its yet greater future as the nation of nations, dowered with the right to set itself the high task of guiding the future of humanity."

LICHNOWSKY TRIES TO MEDIATE

Prince Lichnowsky, the German envoy to England in 1914, explains that he was on the road to a peaceful solution when war broke out:

"The naval question was and remained the thorniest of all the questions at issue. It is not always quite rightly appreciated.

"The creation of a powerful fleet on the other side of the North Sea, the development of the most important military power of the Continent into its most important naval power as well, could not but arouse in England a sense at least of discomfort. On this point there can be no reasonable doubt. In order to keep the lead it had gained and needed and not to lose its independence, in order to secure the rule of the sea, which Great Britain requires to avoid starvation, it was forced to proceed to armaments and outlays that weighed heavily on the taxpayer. The British position in the world, however, was threatened if our policy caused possible warlike complications to be anticipated. This anticipation had been brought into the immediate field

of vision in the Moroccan crisis and in the Bosnian question.

"The development of our fleet in accordance with the plans existing at that time had been accepted. It was certainly not welcome to the Britons, and it was one of the motives, although not the only and perhaps not the most important motive, that had led England to establish closer relations with France and with Russia; but England would no more have grasped the sword on account of our fleet alone than on account, say, of our trade, which is alleged to have bred envy and finally war.

"From the outset I took the position that, in spite of the fleet, it was possible to reach a friendly understanding and a *rapprochement*, provided we introduced no new naval bill and conducted our policy on indubitably peaceful lines. I also avoided any mention of the fleet and, in the conversations between Sir Edward Grey and me, the word was never uttered. Sir Edward Grey declared incidentally, at a cabinet meeting: 'The present German ambassador has never mentioned the fleet to me.'

THE "NAVAL HOLIDAY" PROPOSAL

"During my term of office Mr. Churchill, at that time first lord of the admiralty, suggested, as is known, the so-called 'naval holiday' and, for financial reasons and probably also in order to meet the pacifist tendency in his party, proposed a stay of armaments for one year. This proposal was not officially supported by Sir Edward Grey; he never spoke of it to me; Mr. Churchill, however, repeatedly addressed me on the subject.

"I am convinced that his suggestion was honestly intended. Chicane is not natural to the

Englishman. It would have been a great success for Mr. Churchill if he could have come before the country with reductions of expenditure and lightened the burden of armament that weighed like a nightmare on the people.

"My answer was that for technical reasons it would be difficult to accept his idea. What was to become of the workmen who had been hired for these purposes? What was to be done with the technical personnel? Our naval program was definitely fixed, and it would be difficult to make any change in it. On the other hand, we did not mean to go beyond it. Nevertheless he came back to the matter and urged that the sums expended for enormous armaments might better be applied to other useful purposes. I answered that even these outlays were of advantage to our home industry.

"As a result of conversations with Sir William Tyrrell, Sir Edward Grey's private secretary, I succeeded in eliminating this question from the order of the day, and this without provoking any dissatisfaction, although it came up again in Parliament; and I was able to prevent the submission of any official proposal. It was, however, an idea strongly favored by Mr. Churchill and by the government; and I believe that by accepting his suggestion, and also the rate of sixteen to ten for large steam vessels, we might have given tangible evidence of our good will and sensibly strengthened and furthered the tendency that was dominant in the government to bring the two countries into closer touch.

"However, as I have said, it was possible to arrive at an understanding in spite of the fleet and also without a naval 'holiday.' I had viewed my mission in this sense from the outset, and I had succeeded, too, in carrying out my program, when the outbreak of the war swept away all that had been gained."

GREY STRIVES FOR PEACE

The German Ambassador Admits that the British Foreign Secretary Worked Hard to Reach an Understanding with Germany

XIII

LICHNOWSKY ABSOLVES GREY

GERMANS and friends of Germany have commonly accused Viscount Grey of being the chief instigator of the war. Prince Lichnowsky, on the contrary, calls him a great power for peace, and he said of the Foreign Secretary, whom he came to know intimately, that "falsehood and intrigue are equally foreign to him." He writes:

"When I came to London in November, 1912, anxiety regarding Morocco had subsided, for in Berlin, in the meantime, an agreement had been reached with France. Haldane's mission had indeed failed, because we demanded a promise of neutrality instead of contenting ourselves with a treaty which was to insure us against British attacks and against attacks with British support.

"Sir Edward Grey, however, had not given up the idea of coming to an understanding with us, and made such an attempt first in the colonial and economic fields. Through the agency of the capable and experienced counselor of the embassy, Von Kühlmann, discussions were under

way concerning a renewal of the Portuguese colonial treaty and concerning Mesopotamia (Bagdad railway). The tacit aim of these negotiations was to divide not only the above-mentioned colonies but also Asia Minor into spheres of interest.

"It was the desire of the British statesman, now that the old matter of dispute had been settled both with France and with Russia, to come to similar arrangements with us. His in-



Sir Edward Grey

As he appeared in a German war cartoon.

tention was not to isolate us, but to make us in so far as possible partners in the association already established. Just as he had succeeded in bridging over British-French and British-Russian differences, so he wished as far as possible to get rid of causes of controversy between Great Britain and Germany, and by a network of treaties—which in the end would probably have included an agreement on the troublesome naval question—to secure the peace of the world. Our previous policy had already led to the formation of an association, the Entente, which represented a mutual assurance against the risk of war.

LICHNOWSKY'S TRIBUTE TO GREY

"This was Sir Edward Grey's program. As he himself put it: Without impairing the existing friendships (with France and Russia), which have no aggressive purposes and involve no binding obligations for England, to attain a friendly *rapprochement* and understanding with Germany—'to bring the two groups nearer.'

"In this matter there were then in England, as with us, two currents of opinion: that of the

optimists, who believed in an understanding, and that of the pessimists, who considered war inevitable, sooner or later.

"In the first group were Messrs. Asquith, Grey, Lord Haldane, and most of the ministers in the Radical Cabinet, as well as the leading Liberal organs, such as the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Daily Chronicle*. In the pessimist group were, in particular, Conservative politicians like Mr. Balfour, who repeatedly indicated to me that this was his attitude; also leading military men, like Lord Roberts, who insisted on the necessity of universal military service (*The Writing on the Wall*); further, the Northcliffe press, and that influential English journalist, Mr. Garvin of the *Observer*. During my term of office, however, they abstained from all attacks and took up, personally and politically, a friendly attitude. Our naval policy and our attitude in the years 1905, 1908, and 1911 had, however, convinced them that some day or other it would come to war. Just as with us, so in England to-day, those who belonged to the first group are censured as shortsighted and simple-minded, while the others are regarded as the true prophets.

"The conflict between family power and the national State, between the dynastic and the democratic theory of the State, had to be definitely settled, and, as usual, we stood on the wrong side.

"King Charles [of Rumania] told one of our representatives that he had made an alliance with us on the assumption that we were to keep the control of affairs. If that control passed to Austria, the basis on which his relations with us rested would be changed, and under such conditions he could no longer act with us.

"The situation was similar in Serbia, where against our own economic interests we were supporting the Austrian policy of strangulation.

"We have always bet on the horse whose breakdown might have been foreseen, on Krüger, on Abdul Aziz, on Abdul Hamid, on Wilhelm of Wied, and—the most disastrous of all our mistakes—we finally made our great plunge on the Berchtold stable!"

THE BALKAN CRISIS OF 1912-13

Lichnowsky also pays tribute to Grey's tact and devotion to peace in the Balkan crisis of 1912-13:

"Soon after my arrival in London, at the close of the year 1912, Sir Edward Grey suggested an informal discussion to prevent a European war from growing out of the Balkan war. We had unfortunately already declined the request of the French government, made at the outbreak of the war, to join in a declaration of disinterestedness. From the outset the British statesmen took the position that England had no interest in Albania and therefore did not mean to let war come on this issue. It was his



The Destruction of Dixmude

purpose simply to act as a mediator, an 'honest broker,' between the two groups and to try to smooth away difficulties. Accordingly, he by no means placed himself on the side of his Entente associates; and during the negotiations, which lasted some eight months, by force of his good will and his controlling influence he made no slight contributions to an understanding. Instead of taking a position like the English, we

Nikita out of Skutari. Otherwise the World War might have been started on this question, since we surely would not have ventured to urge our ally to make any concession.

"Sir Edward Grey conducted the negotiations with prudence, calmness, and tact. As often as a question threatened to become complicated, he suggested a formula of agreement that met the case and was invariably accepted. His personal-



Constanza

One of the important Black Sea ports.

invariably defended the point of view which was prescribed to us by Vienna. Count Mensdorff led the Triple Alliance in London; I was his second. My task was to support his proposals. In Berlin it was the shrewd and experienced Count Szögyenyi who ran the affair. His refrain was: 'Here the *casus faderis* comes in'; and when on one occasion I ventured to dispute the correctness of this conclusion, I received a serious warning on the ground of my Austrophobia.

"It was also asserted, alluding to my father, that I was under an 'hereditary burden.'

"On every issue—Albania, a Serbian harbor on the Adriatic Skutari, also in drawing the boundaries of Albania—we took the point of view of Austria and of Italy, while Sir Edward Grey almost never supported that of France or of Russia. On the contrary, in most instances he lent his support to our group, in order to give no pretext for war, such as was subsequently furnished by a dead archduke. It was thus with his help that we succeeded in coaxing King

ity won him equal confidence among all who took part in the conference.

"So far as [immediate] results were concerned, we had again passed successfully through one of those many tests of power which were characteristic of our policy. Russia had been obliged to give way to us all along the line; in no instance was it able to attain satisfaction of the Serbian desires. Albania was set up as an Austrian vassal State, and Serbia was thrust back from the sea. The outcome of the conference was therefore a new humiliation of Russian national sentiment. As in 1878 and in 1908 we had placed ourselves in opposition to the Russian program, although no German interests were involved. Bismarck contrived to minimize the mistake made at the Congress [of Berlin] through the secret treaty [with Russia] and through the attitude he took in the Battenberg question; the dangerous slope down which we started again in the Bosnian question was followed further in London and was not abandoned later in time to save us from falling into the abyss."

GREY AGAIN A PEACEMAKER

He Negotiates the Bagdad Treaty to Satisfy Germany, also an African Treaty Which Was Never Published

XIV

NEGOTIATIONS OVER MESOPOTAMIA

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY gives ample evidence of Viscount Grey's good will for Germany in the year preceding the war. The unsigned African and Bagdad treaties are evidence in point. Let Lichnowsky tell his own story:

"During the same period (1912-14) I was carrying on negotiations in London, with the efficient support of Herr von Kühlmann, in reference to the so-called Bagdad Treaty. The real purpose of this treaty was to divide Asia Minor into spheres of influence, although this expression was anxiously avoided, out of regard for the rights of the Sultan. Sir Edward Grey repeatedly stated, moreover, that no agreements existed with France and with Russia aiming at the dismemberment of Asia Minor.

"After we had drawn into conference a representative of Turkey, Hakki Pasha, all the economic questions connected with the German enterprises were regulated, in substantial accord with the desires of the German Bank. The most important concession made to me personally by Sir Edward Grey was the prolongation of the railway to Basra. This particular object had been abandoned, on our part, in favor of a connection with Alexandretta. Up to this time Bagdad formed the terminus of the line. Navigation on the Shatt-el-Arab was to be placed under an international commission. We were also admitted to participation in the Basra harbor works and, in addition, we obtained rights in the navigation of the Tigris, which had been previously a monopoly of the firm of Lynch.

"By virtue of this treaty all Mesopotamia as far as Basra became our sphere of interest, without prejudice to older British rights in the navigation of the Tigris and in the Wilcox irrigation works. Our sphere further included the whole region of the Bagdad and Anatolian railway.

"The British economic domain was to include the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Smyrna-Aidin line; the French, Syria; the Russian, Armenia. Had these two treaties been executed and published, an understanding with England would have been reached which would forever have dissipated all doubts as to the possibility of an Anglo-German coöperation."

TEXT OF THE BAGDAD TREATY, 1914

The text of the treaty thus prepared was as follows:

1. The Bagdad Railway from Constantinople to Basra is definitely left to German capital in coöperation with Turkey. In the territory of the Bagdad Railway German economical working will not be hindered by England.

2. Basra becomes a sea harbor in the building of which German capital is concerned with sixty per cent and English capital with forty per cent. For the navigation from Basra to the Persian Gulf the independence of the open sea is agreed to.

3. Kuwait is excluded from the agreement between Germany and England.

4. In the navigation of the Tigris, English capital is interested with fifty per cent, German capital with twenty-five per cent, and Turkish with twenty-five per cent.

5. The oil wells of the whole of Mesopotamia shall be developed by a British company, the capital of which shall be given at fifty per cent by England, at twenty-five per cent by the German Bank, at twenty-five per cent by the "Royal Dutch Company" (a company which is Dutch, but closely connected with England). For the irrigation works there had been intended a similar understanding. The rights of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in which, as is known, the English Government is concerned, remained unaffected. This society exercises south of Basra, on the Shatt-el-Arab as well as in all south and central Persia, a monopoly on the production and transport of oil.

6. A simultaneous German-French agreement leaves free hand to French capital for the construction of railways in southern Syria and Palestine.

Besides this, there is an agreement, already made before, between Germany and England, concerning Africa, with a re-partition of their spheres of influence in Angola and Mozambique.

Finally there is to be mentioned the Morocco agreement, which established the political predominance of France in Morocco, but, on the other hand, stated the principle of the "open door" to the trade of nations.

THE UNSIGNED AFRICAN TREATY

Lichnowsky's candid words bear witness to Grey's friendliness for Germany, and at the

same time they show us what the diplomacy of 1912-14 was like. He says:

"The excellent and confidential relations I succeeded in establishing, not only in society and with the most influential personalities, such as Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith, but also at public dinners with [the agencies of] publicity, had brought about a noticeable improvement in our relations with England. It was Sir Edward's honest endeavor to place this *rapprochement* on a firmer basis. His aims were most clearly manifested in two matters: the colonial and the Bagdad treaties.

cial and economic assistance. In its wording, accordingly, it did not contravene the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, dating from the fifteenth century, which was last renewed under Charles II and which contained a reciprocal guaranty of existing territorial possessions.

"Nevertheless, at the instance of Marquis Soveral, who presumably was not left uninformed regarding the Anglo-German agreements, a new treaty, the so-called Windsor Treaty, was concluded in 1899 between England and Portugal, confirming the old agreements, which had never been put out of force.

"The object of the negotiations between us and



A Bird's-eye View of Brussels

"In the year 1898 a secret convention had been signed by Count Hatzfeldt and Mr. Balfour, which divided the Portuguese colonies in Africa into economic-political spheres of interest as between us and England. As the Portuguese government possessed neither the power nor the means to open up its extensive possessions or to administer them suitably, it had already at an earlier date entertained the idea of selling them and thereby putting its finances on a sound basis. An agreement had been reached between us and England, delimiting the interests of the two parties. Its value was enhanced by the fact that Portugal, as is well known, is completely dependent upon England.

"On its face, of course, this treaty was designed to secure the integrity and independence of the Portuguese realm, and the only purpose it expressed was to give to the Portuguese finan-

England, which had begun before my arrival, was to revise and amend our treaty of 1898, which contained a number of impracticable provisions, even as regarded geographical delimitation. Thanks to the conciliatory attitude of the British government, I succeeded in giving to the new treaty a form which entirely corresponded to our wishes and interests. All Angola, as far as the 20th degree of longitude, was assigned to us, so that we reached the Congo territory from the south. Moreover the valuable islands of San Thomé and Principe, which lie north of the equator and therefore really belonged to the French sphere of interest, were allotted to us—a fact which caused my French colleague to enter energetic but unavailing protests.

"Further, we obtained the northern part of Mozambique; the Licango formed the boundary.

"The British government showed the utmost

readiness to meet our interests and wishes. Sir Edward Grey intended to prove his good will to us, but he also desired to promote our colonial development as a whole, because England hoped to divert the German output of energy from the North Sea and Western Europe to the ocean and to Africa. 'We don't want to grudge Germany her colonial development,' a member of the Cabinet said to me.

"Originally, at the British suggestion, the Congo State also was to have been included in the treaty, which would have given us a right of preemption and would have enabled us to penetrate it economically. But we refused this offer, out of alleged respect for Belgian sensibilities! Perhaps the idea was to economize our successes? Furthermore, as regarded the practical execution of the real but unexpressed purpose of the treaty—the actual partition at a later date of the Portuguese colonial possessions—the new formulation, as compared with the old, offered us important advantages and represented a distinct advance. Thus it was provided that in certain cases we should be authorized to inter-

vene in the territories assigned to us for the protection of our interests. These conditional clauses were so broad that it was really left to us to decide whether 'vital' interests were concerned; so that, Portugal being completely dependent on England, it was necessary only to cultivate further our relations with England in order, later on, with English assent, to realize our respective intentions.

"The sincerity of the British government in its effort to respect our rights was proved by the fact that, even before the treaty was completed or signed, English *entrepreneurs* who wished to invest capital in the districts assigned to us under the new treaty, and who desired British support for their undertaking, were referred by Sir Edward Grey to us, with the information that the enterprise in question belonged in our sphere of interest. The treaty was substantially complete at the time of the King's visit to Berlin in May, 1913." *

* This treaty was never signed, although it was completed, owing to the Berlin government's objection to its publication.

MOROCCO AND THE BALKANS

From 1905 to 1913 Germany Uses Every Expedient to Try to Separate France and England

XV

RIVAL CLAIMS TO MOROCCO

DURING the years 1905-11 Morocco was the chief direct cause of international conflict. Munroe Smith gives this account of the difficulties:

"Morocco, at the beginning of the present century, was one of the few desirable fields still open for colonial enterprise on the part of the Powers. In consequence, it was for a decade or so one of the storm centers of European diplomacy. By reason of geographical proximity (in Algeria) France had a special interest in suppressing the chronic disorder in Morocco, particularly on the Algerian border. This French interest was recognized by Great Britain in the following article of the convention of April 8, 1904:

"His Britannic Majesty's government, for their part, recognize that it appertains to France, more particularly as a Power whose dominions are coterminous for a great distance with those of Morocco, to preserve order in that country, and to provide assistance for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which it may require."

"Apparently this was satisfactory to Germany; for on April 2, 1904, Von Bülow, the German chancellor, stated in the Reichstag that 'from the point of view of German interests we have nothing to complain of.'

THE KAISER VISITS TANGIER

"But Germany was not satisfied, because the convention indicated that England and France were ready to compose their quarrels, which had long been a source of diplomatic profit to Germany. Nothing was done, however, until the defeat of Russia in the battle of Mukden revealed the weakness of France's ally. Suddenly, on March 31, 1905, the German Emperor appeared at Tangier, Morocco, and proceeded to pay a visit to the Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, in the course of which he spoke as follows:

"It is to the Sultan in his position of an independent sovereign that I am paying my visit to-day. I hope that under the sovereignty of the Sultan a free Morocco will remain open to the peaceful rivalry of all nations, without monopoly or annexation, on the basis of absolute equality. The object of my visit to Tangier is to make it known that I am determined to do all that is in my power to safeguard efficaciously the interests of Germany in Morocco, for I look upon the Sultan as an absolutely independent sovereign."

"This demonstrative intervention created a diplomatic crisis in Europe and was generally regarded as a challenge to the recently formed Entente. The demand of Germany that France bring the Moroccan question before an international conference was accepted, in spite of the opposition of M. Delcassé, the French foreign minister, who was thus virtually compelled to resign at German dictation.

the German demand for internationalization of control, the Act accorded to France and Spain a privileged position with respect to financial and police measures in Morocco.

THE PANTHER AT AGADIR, 1911

"Germany's last card in Moroccan diplomacy was played in 1911. On July 1st of that year



L'Enfant Terrible

From Punch, May 10, 1890

Chorus in the stern: "Don't go on like that—or you'll upset us all!"

(Emperor William's forward policy in the Near East early in his reign threatened to disturb the European equilibrium; the other powers felt that he was "rocking the boat.")

THE ALGECIRAS CONFERENCE, 1906

"The Conference met at Algeciras, in Spain, in January, 1906. The participants were the twelve Powers (including the United States) who were parties to the Convention of Madrid of 1880, and Morocco. The outcome was a diplomatic defeat for Germany, which was supported by Austria-Hungary alone, even Italy, the ally of Germany, ranging itself on the side of France. The Act of Algeciras provided for the settlement of the Moroccan question upon 'the triple principle of the sovereignty and independence of His Majesty the Sultan, the integrity of his domains, and economic liberty without any inequality.' However, while accepting in theory

the German gunboat *Panther* appeared at Agadir, on the southern coast of Morocco, ostensibly to protect German interests, but in reality to test the strength of the Triple Entente. This action of Germany was the more surprising because, by the treaty of February, 1909, it had recognized the paramount position of France in Morocco. For some time Germany ignored the repeated requests of Great Britain for explanation as to German intentions, but the positive intimation by Lloyd George, in his speech* at the Mansion

* Lloyd George declared that if a situation were to be forced on Great Britain in which peace could only be assured by a surrender of her position in Europe, and she was to be treated as of no account in the Concert of Nations, peace at that price would be intolerable.

House, July 21st, that Great Britain intended to back up France, led Germany to compromise, by withdrawing completely from Morocco in consideration of territorial concessions by France in West Africa (Franco-German treaty of November 4, 1911). With this adjustment the Moroccan question disappeared from European diplomacy."

BUNGLING GERMAN DIPLOMACY

Prince Lichnowsky throws further light on these critical times in the following:

"The moment was undoubtedly favorable for a new effort to establish better relations with England. Our enigmatic policy in Morocco had repeatedly shaken confidence in our peaceful intentions; it had at least aroused the suspicion that we did not quite know what we wanted or that our purpose was to keep Europe on edge and, on occasion, to humiliate the French. An Austrian colleague, who had been long in Paris, said to me: 'If the French begin to forget *la revanche*, you regularly remind them of it by a good hard kick or two.'

"After we had repelled M. Delcassé's efforts to come to an understanding with us regarding Morocco and, before that, had solemnly declared that we had no political interests there—an attitude which was in harmony with the traditions of Bismarckian policy—we suddenly discovered in Abdul Aziz a second Krüger. To him, as to the Boers, we promised the protection of the mighty German Empire, at the same cost to ourselves and with the same outcome. Both demonstrations ended, as they were bound to end, in a retreat, so long as we had not yet decided to wage the World War at that time. The pitiable Congress of Algieras could not modify this fact; still less could the fall of M. Delcassé.

"Our attitude furthered the Russo-Japanese and, later, the Russo-British *rapprochement*. In face of 'the German peril' all other antagonisms slid into the background. The possibility of a new Franco-German war had become evident, and, as had not been the case in 1870, such a war could not leave either Russia or England unconcerned.

"The worthlessness of the Triple Alliance had already been demonstrated at Algieras. The equal worthlessness of the agreements there made was shown soon afterward by the collapse of the Sultanate—a result which it was of course impossible for us to prevent. Among the German people, however, the belief was spreading that our foreign policy was feeble, that we were yielding ground to the 'encirclement,' and that ringing assertions were followed by pusillanimous concessions.

"It stands to the credit of Herr von Kiderlen, otherwise overrated as a statesman, that he liquidated the Moroccan inheritance and adapted himself to circumstances which could not be

altered. Whether, indeed, it was necessary to alarm the world by the Agadir *coup* is a question I leave unanswered. In Germany this occurrence was warmly welcomed; in England, on the other hand, it aroused the more uneasiness because the government waited in vain for three weeks for an explanation of our intentions. Mr. Lloyd George's speech, intended to warn us, was the consequence. Before Delcassé's fall and before Algieras we could have obtained harbors and territory on the West Coast, but not afterward."

THE BALKAN WARS, 1912-13

After the end of the Agadir affair in 1911 came the great crisis caused by two wars in the Balkan Peninsula. Again let Professor Smith be quoted:

"In 1912 Turkey was at war with Italy over Tripoli. In addition, Albania was in revolt, Crete was clamoring for annexation to Greece, and Macedonia, for years in a state of anarchy, became the scene of frightful massacres of Bulgarians and Serbians at the hands of the Mohammedan Turks. All this at a time when German influence was paramount at Constantinople. Early in the year, the Balkan states achieved what had been deemed impossible—a league against the common enemy. This was brought about by a series of treaties between Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, supplemented by military conventions, all of which contemplated not only relief for the subject Christian populations of Turkey but also the extension of territory at Turkey's expense.

"In spite of efforts by the Great Powers to preserve peace, the Balkan League mobilized in the early autumn of 1912. Montenegro declared war against Turkey on October 8th, and its allies issued similar declarations ten days later. Then followed a remarkable series of campaigns, in which the Balkan Allies were uniformly successful. By the first of December, Adrianople was invested; Macedonia and, in part, Albania were occupied; Serbia had reached the Adriatic; Greeks and Bulgarians were at Salonika and the Montenegrins were laying siege to Skutari. An armistice was signed on December 3rd, and a peace conference between Turkey and the Allies was opened at London on December 16th.

THE BALKAN CONFERENCE FAILS TO PREVENT ANOTHER WAR

"By this time, however, the Balkan War had raised several questions affecting the general peace of Europe and necessitating action on the part of the European Powers to prevent a general war. Consequently, parallel with the peace conference, an ambassadorial conference sat in London under the presidency of Sir Edward Grey for the purpose of advising the belligerent parties



Germans Driving French Men and Women Towards Germany

This picture was taken in February, 1917, by a German officer at Guiscard, Department of the Oise. At the head of the column one sees the village priest, the Abbé Batisse. Many women are seen in the procession, pushing their scant luggage on wheelbarrows.

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and of taking necessary decisions on matters of European concern. The demand of Serbia for territory on the Adriatic conflicted with the foreign policies of Austria and Italy. So, also, did the desire of Montenegro to capture and retain Skutari. This town, in the opinion of Austria and Italy as well as of the other Powers, should form part of an autonomous Albania, the independence and neutrality of which had already been proclaimed by an Albanian assembly at Avlona on November 28th. The ambassadorial conference promptly agreed that Albania should be autonomous and that Serbia should have commercial access to Adriatic ports.

"The peace conference, however, found it impossible to reconcile the demands of the respective belligerents and, the armistice having expired, the war was renewed. Again Turkey was defeated and again, after much diplomatic discussion with the Great Powers, an armistice was signed by all the belligerents save Montenegro. The Balkan Allies accepted the mediation of the Powers, and the peace conference opened for a second time in London on May 20th. On this occasion a treaty of peace was successfully negotiated. It was signed on May 30th. By its terms the frontier of Turkey in Europe was established by a line running from Enos on the Ægean to Midia on the Black Sea. All territory west of this line was ceded to the Allies, who were left to divide it among themselves in accordance with their respective treaties of alliance. Turkey gave up Crete, which was later apportioned to Greece; the autonomy of Albania was recognized; and the disposal of the Ægean islands was left in the hands of the Great Powers.

"Meanwhile Montenegro, in defiance of the Powers, had persisted in the siege of Skutari. On April 10th a blockade of the Montenegrin coast was put in force by an international squadron. On April 22nd Skutari fell, but this made the Powers only the more insistent that Montenegro should evacuate the captured fortress. Finally, faced by an intervention which would probably be intrusted to Austria-Hungary, Montenegro yielded. For its compliance, it received assurance of a loan.

"At the London ambassadorial conference in 1912, it was agreed that a European prince should be nominated as ruler of Albania. Early in 1914 the new throne was offered to William of Wied. He arrived at Durazzo March 7, 1914. Early in the summer of the same year he was driven out of Albania by a successful insurrection.

THE SECOND BALKAN WAR (1913)

"The Second Balkan War arose out of disputes over the spoils of the war against Turkey. The peace conference had failed to reach agreement on this matter, and the treaty left it to the Balkan Allies to apportion the ceded territory among themselves by supplementary conventions. But there was slight prospect of settlement. Bul-

garia disputed the claim of Greece to possess Salonika and the territory to the north and east of it. Serbia challenged the arrangement made in the Bulgar-Serbian treaty of 1912, maintaining that the creation of Albania had essentially modified the equity of that arrangement. A military convention was promptly concluded between Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro. An attempt was made to avert conflict through Russian mediation, but difficulties were raised over demobilization and all parties refused to recede. Suddenly, on June 30, 1913, the Bulgarians attacked the Greek and Serbian armies, hoping to crush them separately before they could unite. In the campaign that followed the Greeks and Serbians were more than a match for the Bulgarians, but the issue was decided by the intervention of the Rumanian army. Meanwhile Turkey took advantage of Bulgaria's extremity to recover Adrianople. As a result Bulgaria was compelled to ask for an armistice. Peace was restored in the Balkans by the Treaty of Bucharest (August 10, 1913). Bulgaria, recognizing defeat, had to yield most of its new acquisitions to Greece and Serbia and a considerable portion of its former territory to Rumania. A treaty of peace with Turkey on September 29th involved further cessions on the part of Bulgaria.

RUMANIAN INTERVENTION (1913)

"In the negotiations following the First Balkan War, Rumania had demanded a 'rectified' frontier in the Dobrudja, in return for its neutrality, which was alleged to have been maintained on the understanding that Austria-Hungary and Russia would support the Rumanian claims when the war was over. In consequence, Bulgaria ceded to Rumania the town of Silistria with some adjoining territory. This did not satisfy Rumania; and, as already stated, it intervened in the Second Balkan War. Its reasons for intervening were set forth in its declaration of July 9:

"The Rumanian government gave due warning to the Bulgarian government that, if the Balkan allies were to find themselves in a state of war, Rumania would not be able to maintain the reserve which it has hitherto observed in the interests of peace and would be compelled to take action. The Bulgarian government did not consider it necessary to reply to this communication. On the contrary, war unhappily began by a series of sudden attacks by the Bulgarians against the Serbian troops, without any observance by the Bulgarians of even the elementary rules of preliminary notification, which would at least have testified to a respect for the conventions of international usage. In presence of this situation the Rumanian government has ordered the Rumanian army to enter Bulgaria."

GERMAN AIMS IN BALKANS

After Bismarck's Retirement the German Government, under the Kaiser's Leadership, Planned Great Expansion to the East

XVI

GERMANY LOOKS TO THE EAST

BISMARCK in his day was against any further extension of German power to the east; but the young Kaiser had different ideas, which Professor Smith thus describes:

"Germany's duty to Austria-Hungary, according to Bismarck, was limited to defending the integrity of the Dual Empire. Germany had not undertaken and should not undertake to support Austrian schemes of expansion in the Near East, for Germany had no interests in the Balkans. In all collisions of interests and of ambitions between Austria and Italy, Germany's rôle was that of the disinterested friend, and therefore of a possible umpire. Similarly, in all collisions of interests and ambitions between either of its allies and Russia, Germany was impartial. So only could Germany maintain its traditional friendship with Russia, which seemed to Bismarck, as to Lichnowsky, of the highest importance.

"Ever since the retirement of Prince Bismarck however, there had been a growing conviction at Berlin that Germany had interests not only in the Balkans but also in Asia, and that these interests were to be realized by putting the whole force of the German Empire behind the wedge that Austria was driving into the Balkans and by acquiring for Germany a dominant influence in Constantinople and thus throughout the Turkish Empire. That this would mean war with Russia was fully understood, but such a war was not feared."

GERMANY'S NEAR-EASTERN POLICY

Expansion to the East was long planned by Wilhelm II, but it was generally cloaked under the action of Austria, a German tool. H. Charles Woods in the *Fortnightly Review* (1915) describes it as follows:

"The sentiments and views of the German ruler became markedly apparent from the very moment when he assumed the reins of government, for one year later, and in 1889, His Majesty paid his first visit to Constantinople—a visit more or less connected with the then recent grabbing of the Haidar Pasha-Ismid Railway by the Germans, and with the concession for the prolongation of that line to Angora as a German concern. Directly afterwards, and early in 1890

and by the 'Dropping of the Pilot,' (the famous *Punch* cartoon) we have in the retirement of Bismarck a clear reversal of the policy based upon the assertion of that statement to the effect that the whole Eastern Question was 'not worth the bones of a Pomeranian Grenadier.' In 1898 the Emperor paid his second visit to Turkey—a visit nominally undertaken as a peaceful pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but an excursion really decided upon as an elaborately arranged *coup de théâtre*. That visit was in its turn followed in 1903 by the signing of the Concession for the Construction of the Bagdad Railway—a concession which gave to the Company and its government interests which were never likely to be ignored by Germany, and a concession which will always remain one of the greatest diplomatic triumphs of the Emperor's reign.

"Before, and particularly since the appointment of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, who had then been a personal friend of the Kaiser's for many years, as Ambassador in Constantinople in October, 1897, the enemy has been carefully preparing the way for the realization of his Pan-German dreams in the Near and Middle East. Although, so far as the Balkan States were concerned, up to the outbreak of the war, the Kaiser endeavored to screen his intentions behind a nominally Austrian program, for years he has really been making ready his ground for the present occasion by military, political, and economic penetration, and by diplomatic intrigues destined to bring about a favorable situation for Germany when the favorable moment for action arrived.

"The power of Von der Goltz Pasha, who introduced the present military system in Turkey, and of his pupils, was gradually increased until the Ottoman Army was finally placed completely under Germanic control. In the late nineties, whilst reserving their right to a voice in its final settlement, Germany and Austria withdrew from the Concert of Powers so far as concerned the Cretan question. Abdul Hamid's refusal to introduce reforms in Turkish administration, continued unrest in his European dominions, the appointment of European officers to the Macedonian gendarmerie, and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were in their turn utilized to further the enemy's cause. Even the Young Turkish Revolution, which at first seemed destined greatly to minimize German power at Constantinople, was so cleverly utilized by her Ambassador that her prestige became redoubled. . . .

"This brings us up to the Balkan campaign—a campaign which at one time seemed destined to terminate in a manner entirely disadvantage-

ous to Germany. Thus, if the four States, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, who fought in the first war, had continued on good terms with one another, the whole balance of power in Europe would almost certainly have been changed. Instead of the Ottoman Empire, which prior to the outbreak of hostilities was held by competent authorities to be able to provide a vast army, then calculated to number approximately 1,225,000 men, there would have sprung up a friendly group of countries which, in the near future, could easily have placed in the field a combined army approximately amounting to

Germany, acting through the mouthpiece of Vienna, encouraged the rivalry which existed between Bulgaria and her former allies—a rivalry which ultimately ended in the Second Balkan War. That war, and particularly the fatal Treaty of Bucharest, favored as it was by Germany, led not to a settlement, but simply to a holding in suspense of the numerous Near Eastern questions which had been the means of shaking the European Concert to its very foundation. . . . Indeed, that second war, the nominal settlement of the *Ægean Islands* question, and the entirely unjustifiable shutting off of Serbia from



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Defenders of Liège

This Belgian cavalry troop was photographed on the field of action with their battle-torn standards fresh from the engagement near Liège. The photo was taken August 6, 1914.

at least 1,000,000 all told. As the interests of such a Confederation, which would probably have been joined by Rumania, would have been on the side of the then Triple Entente, the Central Powers at once realized that its formation or its continued existence would mean for them not only the loss of the value of Turkey, but also the gain for their enemies of four or five allies, most of whom had already proved their power in war.

"The Kaiser was not then prepared to make war, for his fleet was not ready, his Zeppelins were not perfected, and the enlargement of his Kiel Canal was not completed. Whilst exerting a withstraining influence in Austria, Germany therefore contented herself by creating a favorable situation for the future. The Ambassadorial Conference, under the Chairmanship of Sir Edward Grey, succeeded in temporarily maintaining the so-called balance of power in Europe. It may also have been the means of localizing the Balkan conflict. But the secret hand of

the Adriatic coast, left the Near East still Europe's greatest danger zone. In short, these events created situations in which it was certain that the unjustifiable losses then suffered by Bulgaria would cause her to seize the first opportunity to try to regain her coveted territory, that there must be renewed difficulties concerning the ownership of the *Ægean Islands*, and that war between Austria and Serbia could not long be postponed."

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The interests of Germany and of Austria-Hungary had long lain in supporting each other. They could not clash, since one looks to the northeast and the other to the southeast. Said Bernhardt:

"On the one side Germany, Austria, and Italy have concluded a defensive alliance, whose sole object is to guard against hostile aggression.

In this alliance the two first-named States form the solid, probably unbreakable, core, since by the nature of things they are intimately connected. The geographical conditions force this result. The two States combined form a compact series of territories from the Adriatic to the North Sea and the Baltic. Their close union is due also to historical, national, and political conditions. Austrians have fought shoulder to shoulder with Prussians and Germans of the Empire on a hundred battlefields; Germans are the backbone of the Austrian dominions, the bond of union that holds together the different nationalities of the Empire. Austria, more than Germany, must guard against the inroads of Slavism, since numerous Slavonic races are comprised in her territories. There has been no conflict of interests between the two States since the struggle for the supremacy in Germany was decided. The maritime and commercial interests of the one point to the south and southeast, those of the other to the north. Any feebleness in the one must react detrimentally on the political relations of the other. A quarrel between Germany and Austria would leave both States at the mercy of overwhelmingly powerful enemies. The possibility of each maintaining its political position depends on their standing by each other. It may be assumed that the relations uniting the two States will be permanent so long as Germans and Magyars are the leading nationalities in the Danubian monarchy. It was one of the master strokes of Bismarck's policy to have recognized the community of Austro-German interests even during the war of 1866, and boldly to have concluded a peace which rendered such an alliance possible.

"The weakness of the Austrian Empire lies in the strong admixture of Slavonic elements, which are hostile to the German population, and show many signs of Pan-Slavism. It is not at present, however, strong enough to influence the political position of the Empire."

AUSTRIA NECESSARY TO GERMANY

Mr. Sidney Low in the *London Daily Mail* reminded Britons in 1914 of the Ger-

man view of Austria as a bulwark against the Slavs. What he then said is more than ever interesting in view of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

"The break-up of Austria or its enfeeblement would leave Germany more exposed to the menace, as she deems it, of the tremendous mass of Slavonic population which impends upon her eastern frontier. Austria was formerly the bulwark of Europe against the Turkish hordes from Asia. To-day, in German eyes, she plays the same rôle, with a difference. She is supposed to be the bastion that protects central Europe against that other semi-Asiatic flood—for so it seems to the Germans—that is gathering to pour through the southeastern gates. In Germany they do not believe in the 'Illyrian' idea. They think that the Serbo-Croats, and Slovenes, and Ruthenians, if they were wrested from the Hapsburg monarchy, would merely become Russian protectorates, if, indeed, they were not incorporated with the Muscovite realm.

"There are Serbs who have very much the same impression themselves, and they do not find distasteful the 'United States of the Slavs,' which will combine all members of the race. 'There are 180,000,000 of us that might be brought together in one political association.'

"This may appear fantastic enough, no more practical than Pan-Germanism or Pan-Islamism, or the other panisms which are the stuff for wild poets and wilder professors. But to vast numbers of highly practical Germans—statesmen, soldiers, manufacturers, plain business people—the Slav menace does not present itself as a mere fantasy. They believe that this mighty reservoir of humanity must break westward and southward; all the more so since Japan has banked it off from the open waters eastward. They do not forget that Germany, as well as Austria, has many Slav subjects still imperfectly assimilated. They have a vision of Bohemia, Ruthenia, Moravia, established as Muscovite outposts, with the Cossacks overrunning Posen and Pomerania, and with Danzig and Stettin converted into harbors for the Czar's battleships."

A Pen-Picture of Lenin—1919

An English journalist, W. T. Goode, who met the Bolshevik leader Lenin in 1919, described him as "a ginger-haired, short, bow-legged man in a black coat, whose slanting eyes breed in a homely face with a squat nose and lips between a scraggly moustache and goatee. . . . Lenin has taken the headship of an autocracy more terrible, more insufferable, more complete than any previous authority—worse than any Czar that ever bestrode the people. In the wake of revolution, like Napoleon, like Carranza of Mexico, Lenin, who still is held fast in the clutch of the strict martian idea of socialism, which for twenty years caused him to be a fugitive from one European capital to another, now has dared on the ruins of a great empire to set up his mad dream of what government should be. With ragged armies—their soldiers feverish-eyed from fanaticism—with a horde of clever adventurers, directing experiments in art, literature, and agriculture, Lenin still defies the entire world.

"For two years Lenin has sceptered Russia. He himself said recently he did not expect in the beginning to survive longer than twenty-one days."

ALSACE-LORRAINE IN HISTORY

France Could Not Forgive Germans for Seizing These Two Provinces,
Which Had Been French in Feeling Since 1798

XVII

THE ALSATIAN QUESTION

A COMMON accusation brought by Germans and pro-German propagandists is that France was to a great extent responsible for the outbreak of the World War, having planned it as a war of revenge and to retake the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Nothing seems more clearly proved than that the French government did all that it honorably could in August, 1914, to prevent the outbreak of war; but, of course, the vast majority of the French people, once they were involved in a war not of their own choosing, hoped for a victorious peace in which those lost provinces should be recovered. A study of the Alsatian question is therefore of value, especially so since France has recovered the lost provinces under the Peace Treaty.

The possession of Alsace and Lorraine had for centuries shifted from Germany to France, but during the eighteenth century both provinces passed definitely into French hands and heartily accepted French civilization, if not the French language. In particular, the ideas of the French Revolution were joyously received, and the Alsatians were by the Revolution completely wedded to the French nation. Many of the most famous French generals of the Revolutionary armies were of Alsatian birth. Kellerman and Kléber had German names, but were very far from being German nationally. "What do I care if they talk German, so long as they saber in French?" said Napoleon of his Alsatian soldiers.

A good idea of Alsatian sentiment during the Revolutionary era may be obtained from the following anecdote, told by Ernest Lavisse and Christian Pfister:

"During the revolutionary period, in 1798, Alsace became complete, having retrieved Mulhausen.

"The union of Mulhausen with Alsace and France was solicited by the inhabitants of Mulhausen as an honor. The representatives of the town and a French commissary arranged the text of a treaty which was ratified by the *bourgeoisie* of Mulhausen, then by the two French Houses of Parliament of that time, the Conseil des Cinq-Cent, and the Conseil des Anciens; the following are the opening words:

"The Republic of France accords the wish of the citizens of Mulhausen."

"On March 15, 1798, the French authorities presented themselves at the gates of the town; from the interior an official cried out: '*Wer da?*' (Who is there?). The reply was: 'The French Republicans.' The rest of the dialogue was carried on in French.

"What is your mission, citizens?" "We announce the arrival of the Commissary of the government, who will hand over to you the Act which will unite your republic to the Great Nation; we have come to fraternize with you." "Welcome, citizens, you bring good news." "Our brothers-in-arms carry you the symbol of peace and union; be good enough to accept it." "Advance, Frenchmen; victory goes before you; peace follows you."

"The group of Frenchmen entered; a long cortège formed up; at the four corners of the town trees of liberty were planted; in the square a ditch was dug, and, before planting in it the fifth tree, the insignia of the past was buried—arms of the town, statutes, corporation banners. As for the flag of Mulhausen, it was enveloped in a tricolor flag which bore this inscription:

"The Republic of Mulhausen reposes in the bosom of the Republic of France."

"This act of the reunion of Mulhausen, so honorable for France, has no parallel in history.

"It is common knowledge that Alsace gave a great number of officers and soldiers to the wars of the Revolution amongst whom Kléber of Strasbourg stands in the first rank. In these wars the union of Alsace and France was sealed in blood and glory. And at the same time the Revolution completed the destruction of the monarchy in that part of the province which had become departments of the Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin. Alsace found herself completely transformed: a common law had replaced archaic customs; an even justice all that 'justice' which as often as not was merely an exploitation of small tyrannies; all citizens were equal and none was privileged; no longer were Protestants and Catholics warring one against the other, but liberty of conscience prevailed. And, lastly, every liberty."

THE *Marseillaise* AN ALSATIAN SONG

As further evidence of the ardent French feeling of Alsace after 1789 may be mentioned the fact that the Revolutionary hymn, the *Marseillaise*, that great song the emotional quality of which has inspired countless thousands from 1790 to the present, was first sung at Strasbourg, the Alsatian capital.

Through the *Marseillaise* the heart of Alsace is bound to that of France. Mr. Wythe Williams, an American journalist, gives us this dramatic picture of the effect of the *Marseillaise* upon a French audience in the *New York Times Current History*.

"After the intermission there was not even available standing space. The majority of the women were in black—the prevailing color in these days. The only touches of brightness and light were in the uniforms of the officers liberally sprinkled through the orchestra and boxes.

"Then came *Le Chant du Départ*, the famous song of the Revolution. The scene was a little country village. The principals were the officer, the soldier, the wife, the mother, the daughter, and the drummer boy. There was a magnificent soldier chorus and the fanfare of drums and trumpets. The audience then became honestly enthusiastic. I concluded that the best Chenal could do with the *Marseillaise*, which was next on the program, would be an anti-climax.

"The orchestra played the opening bars of the martial music. With the first notes the vast audience rose. I looked up at the row of wounded leaning heavily against the rail, their eyes fixed and staring on the curtain. I noticed the officers in the boxes, their eyes glistening. I heard a convulsive catch in the throats of persons about me. Then the curtain lifted.

"I do not remember what was the stage setting. I do not believe I saw it. All I remember was Chenal standing at the top of a short flight of steps, in the center near the back drop. I distinctly remember that the rest of the stage was filled with the soldier chorus and that near the footlights on either side were clusters of little children.

"'Up, sons of France, the call of glory'—

"Chenal swept down to the footlights. The words of the song swept over the audience like a bugle call. The singer wore a white silk gown draped in perfect Grecian folds. She wore the large black Alsatian head-dress, in one corner of which was pinned a small tricolored cockade. She has often been called the most beautiful woman in Paris. The description was too limited. With the next lines she threw her arms apart, drawing out the folds of the gown into the tricolor of France—heavy folds of red silk draped over one arm and blue over the other. Her head was thrown back. Her tall, slender

figure simply vibrated with the feeling of the words that poured forth from her lips. She was noble. She was glorious. She was sublime. With the 'March on, March on' of the chorus, her voice rose high and fine over the full orchestra, and even above her voice could be sensed the surging emotions of the audience that seemed to sweep over the house in waves.



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The Kaiser in the Garb of a Monk

This statue was placed at the entrance of the Cathedral at Metz. Its Latin inscription—"Thus passes away the glory of the world"—was evidently put up after the Kaiser's abdication and the entry of the French into Metz.

"I looked up at the row of wounded. One man held his bandaged head between his hands and was crying. An officer in a box, wearing the gorgeous uniform of the headquarters staff, held a handkerchief over his eyes.

"Through the second verse the audience alternately cheered and stamped their feet and wept. Then came the wonderful *Amour sacré de la patrie*—sacred love of home and country—verse. The crashing of the orchestra ceased, dying

away almost to a whisper. Chenal drew the folds of the tricolor cloak about her. Then she bent her head and, drawing the flag to her lips, kissed it reverently. The first words came like a sob from her soul. From then until the end of the verse, when her voice again rang out over the renewed efforts of the orchestra, one seemed to live through all the glorious history of France. At the very end, when Chenal drew a short, jeweled sword from the folds of her gown and stood, silent and superb, with the

torn from France and annexed to the newly created German Empire. The following is a sketch of the history of the two provinces from then until 1914:

"During the nineteenth century several political régimes succeeded each other in France. Alsace, by the choice of its deputies in the House, gave witness to her liberal and democratic tendencies. She acclaimed the revolution of 1848;



Bismarck Insists upon the Surrender of Alsace and Lorraine

Bismarck is shown at the left, Jules Favre in the center, and Adolphe Thiers at the right.

folds of the flag draped about her, while the curtain rang slowly down, she seemed to typify both Empire and Republic throughout all time. All the best of the past seemed concentrated there as that glorious woman, with head raised high, looked into the future.

"And as I came out of the theater with the silent audience I said to myself that a nation with a song and a patriotism such as I had just witnessed could not vanish from the earth—nor again be vanquished."

ALSACE-LORRAINE SINCE 1871

In 1871 Alsace and a large part of Lorraine were, against the will of the inhabitants,

that same year she celebrated with immense enthusiasm the second centenary of her union with France. She thanked 'the destiny which, for the last two centuries, had given her so beautiful and so noble a country.'

"It can conscientiously be affirmed before God and before man that no part of France was more profoundly French than Alsace-Lorraine at the moment of the war of 1870. Patriotism was keener there than anywhere else on the frontier. Alsations and Lorrainers knew that they were the bulwarks of France.

THE ANNEXATION BY GERMANY

"In July, 1870, it was known in Paris that a Prussian prince had accepted the Spanish crown.

Feeling ran strong throughout France. Negotiations took place between the two governments, during the course of which Bismarck at Ems dispatched a lying and insulting telegram. War broke out and was for us, ill-prepared as we were, a succession of misfortunes.

"In January, 1871, France, conquered, was obliged to conclude an armistice. The enemy made his conditions known; the most terrible was the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine. The two provinces were occupied by the conqueror when the constituencies of Alsace and Lorraine elected their deputies to the *Assemblée Nationale* which was about to meet at Bordeaux. To these deputies the electors from the departments of Haut-Rhin, Bas-Rhin, and the Moselle gave a mandate to protest against any annexation by Germany, and that their unanimous will was to remain French. At the first sitting of the *Assemblée Nationale*, on February 17, 1871, they issued the following mandate:

"We take our co-citizens of France, the governments and the peoples of the entire world, as witness that we regard in advance as null and void all acts and treaties, votes and plebiscites, which would consent to abandon to a foreign country the whole or any part of our provinces of Alsace and of Lorraine.

"We proclaim the forever inviolable right of the Alsatians and Lorrainers to remain members of the French nation, and we swear for ourselves, as well as for our constituents, our children, and their descendants to vindicate it eternally and by every means, toward and against all usurpers."

"But France could no longer continue the struggle. On March 1st the *Assemblée* voted the preliminaries of peace. The deputation from Alsace-Lorraine then read a magnificent and heart-rending protest:

"We declare once more to be null and void any treaty which disposes of us without our consent.

"The vindication of our rights remains forever open to all and each one in the form and degree that our conscience shall dictate to us.

"At the moment of quitting these precincts where our dignity no longer permits us to sit, and in spite of the bitterness of our pain, the supreme thought in our hearts is a thought of gratitude for those who, during six months, have never ceased to defend us, and of an unchanging attachment to the country from which we are so violently torn.

"We shall follow you in our thoughts, and we look forward with confidence to the future, when a regenerated France once more takes up the course of her great destiny.

"Your brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, separated at this moment from the common family, will conserve for France, absent from their homes, a filial affection until that day when they will come and once more take their places there."

ALSACE-LORRAINE AFTER ANNEXATION

"It is remarkable that the people of Alsace-Lorraine have never blamed France when she

was forced to abandon them; they have, on the contrary, thanked her for having defended them 'during six months.' They understood that they were the ransom of peace, the inevitable consequence of our defeat. All their resentment is against Germany, who insulted their ordinary human dignity. During the half century that they lived under the yoke they never ceased to protest against their trampled rights. In the Reichstag in 1874 their deputies have unanimously declared:

"Germany has exceeded her rights as a civilized nation in forcing a conquered France to sacrifice a million and a half of her children. In the name of the people of Alsace and Lorraine, sold by the Treaty of Frankfort, we protest against the abuse of force of which we are the victims."

"In 1887 the protest was renewed.

"The Reichstag had no cure for these sentiments. It sneered on hearing people talk of their rights, for Germany to-day recognizes no right but that of force.

"Alsace-Lorraine was not even put on an equal footing with other German States; it was made a *Reichsland*, that is to say, a province of the Empire, the collective property of other States. Bismarck wished to interest the whole of Germany in the conservation of the conquest. A conquest that the fear of the resentment of France would appear to place in jeopardy would be an efficacious means to hold united the different parts of the new Empire. To this political interest he sacrificed dignity and the liberty of fifteen hundred thousand souls.

FRENCH LANGUAGE FORBIDDEN

"Alsace-Lorraine from 1871 to 1892 was under the régime of a dictatorship. No vexation was spared her. All traces of France were banished. The French language was forbidden in the primary schools, on advertisements, on signboards, and, by an odious refinement of cruelty, on tombs. The inhabitants were watched by the police; an inquisition was established in each home; unhappy were those who manifested in their conversation any sympathy for their former country. One German governor alone, Baron de Manteuffel, attempted to win the population by kindness; but all the officials from beyond the Rhine rose against him, fought his system, and crushed it. On January 1, 1888, Alsace-Lorraine was subjected to the odious régime of passports as a punishment for the protest elections of 1887. The frontier on the French side was completely closed; no one could cross it without presenting a passport *visé* by the German ambassador in Paris, and this *visa* was systematically refused to French people. The Germans desired to cut off completely all communication between the two countries, to separate them by a wall, as if above this barrier ideas could not spread and hearts could not beat with the same sentiment of affection! For three years, until the fall of Bismarck, this régime was applied to Alsace-Lorraine.



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An Episode of the Franco-German War

A photograph of Edouard Detaille's famous masterpiece, showing Prussian Cuirassiers attacking a French provision train.

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS POUR IN

"The treaty of Frankfort had given the Alsace-Lorrainers the choice of French or German citizenship. Hundreds of thousands chose France. It was for these noble Frenchmen a profound sorrow to be thus forced to leave their native district, but they preferred it to the shame of seeing their sons one day forced to wear a German uniform. In order to replace these exiles, numerous immigrants arrived; officials of every kind, contractors, professors, and schoolmasters, business men and small employés. The number of these has continued to grow; on the eve of the war of 1914, out of a population of 1,800,000 inhabitants, 400,000 were immigrants. They bore themselves as victors of a vanquished country, boasting of the greatness of the German Empire and of the German virtues, plainly showing their contempt for the Alsatians, for their obstinate fidelity and for all their social habits. The Alsatians felt that they had nothing in common with such people; each year the gulf between the two peoples became more and more wide. Two civilizations faced each other; that of Germany, with its immense vanity, its cult of might, its subjection to militarism and its desire for universal domination, and that of Alsace-Lorraine, which, during such a long time, had participated in French culture and over which had passed the breath of the Revolution.

"At the beginning of the twentieth century a new generation appeared which had not seen the war of 1870 nor known the French régime, and which had studied in German schools and universities. To the great astonishment of all, this generation showed itself as hostile to Germany as were its elders. The instinct of heart and mind carried it toward France. But a return to the former *patrie* seeming impossible, this younger generation claimed the complete independence of their country; they stood out to direct the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine themselves; they demanded respect for the memories of past history and homage for those dead Alsatians fallen in fighting for France; and they absorbed the French culture which was for them a guarantee of independence and dignity.

"The German government then appeared to make a concession; but the Constitution that it drew up in 1911 was nothing but a bait. The governor of the country, the secretary of state, and the under-secretaries were nominated by the Emperor and were responsible only to him; on these the Alsatian Houses of Parliament, one of which is nominated in majority by the same Emperor, had no hold. The power of Prussia over Alsace was increased. Then took place the Saverne (Zabern) episode. An officer insulted the Alsatian recruits. Great feeling was produced in the barracks and the town. The punishment of the offender was demanded. But the military authorities took his part. The agitation spread to Germany. This scandal of militarism moved the Reichstadt, which complained, then subsided. Might remained with might.

"Shortly afterward were sent from Berlin as governor and secretary of state two bureaucratic Junkers with orders to recommence the persecutions. Already Prussia was thinking of incorporating Alsace-Lorraine, of removing her nationality, and of cutting her out of the map of the world, when suddenly Germany and her acolyte, Austria-Hungary, unchained the World War.

ALSACE-LORRAINE DURING THE WAR

"At this news the whole of Alsace-Lorraine trembled. At Mulhausen, at Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, the liberating army was received with enthusiasm, the inhabitants weeping with joy to see once more the beloved French uniform; French flags hidden for forty-three years were drawn out. If by any chance any acts of hostility were committed against the French troops, the authors of such acts were German immigrants. For two and a half years the French soldier has felt himself in France, in the midst of a friendly population, at Thann, at Wesseling, at Dannemarie.

"Thousands of Alsatians have, in spite of the great dangers they ran, deserted the German Army and fought with their brothers-in-arms. A reign of terror weighs on all parts of the province still occupied by Germany; councils of war have pronounced condemnations to prison of which the total is greater than three thousand years. After the war we shall know to what an extent the people of Alsace-Lorraine have paid with their life their fidelity to France."

BRITAIN REPENTS OF HER ERROR OF 1870-71

The London *Times*, in August, 1914, reviewing British foreign policy, said candidly that by permitting Germany to defeat France and dismember her in 1870-71 Great Britain had committed a great error. It was only necessary, it added,

"to remember the position held by Great Britain at the end of the South African War. The policy of the late Lord Salisbury had been one of 'splendid isolation.' When disaster overtook us in South Africa we were without a friend on the Continent, and were only saved from attack by a European coalition because the Emperor of Russia declined to sanction such a policy, and because the question of Alsace-Lorraine formed an insuperable obstacle to military and naval coöperation against us by Germany and France."

GERMAN AND FRENCH HATRED

That the Alsatian question, long after 1870, still kept alive the ancient animosity between France and Germany is evident. Speaking in the Reichstag on January 11, 1887, Bismarck dwelt on the ancient German hatred for France, saying:



In the Vosges Mountains
French soldiers on skis charging with bayonets.

"Over against us we should find those same Frenchmen under whose oppression we suffered from 1807 to 1813, and who drained the blood out of us—bled us like calves. *Saigner à blanc*, as the French say. If you read the accounts of the old people of that time, if, like me in my childhood, you had heard from the lips of the peasants and country people the stories of their sufferings, I think you would shrink even

November 23, 1892, when he said in a memorable speech in the Reichstag:

"The days are past when, to the thunder of the guns of Jena, German professors and German poets could sit at home and go on with their verse-making. Now our heart would break. Our science and art would be involved in the over-



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The Kaiser Watching the Movements of His Troops in France

more than I from the remotest possibility of their repetition. . . . If we attacked France again and were convinced that nothing else would secure us tranquillity, even for a time, if we entered Paris again as victors, we should take care to render France incapable of attacking us for thirty years. On our side, as on theirs, the object would be the same: each would put out all his strength to *saigner à blanc*—to bleed to the white."

Prince Bismarck's successor in the Chancellorship, Caprivi, repeated the thought on

throw. We must recognize clearly that we have before us a fight for existence, for existence material, political, and mental. It is our duty to do our utmost to survive in that conflict. Each nation takes its place in the economy of the world. The gap left by Germany could be filled by no other. Our first duty is to preserve our own existence. Only so can a nation be an instrument of God. And we must preserve the memory of the thousands who have shed their blood for our country. Shall it one day be said, 'They gave their life: you would not even give your cash?'

France's Sacrifice

Lecturing in Boston in 1919, the Abbé Ernest Dimnet, of Paris, said that the simple truth was that France had to bear the brunt of the war. "It is our duty," he said, "to remember that during the first year she held nineteen-twentieths of the whole line, until 1917 five-sixths, then three-fourths, and only when America came was her share at last reduced to one-half. Two Frenchmen gave their lives to every German; five for every subject of Great Britain; seventy for every American. I do not speak of it to utter praise; I speak of it because it is our duty to remember it."

BRITAIN TO THE RESCUE

In a Masterly Speech on August 3, 1914, Sir Edward Grey Discusses
England's Responsibility in the European Crisis

XVIII

WHY ENGLAND DECLARED WAR

THE speech in which Sir Edward Grey summarized to Parliament the story of the negotiations of July 23 to August 3, 1914, is a notable historical document, and of lasting credit to British statesmanship. He said:

"Last week I stated that we were working for peace not only for this country, but to preserve the peace of Europe. To-day events move so rapidly that it is exceedingly difficult to state with technical accuracy the actual state of affairs, but it is clear that the peace of Europe cannot be preserved. Russia and Germany, at any rate, have declared war upon each other.

"Before I proceed to state the position of his Majesty's government I would like to clear the ground so that, before I come to state to the House what our attitude is with regard to the present crisis, the House may know exactly under what obligations the government is, or the House can be said to be, in coming to a decision on the matter. First of all, let me say, very shortly, that we have consistently worked with a single mind, with all the earnestness in our power, to preserve peace. The House may be satisfied on that point. We have always done it. During these last years, as far as his Majesty's government are concerned, we would have no difficulty in proving that we have done so. Throughout the Balkan crisis, by general admission, we worked for peace. The coöperation of the great powers of Europe was successful in working for peace in the Balkan crisis. It is true that some of the powers had great difficulty in adjusting their points of view. It took much time and labor and discussion before they could settle their differences, but peace was secured, because peace was their main object, and they were willing to give time and trouble rather than accentuate differences rapidly.

"In the present crisis it has not been possible to secure the peace of Europe; because there has been little time, and there has been a disposition—at any rate in some quarters on which I will not dwell—to force things rapidly to an issue, at any rate to the great risk of peace, and, as we now know, the result of that is that the policy of peace as far as the great powers generally are concerned is in danger. I do not want to dwell on that, and to comment on it, and to say where the blame seems to us to lie, which powers

were most in favor of peace, which were most disposed to risk war or endanger peace, because I would like the House to approach this crisis in which we are now from the point of view of British interests, British honor, and British obligations, free from all passion as to why peace has not been preserved.

"We shall publish papers as soon as we can regarding what took place last week when we were working for peace, and when those papers are published I have no doubt that to every human being they will make it clear how strenuous and genuine and whole-hearted our efforts for peace were, and that they will enable people to form their own judgment as to what forces were at work which operated against peace.

"I come first, now, to the question of British obligations. I have assured the House—and the Prime Minister has assured the House more than once—that if any crisis such as this arose we should come before the House of Commons and be able to say to the House that it was free to decide what the British attitude should be, that we would have no secret engagement which we should spring upon the House, and tell the House that because we had entered into that engagement there was an obligation of honor upon the country. I will deal with that point to clear the ground first.

THE TWO GROUPS IN EUROPE

"There have been in Europe two diplomatic groups, the Triple Alliance and what came to be called the Triple Entente, for some years past. The Triple Entente was not an alliance—it was a diplomatic group. The House will remember that in 1908 there was a crisis—also a Balkan crisis—originating in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Russian minister, M. Isvolsky, came to London, or happened to come to London, because his visit was planned before the crisis broke out. I told him definitely then, this being a Balkan crisis, a Balkan affair, I did not consider that public opinion in this country would justify us in promising to give anything more than diplomatic support. More was never asked from us, more was never given, and more was never promised.

"In this present crisis, up till yesterday, we have also given no promise of anything more than diplomatic support—until yesterday no promise of more than diplomatic support. Now I must make this question of obligation clear to the House. I must go back to the first Moroccan crisis of 1906. That was the time of the Algeiras Conference, and it came at a time of very great difficulty to his Majesty's government

when a general election was in progress and ministers were scattered over the country, and I—spending three days a week in my constituency and three days at the Foreign Office—was asked the question whether, if that crisis developed into war between France and Germany, we would give armed support. I said then that I could promise nothing to any foreign power unless it was subsequently to receive the whole-hearted support of public opinion here if the occasion arose. I said, in my opinion, if war was forced upon France then on the question of

to me at the time, and I think very reasonably, 'If you think it possible that the public opinion of Great Britain might, should a sudden crisis arise, justify you in giving to France the armed support which you cannot promise in advance, you will not be able to give that support, even if you wish it, when the time comes, unless some conversations have already taken place between naval and military experts.' There was force in that. I agreed to it, and authorized those conversations to take place, but on the distinct understanding that nothing which passed between



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Indian Troops Resting by the Road in Southern France

About 250,000 native troops were landed in southern France by the British. Their picturesque appearance and the fact that they were reputed to be seasoned soldiers of great courage made them very popular with the French. They were kept several weeks in camp to rest from the long voyage and to become acclimated.

Morocco—a question which had just been the subject of agreement between this country and France, an agreement exceedingly popular on both sides—that if out of that agreement war was forced on France at that time, in my view public opinion in this country would have rallied to the material support of France.

THE QUESTION OF ARMED SUPPORT FOR FRANCE

"I gave no promise, but I expressed that opinion during the crisis, as far as I remember almost in the same words, to the French ambassador and the German ambassador at the time. I made no promise and I used no threats; but I expressed that opinion. That position was accepted by the French government, but they said

military or naval experts should bind either government or restrict in any way their freedom to make a decision as to whether or not they would give that support when the time arose.

"As I have told the House, upon that occasion a general election was in prospect; I had to take the responsibility of doing that without the Cabinet. It could not be summoned. An answer had to be given. I consulted Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister; I consulted, I remember, Lord Haldane, who was then Secretary of State for War, and the present Prime Minister, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was the most I could do, and they authorized that, on the distinct understanding that it left the hands of the government free whenever the crisis arose. The fact that

conversations between military and naval experts took place was later on—I think much later on, because that crisis passed, and the thing ceased to be of importance—but later on it was brought to the knowledge of the Cabinet.

BRITAIN'S UNDERSTANDING WITH FRANCE

"The Agadir crisis came—another Morocco crisis—and throughout that I took precisely the same line that had been taken in 1906. But subsequently, in 1912, after discussion and consideration in the Cabinet, it was decided that we ought to have a definite understanding in writing, which was to be only in the form of an unofficial letter, that these conversations which took place were not binding upon the freedom of either government; and on the 22d November, 1912, I wrote to the French ambassador the letter which I will now read to the House, and I received from him a letter in similar terms in reply. The letter which I have to read to the House is this, and it will be known to the public now as the record that, whatever took place between military and naval experts, they were not binding engagements upon the government:

"MY DEAR AMBASSADOR:

"From time to time in recent years the French and British naval and military experts have consulted together. It has always been understood that such consultation does not restrict the freedom of either government to decide at any future time whether or not to assist the other by armed force. We have agreed that consultation between experts is not, and ought not, to be regarded as an engagement that commits either government to action in a contingency that has not yet arisen and may never arise. The disposition, for instance, of the French and British fleets, respectively, at the present moment is not based upon an engagement to coöperate in war.

"You have, however, pointed out that, if either government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third power, it might become essential to know whether it could in that event depend upon the armed assistance of the other.

"I agree that, if either government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third power, or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common."

"Lord Charles Beresford—"What is the date of that?"

"Sir E. Grey—"The 22nd November, 1912. That is the starting-point for the government with regard to the present crisis. I think it makes it clear that what the Prime Minister and

I said to the House of Commons was perfectly justified, and that, as regards our freedom to decide in a crisis what our line should be, whether we should intervene or whether we should abstain, the government remained perfectly free, and, *a fortiori*, the House of Commons remains perfectly free. That I say to clear the ground from the point of view of obligation. I think it was due to prove our good faith to the House of Commons that I should give that full information to the House now, and say what I think is obvious from the letter I have just read, that we do not construe anything which has previously taken place in our diplomatic relations with other powers in this matter as restricting the freedom of the government to decide what attitude they should take now, or restrict the freedom of the House of Commons to decide what their attitude should be.

"The situation in the present crisis is not precisely the same as it was in the Morocco question. . . . It has originated in a dispute between Austria and Serbia. I can say this with the most absolute confidence—no government and no country has less desire to be involved in war over a dispute with Austria than the country of France. They are involved in it because of their obligation of honor under a definite alliance with Russia. Well, it is only fair to say to the House that that obligation of honor cannot apply in the same way to us. We are not parties to the Franco-Russian alliance. We do not even know the terms of the alliance. So far I have, I think, faithfully and completely cleared the ground with regard to the question of obligation.

FRIENDSHIP WITH FRANCE .

"I now come to what we think the situation requires of us. For many years we have had a long-standing friendship with France. I remember well the feeling in the House—and my own feeling—for I spoke on the subject, I think, when the late government made their agreement with France—the warm and cordial feeling resulting from the fact that these two nations, who had had perpetual differences in the past, had cleared these differences away; I remember saying, I think, that it seemed to me that some benign influence had been at work to produce the cordial atmosphere that had made that possible. But how far that friendship entails obligation—it has been a friendship between the nations and ratified by the nations—how far that entails an obligation, let every man look into his own heart, and his own feelings, and construe the extent of the obligation for himself. I construe it myself as I feel it, but I do not wish to urge upon any one else more than their feelings dictate as to what they should feel about the obligation. The House, individually and collectively, may judge for itself. I speak my personal view, and I have given the House my own feeling in the matter.

"The French fleet is now in the Mediterranean, and the northern and western coasts of France

are absolutely undefended. The French fleet being concentrated in the Mediterranean, the situation is very different from what it used to be, because the friendship which has grown up be-



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A German Outlook Tower in Alsace-Lorraine

From this tower, on the top of one of the mountains in the Vosges ranges, the German soldiers watched for the advancing French troops.

tween the two countries has given them a sense of security that there was nothing to be feared from us.

ENGLAND COULD NOT SEE FRANCE UNPROTECTED

"The French coasts are absolutely undefended. The French fleet is in the Mediterranean, and has for some years been concentrated there because of the feeling of confidence and friendship which has existed between the two countries. My own feeling is that if a foreign fleet, engaged in a war which France had not sought, and in which she had not been the aggressor, came down the

English Channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coasts of France, we could not stand aside and see this going on practically within sight of our eyes, with our arms folded, looking on dispassionately, doing nothing. I believe that would be the feeling of this country. There are times when one feels that if these circumstances actually did arise, it would be a feeling which would spread with irresistible force throughout the land.

"But I also want to look at the matter without sentiment, and from the point of view of British interests, and it is on that that I am going to base and justify what I am presently going to say to the House. If we say nothing at this moment, what is France to do with her fleet in the Mediterranean? If she leaves it there, with no statement from us as to what we will do, she leaves her northern and western coasts absolutely undefended, at the mercy of a German fleet coming down the Channel to do as it pleases in a war which is a war of life and death between them. If we say nothing, it may be that the French fleet is withdrawn from the Mediterranean. We are in the presence of a European conflagration; can anybody set limits to the consequences that may arise out of it? Let us assume that to-day we stand aside in an attitude of neutrality, saying, 'No, we cannot undertake and engage to help either party in this conflict.' Let us suppose the French fleet is withdrawn from the Mediterranean; and let us assume that the consequences—which are already tremendous in what has happened in Europe even to countries which are at peace—in fact, equally whether countries are at peace or at war—let us assume that out of that come consequences unforeseen, which make it necessary at a sudden moment that, in defence of vital British interests, we shall go to war; and let us assume—which is quite possible—that Italy, who is now neutral—because, as I understand, she considers that this war is an aggressive war, and the Triple Alliance being a defensive alliance her obligation did not arise—let us assume that consequences which are not yet foreseen and which, perfectly legitimately consulting her own interests, make Italy depart from her attitude of neutrality at a time when we are forced in defence of vital British interests ourselves to fight—what then will be the position in the Mediterranean? It might be that at some critical moment those consequences would be forced upon us because our trade routes in the Mediterranean might be vital to this country.

GREY'S ASSURANCE OF PROTECTION

"Nobody can say that in the course of the next few weeks there is any particular trade route, the keeping open of which may not be vital to this country. What will be our position then? We have not kept a fleet in the Mediterranean which is equal to dealing alone with a combination of other fleets in the Mediterranean. It would be the very moment when we could not detach more ships to the Mediterranean, and

we might have exposed this country from our negative attitude at the present moment to the most appalling risk. I say that from the point of view of British interests. We feel strongly that France was entitled to know—and to know at once—whether or not in the event of attack upon her unprotected northern and western coasts she could depend upon British support. In that emergency, and in these compelling circumstances, yesterday afternoon I gave to the French ambassador the following statement:

“I am authorized to give an assurance that if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power. This assurance is, of course, subject to the policy of his Majesty's government receiving the support of Parliament, and must not be taken as binding his Majesty's government to take any action until the above contingency of action by the German fleet takes place.”

“I read that to the House, not as a declaration of war on our part, not as entailing immediate aggressive action on our part, but as binding us to take aggressive action should that contingency arise. Things move very hurriedly from hour to hour. Fresh news comes in, and I cannot give this in any very formal way; but I understand that the German government would be prepared, if we would pledge ourselves to neutrality, to agree that its fleet would not attack the northern coast of France. I have only heard that shortly before I came to the House, but it is far too narrow an engagement for us. And, Sir, there is the more serious consideration—becoming more serious every hour—there is the question of the neutrality of Belgium.

NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM

“I shall have to put before the House at some length what is our position in regard to Belgium. The governing factor is the Treaty of 1830, but this is a treaty with a history—a history accumulated since. In 1870, when there was war between France and Germany, the question of the neutrality of Belgium arose, and various things were said. Among other things, Prince Bismarck gave an assurance to Belgium that—confirming his verbal assurance, he gave in writing a declaration which he said was superfluous in reference to the treaty in existence—that the German Confederation and its allies would respect the neutrality of Belgium, it being always understood that that neutrality would be respected by the other belligerent powers. That is valuable as a recognition in 1870 on the part of Germany of the sacredness of these treaty rights.

“What was our own attitude? The people who laid down the attitude of the British government were Lord Granville in the House of Lords and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons.

Lord Granville on the 8th August, 1870, used these words. He said:

“We might have explained to the country and to foreign nations that we could not think this country was bound either morally or internationally, or that its interests were concerned in the maintenance of the



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“Kultur” Has Passed Here

Cartoon by Louis Raemaekers.

neutrality of Belgium; though this course might have had some conveniences, though it might have been easy to adhere to it, though it might have saved us from some immediate danger, it is a course which her Majesty's government thought it impossible to adopt in the name of the country with any due regard to the country's honor or to the country's interests.”

“Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows two days later:

“There is, I admit, the obligation of the treaty. It is not necessary, nor would time permit me, to enter into the complicated question of the nature of the obligations of that treaty; but I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this House what plainly amounts to an assertion, that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it, irrespectively altogether of the particular position when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises. The great authorities upon foreign policy to whom I have been accustomed to listen, such as Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, never to my knowledge took that rigid and, if I may venture to say so, that impracticable view of

the guarantee. The circumstance, that there is already an existing guarantee in force, is, of necessity, an important fact, and a weighty element in the case, to which we are bound to give full and ample consideration. There is also this further consideration, the force of which we must all feel most deeply, and that is, the common interests against the unmeasured aggrandizement of any power whatever.'

"The treaty is an old treaty—1839—and that was the view taken of it in 1870. It is one of those treaties which are founded, not only on consideration for Belgium, which benefits under the treaty, but in the interests of those who guarantee the neutrality of Belgium. The honor and interests are, at least, as strong to-day as in 1870, and we cannot take a more narrow view or a less serious view of our obligations, than was taken by Mr. Gladstone's government in 1870.

FRANCE AGREES TO RESPECT BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

"I will read to the House what took place last week on this subject. When mobilization was beginning, I knew that this question must be a most important element in our policy—a most important subject for the House of Commons. I telegraphed at the same time in similar terms to both Paris and Berlin to say that it was essential for us to know whether the French and German governments, respectively, were prepared to undertake an engagement to respect the neutrality of Belgium. These are the replies. I got from the French government this reply:

"The French government are resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure the defence of her security, to act otherwise. This assurance has been given several times. The President of the Republic spoke of it to the King of the Belgians, and the French minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day.'

"From the German government the reply was:

"The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could not possibly give an answer before consulting the Emperor and the Imperial Chancellor.'

"Sir Edward Goschen, to whom I had said it was important to have an answer soon, said he hoped the answer would not be too long delayed. The German Minister for Foreign Affairs then gave Sir Edward Goschen to understand that he rather doubted whether they could answer at all, as any reply they might give could not fail, in the event of war, to have

the undesirable effect of disclosing, to a certain extent, part of their plan of campaign. I telegraphed at the same time to Brussels to the Belgian government, and I got the following reply from Sir Francis Villiers:

"Belgium expects and desires that other powers will observe and uphold her neutrality, which she intends to maintain to the utmost of her power. In so informing me, Minister for Foreign Affairs said that, in the event of the violation of the neutrality of their territory, they believed that they were in a position to defend themselves against intrusion. The relations between Belgium and her neighbors were excellent, and there was no reason to suspect their intentions; but he thought it well, nevertheless, to be prepared against emergencies.'

THE GERMAN OFFER TO BELGIUM

"It now appears from the news I have received to-day—which has come quite recently, and I am not yet quite sure how far it has reached me in an accurate form—that an ultimatum has been given to Belgium by Germany, the object of which was to offer Belgium friendly relations with Germany on condition that she would facilitate the passage of German troops through Belgium. Well, Sir, until one has these things absolutely definite, up to the last moment, I do not wish to say all that one would say if one were in a position to give the House full, complete, and absolute information upon the point. We were sounded in the course of last week as to whether, if a guarantee were given that, after the war, Belgian integrity would be preserved, that would content us. We replied that we could not bargain away whatever interests or obligations we had in Belgian neutrality.

"Shortly before I reached the House I was informed that the following telegram had been received from the King of the Belgians by our King—King George:

"Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessors, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship she has just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium.'

"Diplomatic intervention took place last week on our part. What can diplomatic intervention do now? We have great and vital interests in the independence—and integrity is the least part—of Belgium. If Belgium is compelled to submit to allow her neutrality to be violated, of course the situation is clear. Even if by agreement she admitted the violation of her neutrality, it is clear she could only do so under duress. The smaller States in that region of Europe ask but one thing. Their one desire is that they should be left alone and independent. The one

thing they fear is, I think, not so much that their integrity but that their independence should be interfered with. If in this war which is before Europe the neutrality of one of those countries is violated, if the troops of one of the combatants violate its neutrality and no action be taken to resent it, at the end of war, whatever the integrity may be, the independence will be gone.

"No, Sir, if it be the case that there has been anything in the nature of an ultimatum to Belgium, asking her to compromise or violate her neutrality, whatever may have been offered to her in return, her independence is gone if that holds. If her independence goes, the independence of Holland will follow. I ask the House from the point of view of British interests to consider what may be at stake. If France is



Courtesy of the Red Cross

Over the Border into Holland

The aristocracy of Holland was decidedly pro-German, but the nation as a whole was not. Sympathy for France was very great, and the Dutch lent a helping hand to all victims of the war.

GLADSTONE ON BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE

"I have one further quotation from Mr. Gladstone as to what he thought about the independence of Belgium. It will be found in *Hansard*, Vol. 203, Page 1,787. I have not had time to read the whole speech and verify the context, but the thing seems to me so clear that no context could make any difference to the meaning of it. Mr. Gladstone said:

"We have an interest in the independence of Belgium which is wider than that which we may have in the literal operation of the guarantee. It is found in the answer to the question whether, under the circumstances of the case, this country, endowed as it is with influence and power, would quietly stand by and witness the perpetration of the direst crime that ever stained the pages of history, and thus become participators in the sin."

beaten in a struggle of life and death, beaten to her knees, loses her position as a great power, becomes subordinate to the will and power of one greater than herself—consequences which I do not anticipate, because I am sure that France has the power to defend herself with all the energy and ability and patriotism which she has shown so often—still, if that were to happen, and if Belgium fell under the same dominating influence, and then Holland, and then Denmark, then would not Mr. Gladstone's words come true, that just opposite to us there would be a common interest against the unmeasured aggrandizement of any power?

ENGLAND'S OBLIGATION

"It may be said, I suppose, that we might stand aside, husband our strength, and that whatever happened in the course of this war, at the



Drawn by D. de G. Fraispont

Burning of the Cathedral of Rheims

end of it intervene with effect to put things right, and to adjust them to our own point of view. If, in a crisis like this, we run away from those obligations of honor and interest as regards the Belgian treaty, I doubt whether, whatever material force we might have at the end, it would be of very much value in face of the respect that we should have lost. And I do not believe, whether a great power stands outside this war or not, it is going to be in a position at the end of it to exert its superior strength. For us, with a powerful fleet, which we believe able to protect our commerce, to protect our shores, and to protect our interests, if we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer even if we stand aside.

"We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it or whether we stand aside. Foreign trade is going to stop, not because the trade routes are closed, but because there is no trade at the other end. Continental nations engaged in war—all their populations, all their energies, all their wealth, engaged in a desperate struggle—they cannot carry on the trade with us that they are carrying on in times of peace, whether we are parties to the war or whether we are not. I do not believe for a moment that at the end of this war, even if we stood aside and remained aside, we should be in a position, a material position, to use our force decisively to undo what had happened in the course of the war, to prevent the whole of the west of Europe opposite to us—if that had been the result of the war—falling under the domination of a single power, and I am quite sure that our moral position would be such as to have lost us all respect. I can only say that I have put the question of Belgium somewhat hypothetically, because I am not yet sure of all the facts, but, if the facts turn out to be as they have reached us at present, it is quite clear that there is an obligation on this country to do its utmost to prevent the consequences to which those facts will lead if they are undisputed.

ENGLAND'S HONOR AT STAKE

"What other policy is there before the House? There is but one way in which the government could make certain at the present moment of keeping outside this war, and that would be that it should immediately issue a proclamation of unconditional neutrality. We cannot do that. We have made the commitment to France that I have read to the House which prevents us doing that. We have got the consideration of Belgium which prevents us also from any unconditional neutrality, and, without these conditions absolutely satisfied and satisfactory, we are bound not to shrink from proceeding to the use of all the forces in our power. If we did take that line by saying, 'We will have nothing whatever to do with this matter' under no conditions—the Belgian treaty obligations, the possible position in the Mediterranean, with damage to British interests, and what may happen to France

from our failure to support France—if we were to say that all those things matter nothing, were as nothing, and to say we would stand aside, we should, I believe, sacrifice our respect and good name and reputation before the world, and should not escape the most serious and grave economic consequences.

"My object has been to explain the view of the government, and to place before the House the issue and the choice. I do not for a moment conceal, after what I have said, and after the information, incomplete as it is, that I have given to the House with regard to Belgium, that we must be prepared, and we are prepared, for the consequences of having to use all the strength we have at any moment—we know not how soon—to defend ourselves and to take our part. We know, if the facts all be as I have stated them, though I have announced no intending aggressive action on our part, no final decision to resort to force at a moment's notice, until we know the whole of the case, that the use of it may be forced upon us. As far as the forces of the Crown are concerned, we are ready. I believe the Prime Minister and my right honorable friend, the First Lord of the Admiralty, have no doubt whatever that the readiness and the efficiency of those forces were never at a higher mark than they are to-day, and never was there a time when confidence was more justified in the power of the Navy to protect our commerce and to protect our shores. The thought is with us always of the suffering and misery entailed, from which no country in Europe will escape by abstention, and from which no neutrality will save us. The amount of harm that can be done by an enemy ship to our trade is infinitesimal, compared with the amount of harm that must be done by the economic condition that is caused on the Continent.

MUST FACE THE RESPONSIBILITY

"The most awful responsibility is resting upon the government in deciding what to advise the House of Commons to do. We have disclosed our minds to the House of Commons. We have disclosed the issue, the information which we have, and made clear to the House, I trust, that we are prepared to face that situation, and that should it develop, as probably it may develop, we will face it. We worked for peace up to the last moment, and beyond the last moment. How hard, how persistently, and how earnestly we strove for peace last week the House will see from the papers that will be before it.

"But that is over, as far as the peace of Europe is concerned. We are now face to face with a situation and all the consequences which it may yet have to unfold. We believe we shall have the support of the House at large in proceeding to whatever the consequences may be and whatever measures may be forced upon us by the development of facts or action taken by others. I believe the country, so quickly has the situation been forced upon it, has not had time

to realize the issue. It perhaps is still thinking of the quarrel between Austria and Serbia, and not the complications of this matter which have grown out of the quarrel between Austria and Serbia. Russia and Germany we know are at war. We do not yet know officially that Austria, the ally whom Germany is to support, is yet at war with Russia. We know that a good deal has been happening on the French frontier. We do not know that the German ambassador has left Paris.

"The situation has developed so rapidly that technically, as regards the condition of the war, it is most difficult to describe what has actually happened. I wanted to bring out the underlying issues which would affect our own conduct and our own policy, and to put them clearly. I have now put the vital facts before the House, and if, as seems not improbable, we are forced, and rapidly forced, to take our stand upon those issues, then I believe, when the country realizes what is at stake, what the real issues are, the magnitude of the impending dangers in the west of Europe, which I have endeavored to describe to the House, we shall be supported throughout, not only by the House of Commons, but by the determination, the resolution, the courage, and the endurance of the whole country."

**FURTHER STATEMENT BY SIR EDWARD GREY
IN HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 3, 1914**

Later in the day Sir Edward added the following words:

"I want to give the House some information which I have received, and which was not in my possession when I made my statement this afternoon. It is information I have received from the Belgian Legation in London, and is to the following effect:

"Germany sent yesterday evening at 7 o'clock a note proposing to Belgium friendly neutrality, covering free passage on Belgian territory, and promising maintenance of independence of the kingdom and possession at the conclusion of peace, and threatening, in case of refusal, to treat Belgium as an enemy. A time-limit of twelve hours was fixed for the reply. The Belgians have answered that an attack on their neutrality would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, and that to accept the German proposal would be to sacrifice the honor of a nation. Conscious of its duty, Belgium is finally resolved to repel aggression by all possible means."

"Of course, I can only say that the government are prepared to take into grave consideration the information which they have received. I make no further comment upon it."

Great Britain acted swiftly when the purport of Grey's speech was known. It clarified much that was obscure in a very obscure situation. Within a few hours British public opinion had mobilized in favor of war—and the war was on, in spite of Grey's studied efforts to prevent it.



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Hunting for Spies in England

An enraged mob of men, women, and children are attacking a shop owned by a suspected German spy.

ALBERT OF BELGIUM

By Dana Burnet

In the twilight of the kings,
When the purple sun of pomp
Sank on bloody wings
Into a sea of spears
And Death's mad romp
Tossed against heaven with a surf of
tears,
When to be royal was to be half cursed,
A man stood clean against the waning
light
By fate, by manhood, and by virtue first
Of all the hearts he led to Honor's fight.

They said to him: "Stand not against thy
gate
With futile swords, else we shall trample
thee,
But rather let us through. These things
are Fate.
Wouldst thou with straws seek to forbid
the sea?"
"Aye," said the King, "if duty bade me to!
There is no honor in me if I stand
Weakly aside and let your black swords
through."

They said: "Count ye the cost in men
and land?"
He answered: "I am well content to pay,
If in the payment faith and honor lie.
Come, if ye must! 'Twill be a bloody day,
And ye shall see how carelessly we die!"
And so it came to pass that on that gate
The black swords beat incessantly until
It opened, and the brutish hordes rode
through,
Moving the heart of all the world to hate,
Henceforth they fought a foe they could
not kill,
They fought the prayers of men, they
fought the rue

Of women's tears, the dreamers' dreams,
the songs
Of splendid singers. They had only
death
To work their will, and they were weak
with wrongs.

Against them moved the protest and the
breath
Of all mankind. Whatever thing they
trod
Became upon that hour a sacred thing.
The Shrines they broke were eloquent of
God,
The crown they snatched at only proved a
King!
He fought them foot by foot, a losing
fight,
Yet ever in defeat found victory,
Until at last, crowned by that waning
light,
He halted with back against the sea!

And there he stands, and will stand
through the years,
Till God doth break the Great Seal of
the skies,
A hero who shall live, 'twixt songs and
tears,
As long as men have visions in their
eyes.
Then come, ye bards, and all ye hearts that
sing,
Smite silvery lutes against Oblivion's
ban!
Say how for honor's sake there stood a
King,
Albert of Belgium, soldier, monarch,
man!

By permission
Harper and Brothers

THE VIOLATION OF BELGIUM

Germany Tries to Justify the Invasion by Baseless Charges that Belgium Was Unneutral

XIX

AN OFFICIAL BELGIAN ACCOUNT

ON August 4, 1914, the world was amazed to learn of Germany's cynical violation of the soil of Belgium. The Belgian Legation at Washington afterward issued this statement:

VIOLATION OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

"By the treaty of April 19, 1839, Prussia, France, England, Austria, and Russia declared themselves guarantors of the treaty concluded on the same day between the King of the Belgians and the King of the Netherlands. This treaty provides:

"'Belgium forms an independent State of perpetual neutrality.'

"That is to say, Belgium was forbidden, in case of war, to take the part of any of the belligerents.

"Since then Belgium has fulfilled all her neutrality obligations; she has acted in a spirit of absolute impartiality. She has left nothing undone to maintain and make respected her neutrality. Germany's obligation to respect Belgian neutrality was even more emphatically affirmed by one of Germany's greatest men, by the creator of the Empire. Prince, then Count, Bismarck, wrote to Baron Nothomb, Belgian Minister in Berlin on the 22nd of July, 1870, as follows:

"'In confirmation of my verbal assurances, I have the honor to give in writing a declaration which, in view of the treaties in force, is *quite superfluous*, that the Confederation of the North and its allies will respect the neutrality of Belgium on the understanding, of course, that it is respected by the other belligerents.'

"To the request of Sir William Goschen, the English Ambassador in Berlin, to be allowed to know if Germany would pledge herself to respect the neutrality of Belgium, the German Secretary of State replied 'this neutrality had already been violated by Germany.' Herr von Jagow went again into the

"'reasons why the Imperial government had been obliged to take this step, namely, that

they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death to them, for, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of the roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would mean time gained by the Russians for the bringing up of their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was the inexhaustible supply of troops.'

"A SCRAP OF PAPER"

"This conversation preceded by a few minutes that in which the German Chancellor, giddy at the sight of the abyss into which Germany was falling, uttered these celebrated words:

"'Just for a word, NEUTRALITY, a word which in war times has been so often disregarded; just for A SCRAP OF PAPER, Great Britain is going to make war on a kindred nation. At what price would that compact [neutrality] have been kept? Has the British government thought of that?'

"Sir William Goschen replied, that fear of consequences would hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking a solemn engagement.

"It is very clear from these documents that Germany had for a long time premeditated the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and that she has even reconciled herself to the terrible danger of war with Great Britain, rather than renounce the advantages she thought she would gain by not respecting the treaty. In the face of these confessions the allegations that France wished to violate the neutrality of Belgium, an allegation supported by no proof, falls to the ground.

"To continue the analysis of the German note:

"'If Belgium consents to assume in the war which is about to commence the attitude of friendly neutrality toward Germany, the German government, on its side, engages, when peace is restored, to guarantee the integrity of the kingdom and its possessions.'

"Could Belgium, without being false to her duties of neutrality, take up the position which

the German government calls 'friendly neutrality'? That is to say, could she allow the German armies to pass without opposition through her territory? Can the German government itself answer that question?

"It is enough to reread the conversation given above between the British Ambassador and the German Secretary of State to come to a clear conclusion in that respect. If the violation of Belgian territory was to procure so signal an advantage to Germany that she had no fear of bringing on war with England to attain it, then for Belgium to lend herself to the passage of German troops must have meant the certainty of fatal consequences for France. Thus for Belgium to have yielded to the German ultimatum would *ipso facto* have conferred a considerable advantage to Germany, to the detriment of the other belligerent, and would have constituted a breach of neutrality.

"Germany concludes her note by threats. She engages, on the condition already defined, to evacuate Belgian territory at the conclusion of peace. If Belgium behaves in a hostile manner [*that is to say, if she does her duty*] Germany will be obliged to consider Belgium as an enemy. She would then leave the ultimate arrangements of the relations of the two States to the decision of arms. In other words, if Belgium does not agree to violate the treaty, Germany will treat her as an enemy, and she adds a veiled threat of annexing a part or the whole of her territory.

"The moral fiber of nations is not always measured by their size or power. Belgium is small and weak, but her answer bears witness to her love of justice and to her respect of the right. She would rather die with honor than live dishonored.

REPLY TO GERMAN NOTE

"That was made clear by the answer of her government. The answer was as follows:

"The German note has been a painful surprise to the Belgian government. The intentions which the note attributes to France are in contradiction to the formal declarations which were made to us on the 1st of August in the name of the republic. Besides, if, contrary to our expectations, France is about to violate the neutrality of Belgium, Belgium would be prepared to fulfill its neutrality obligations, and her Army would offer to the invader the most vigorous resistance. The treaties of 1839, confirmed by the treaties of 1870, commit to the government of His Majesty the King of Prussia the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Belgium.'

"The Chancellor of the German Empire said in a sitting of the Reichstag on the 4th of August:

"We are in a state of legitimate defence. *Necessity knows no law.* Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have perhaps already penetrated into Belgium. This is against the law of nations, France, it is true,



From L'Illustration

On Ne Passe Pas!

While those at the advance-posts of the Vosges stood on guard!

has declared to Brussels that she is determined to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as her adversary respects it, but we know that France was ready to invade Belgium. France can afford to wait; we cannot. A French attack on our flank in the region of the lower Rhine might have been fatal. It is for that reason we have been compelled to ignore the just protests of the governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The *injustice* which we thus commit we will *repair* as soon as our military object has been attained.'

"It has been shown how much value can be attached to the assertion of the alleged intention of France to invade Belgium. That intention, and the realization of that intention, belong exclusively to Germany and they must be left in her possession. This is especially the case in view of the fact that the military dispositions undertaken by France absolutely refute the allegations of the German Chancellor. So true is this that when the violation of Belgian territory became an accomplished fact, and when the King of Belgium appealed under the terms of the treaty of 1839 for support, in maintaining the neutrality of Belgium which these powers had guaranteed, France was so little prepared to invade Belgium that it took her more than ten days to get her troops into the country.

"The world is familiar with the way Germany has repaired in Belgium the injustice of which she was guilty, to use the words of the German Chancellor."

STATEMENT ISSUED BY GERMAN EMBASSY AT
WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 13, 1914

The German government attempted to justify its action by statements that Belgium had contracted engagements with England which were already a breach of neutrality. The following appeared in the American newspapers:

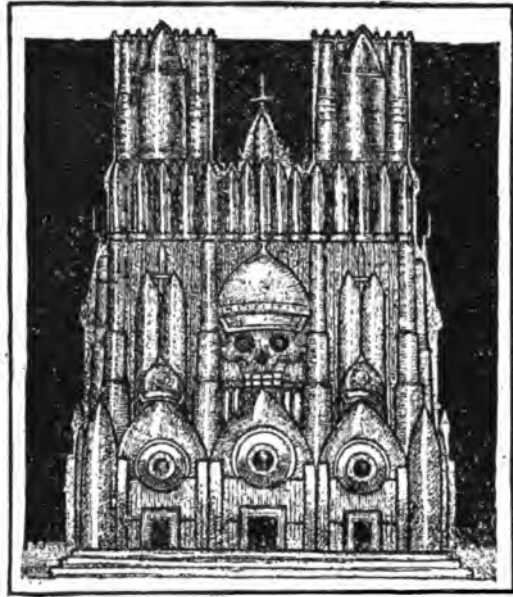
"The German Ambassador drew special attention to-day to the telegram which came from German headquarters. This telegram proves the German contention that the Allies did not intend to respect Belgian neutrality. It even proves more, namely, that Belgian neutrality practically did not exist and that the Belgian government was conspiring with the Allies against Germany. Notwithstanding the denials coming from French sources it is a fact that French prisoners were taken at Liège and Namur, who acknowledged that they had been in those fortresses before the German troops entered Belgium.

"On the French side it has been asserted that the German Chancellor in Parliament had acknowledged that Germany was doing wrong in violating Belgian neutrality. It must, however, not be overlooked that the Chancellor further said:

"We know that the Allies do not intend to respect Belgian neutrality, and Germany, in the position she is in, attacked from three sides, cannot wait, while the Allies can wait."

"At that time the Belgian archives were not at the disposal of the German government. If the Chancellor had known at the time he made his speech that Belgium was not neutral he would certainly have spoken of the alleged Belgian neutrality in a different way.

"Germany has violated the frontiers of no really neutral country, while the Allies are on



De Notenkracker (Amsterdam)

Rheims Cathedral as the Temple of War

An ironical Dutch view of Rheims Cathedral as it would look if it were built of German shells and consecrated to the German god of war.

record for disregarding all obligations toward China.

"Headquarters report German military authorities searching archives of Belgian General Staff at Brussels, found portfolio inscribed *Intervention Anglaise-Belgique*, containing important documents:

"1. Report to Belgian War Minister, dated April 10, 1906, containing result detailed negotiations between Chief of Belgian General Staff and British Military Attaché at Brussels, Lieut.-Col. Barnardiston. Plan of English origin sanctioned by Major-Gen. Grierson, Chief English General Staff, contains strength, formation, landing places, expeditionary force 100,000 men; continuing settles plan Belgian General Staff transport accommodations, feeding in Belgium, Belgian interpreters, gendarmerie, landing places at Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne. Details Barnardiston remarks for present Holland cannot be relied upon. Further confidential communication that English government after destruction of German Navy will direct supply provision via Antwerp. Finally suggestion from England military attaché that Belgian espionage service should be organized in Prussian Rheinland.

"2. Map showing strategical drawing up of French Army demonstrating existence of French-Belgian agreement.

"3. Report of Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister to Berlin, to Belgian Foreign Office,

dated December 23, 1911. Greindl, commenting on plan of Belgian General Staff for defence of Belgo-German frontier in Franco-German war, points to threatening violation of neutrality by France, saying: "Danger French attack threatening us, not only near Luxemburg, but on whole length of common frontier. This assertion no guesswork, but founded upon positive facts."

"Minister further thoroughly discusses Entente's plans for passage through Belgium, Calais, and England. France doubtful protectors, Barnardiston's insinuations relative Flushing question, both perfidious and naïve postulates dressing plan of battle against threatening Franco-British invasion into Belgium in Franco-German war."

GREAT BRITAIN'S DENIAL

The next day the British government made this reply:

"The story of an alleged Anglo-Belgian agreement of 1906, published in the German press and based on documents said to have been found at Brussels, is only a press edition of a story which has been reproduced in various forms and denied on several occasions. No such agreement has ever existed as Germans well know. General Grierson is dead and Colonel, now General, Barnardiston is commanding the British forces before Tsing-tao.

"In 1906 General Grierson was on the General Staff at the War Office and Colonel Barnardiston was military attaché at Brussels. In view of the solemn guarantee given by Great Britain to protect the neutrality of Belgium against violation from any side some academic discussions may, through the instrumentality of Col. Barnardiston, have taken place between Gen. Grierson and the Belgian military authorities as to what assistance the British Army might be able to afford to Belgium should one of her neighbors violate that neutrality. Some notes with reference to the subject may exist in the archives at Brussels.

"It should be noted that the date mentioned, namely 1906, was the year following that in which Germany had, as in 1911, adopted a threatening attitude toward France with regard to Morocco and in view of the apprehensions existing of an attack on France through Belgium it was natural that possible eventualities should be discussed.

"The impossibility of Belgium having been a party to any agreement of the nature indicated or to any design for violation of Belgian neutrality is clearly shown by reiterated declarations that she has made for many years past that she would resist to the utmost any violation of her neutrality from whatever quarter and in whatever form such violation might come. It is worthy of attention that these charges of aggressive designs on the part of other powers

are made by Germany, who, since 1906, has established an elaborate network of strategical railways leading from the Rhine to the Belgian frontier through a barren, thinly populated tract, deliberately constructed to permit of the sudden attack upon Belgium which was carried out two months ago."

GERMAN REPLY TO GREAT BRITAIN

To which Germany, through Von Bernstorff, her Ambassador at Washington, answered on October 15th:

"Concerning the Anglo-Belgian military agreement existing since 1906, a formal denial has been issued by England, which proves nothing. The documents are in the hands of the German authorities, and will be published in full. The facts remain that a so-called 'neutral' country concluded a military agreement with England, which provided for landing of British troops in this 'neutral' country. The document proves that by its own free will 'neutral Belgium' accepted the British offer and decided to fight on the side of the Allies.

"England instigated Belgium to go to war, and when the time came to protect the unfortunate little country it was left to its own resources. Germany, on the other hand, which had heard of Belgium's agreement with England at the beginning of this war, offered to protect Belgium and to pay full indemnity for all her losses. Germany would have religiously kept her promise.

"The documents found in Brussels further prove that as far back as 1906 England was systematically trying to bring about the coalition which has now forced war on Germany."

THE BELGIAN GRAY BOOK

But the Belgian Legation in Washington, a week later, made the following announcement:

"The Belgian Legation has just received the copies of the 'Gray Book.' It is evident from these documents that there has never existed any military agreement between Belgium and England, either offensive or defensive, such as the German government asserts to have been in existence since 1906. The following extracts speak for themselves:

"No. 28—*Offer of intervention by England. Note handed to Sir Francis H. Villiers, British Minister to Belgium, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

"Brussels, August 4, 1914.

"I am instructed to inform the Belgian government that, if Germany exercises pressure for the purpose of compelling Belgium to abandon her position of a neutral country, the government of his Britannic Majesty ex-

pects Belgium to resist by every possible means.

"The government of his Britannic Majesty is ready in that event to join with Russia and France, if desired by Belgium, to offer to the Belgian government at once common action for the purpose of resisting the use of force by Germany against Belgium and at that same time to offer a guarantee to maintain the independence and integrity of Belgium in the future."

"No. 37—Offer of England for an alliance for the object of assuring the neutrality of Belgium against the pressure of Germany."

"London, August 4, 1914.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs has informed the British Ministers in Norway, Holland, and Belgium that Great Britain expects that these three kingdoms will resist the pressure of Germany and maintain neutrality. They will be supported in their resistance by England, who in such a case is ready to coöperate with France and Russia, if such is the desire of these three governments, in offering an alliance to the said governments to repel the employment of force against them by Germany and a guarantee for the future maintenance of the independence and the integrity of the three kingdoms.

"I pointed out that Belgium is neutral in perpetuity. The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied: "It is for the event of neutrality being violated."

“(Signed) LALAING,

“Belgian Minister in London.”

"No. 40—Belgium appeals to the powers after the invasion of Belgium."

"Brussels, August 4, 1914.

"Monsieur le Ministre—The Belgian government regrets to have to announce to your

Excellency that this morning the armed forces of Germany penetrated into Belgian territory, violating the engagements which they have undertaken by treaty.

"The Belgian government are firmly decided to resist by all means in their power.

"Belgium appeals to England, to France, and to Russia to coöperate as guarantors in the defence of her territory.

"There should be a concerted and common action, having as its object to resist the measures of force employed by Germany against Belgium and at the same time to guarantee the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Belgium for the future.

"Belgium is happy to be able to declare that she will undertake the defence of the fortified places. I am, &c.,

“(Signed) DAVIGNON,

“Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium.”

"Where is to be found the alleged military convention said to have been concluded in 1906 with England? Where is the agreement said to have existed since 1906 between the Allies to force war on Germany? These documents clearly prove that such compact never existed.

"The Belgian nation preferred ruin and death to the shameful perjury proposed to her by Germany. For this reason Germany has devastated and immersed in blood a peaceful little country. To-day she seeks to rob her of honor, her only remaining treasure.

"The official documents, the confessions of the German statesmen, the ruins of Louvain, Malines, Aerschot, Termonde, and of so many villages burned and razed to the ground, the blood of her children unjustly massacred are the testimonies which the Belgian people cites before the tribunal of public conscience. To this tribunal, without fear, the Belgian Nation confides the cause of her honor."

A GERMAN DEFENDS BELGIUM

Dr. Muehlon Points to Belgian Orders of Krupp Guns to Prove that Belgium Had No Evil Design Against Germany

XX

A KRUPP DIRECTOR ATTACKS GERMANY

WHILE the invasion of Belgium was taking place, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg admitted that it was a violation of international law; somewhat later, however, the German government, angered by the universal reprobation which the violation caused,

attempted to justify its action by declaring that Belgium had forfeited its neutrality by unneutral agreements with England, and that France had already violated that neutrality before the German invasion. Dr. Muehlon, however, a director of the Krupp Company, in revelations that appeared during the war, admitted that Germany had long planned to invade Belgium. He declared:

"Before the war Belgium had ordered from the Krupp Company in Essen four large modern guns (twenty-eight centimeters) for the fortifications of Antwerp. At the beginning of 1914 the guns were completed, accepted, paid in full, and ready for shipment; but the work on the fortifications of Antwerp had not yet been carried so far that the guns could be set up. The debates on this subject in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies will perhaps be recalled. At this point the Belgian government requested Krupp to keep the guns in storage for the time being. Krupp agreed, but not willingly. Such storage is unusual, and it entails many inconveniences. Krupp repeatedly took steps, both by word of mouth and in writing, to get rid of the guns; the Belgian government continually repeated its request that Krupp be kind enough to keep them, and was even ready to pay for the accommodation. A *modus vivendi* was repeatedly found, but the attitude of both parties remained unchanged until the war broke out, when the Prussian Ministry of War at once seized these guns in Essen as booty (value four million marks).

BELGIAN GUNS KEPT IN GERMANY

"From this I draw the following conclusion: Had the Belgian government had any evil intentions whatsoever against Germany, or had it expected a German attack, it would, at the very latest when war threatened, have secured possession of its expensive guns, instead of insisting that they should remain in Krupp's care.

"My evidence, however, is not confined to this single instance. For many years Belgium kept up active connections with Germany in the matter of its war materials. In those instances in which the Krupp Company did not itself fill the orders of the Belgian government, the Belgian firm of Cockerill in Seraing and many government shops worked in close touch with the Krupp Company (using its designs, patents, etc.; receiving part-shippments from Krupp, etc.). These relations are in all countries a pretty trustworthy sort of political barometer. This is a point on which I shall not at present enlarge. It is obvious that a country becomes increasingly dependent (not solely in case of war, but especially in that event) and finds it increasingly difficult to wheel round, in proportion to the extent to which it has arranged to obtain its war materials from a definite foreign source. For Belgium, moreover, there was no sort of technical necessity to turn to the Krupp Company, which has always been far inferior to France, for example, in its designs, and has only with difficulty limped along after that country, as every expert, even in Germany, is well aware. Krupp's advantages are found in quite another field than that of better designs and inventions. In short, Belgium's relations with Krupp were the expression of an effort to keep on a friendly footing with Germany. I have always had the impression that by giving large orders to Germany, which is greedy for business, keen in its pursuit, and

quick to take offence, Belgium believed that it could keep that country in good humor, whereas she expected France, whose industry enjoyed little support from the government and was, moreover, less keen as regarded its own development, to understand her reasons for favoring Germany and to be content with general indications of sympathy.

"A few months before the war Belgium established another and particularly important connection between itself and Krupp. For its supply of a new (scarcely tested) ammunition for field artillery it placed itself entirely in the hands of this company. After securing large direct orders, Krupp conceded the privilege of manufacturing this ammunition to Cockerill, with the coöperation, of course, of the competent [Belgian] authorities, who saw to it that their own works also secured the same privilege. For Cockerill and the Belgian Ministry of War this arrangement meant active and sustained coöperation with Krupp's representatives, engineers, etc., and a corresponding dependence on the grantor of the licenses. At that time one of Cockerill's directors paid me frequent visits; and I do not consider it superfluous to note that, at the moment of the outbreak of the war, a letter from Cockerill lay before me, informing me that he was just sending a payment on the license amounting to one million francs.

"Consider the close dependency of the war-material business on governmental intentions, and then, on the basis of the occurrences I have here recounted, which are matters of public knowledge, pass judgment on the alleged *mala fides* of the Belgian government towards Germany."

MUEHLON'S STATEMENT CONFIRMED

The following statement by M. Emile Waxweiler, director of the Solvay Institute of Sociology, Brussels, supports the statement of Dr. Muehlon:

"There is one typical fact which may be set against the imputations that aim at representing Belgium as having been in military accord with France before the present war. Why has the German press never indicated that all Belgium's supply of cannons and artillery ammunition, as well as part of her other war material, comes from Germany? At the most, the Krupp Company permitted some Belgian factories to co-operate in the manufacture of certain guns and projectiles. At the moment of the outbreak of war, a considerable part of the following orders, which had been intrusted to the Krupp Company with the coöperation of Belgian firms, was not yet delivered:

30,000 universal shells (7.5 cm.)
18,000 fuses with detonators
70,000 double-acting fuses
4 eclipse guns (28 cm.)
4 embrasure guns (28 cm.)



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Cardinal Mercier

A militant priest who by his utterances and his acts defied the German invaders of Belgium when they established their autocratic régime among his people.

"In addition, various orders had been placed with other German firms, such as Werner, Siemens, and Halske, Siemens and Schückert, Erhardt, etc.

"If Belgium had contemplated military co-operation with France, would she not have placed

ask France, in particular, for 10,000 Lebel rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition per rifle. These rifles were distributed among the soldiers of the fortress of Antwerp. This circumstance affords a very simple explanation of a fact that has been construed against Belgium by the *Tägliche*



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Belgian Sharpshooters Going to Execution

A group of Belgian non-combatants on their way to be shot for alleged sniping of Germans when the Kaiser's army invaded their country.

her orders in French factories? Moreover, during the course of the war, a highly critical situation arose for the Belgian Army. Not having received from Germany all the expected deliveries, and, on the other hand, having been obliged to transfer into France its base of operations, together with all its elements of production, it found itself dependent on material and supplies of quite a different type from its own. And it was only after serious study of the matter by Belgian and French engineers that a way was found of solving the complicated problem of supplying the Belgian Army, equipped with German material, with munitions of a slightly modified French type.

"A similar difficulty presented itself as regards rifle equipment. Taken by surprise, in the midst of a complete army reorganization, Belgium did not possess at the moment of the outbreak of hostilities a sufficient number of rifles. This shortage led her, after the war had begun, to

Rundschau of October 15th. The Germans had found a French rifle in the hands of a Belgian soldier; they alleged, moreover, that the 'Belgian cartridges,' carried by the soldier, corresponded with the caliber of the 'French rifle,' and from all this they drew the conclusion that an arrangement existed between Belgium and France. The Belgian government issued in November, in a communication made by their Minister at The Hague, a formal denial: all the cartridges with which the Belgian troops were armed at the time of the outbreak of the war were of Belgian manufacture, and none of them corresponded with the caliber of the French Lebel rifle, which they obviously did not fit."

GERMAN INVASION OF BELGIUM ARRAIGNED BY LLOYD GEORGE

In a speech delivered on September 19, 1914, Lloyd George thus explained the atti-

tude taken by the British government toward the German entrance into Belgium:

"Consider the interview which took place between our Ambassador and the great German officials. When their attention was called to this treaty to which they were parties, they said: 'We can not help that. Rapidity of action is the great German asset.' There is a greater asset for a nation than rapidity of action, and that is honest dealing. [Loud applause.] What are Germany's excuses? She says Belgium was plotting against her; Belgium was engaged in a great conspiracy with Britain and France to attack her. Not merely is it not true, but Germany knows it is not true. ['Hear, hear!'] What is her other excuse? That France meant to invade Germany through Belgium. That is absolutely untrue. ['Hear, hear!'] France offered Belgium five Army Corps to defend her if she were attacked. Belgium said: 'I do not require them; I have the word of the Kaiser. Shall Cæsar send a lie?' [Laughter and applause.] All these tales about conspiracy have been vamped up since. A great nation ought to be ashamed to behave like a fraudulent bankrupt, perjuring its way through its obligations. ['Hear, hear!'] What she says is not true. She has deliberately broken this treaty, and we were in honor bound to stand by it. [Applause.]

"Belgium has been treated brutally. ['Hear, hear!'] How brutally we shall not yet know. We already know too much. But what had she done? Had she sent an ultimatum to Germany? Had she challenged Germany? Was she preparing to make war on Germany? Had she inflicted any wrong upon Germany which the Kaiser was bound to redress? She was one of the most unoffending little countries in Europe. ['Hear, hear!'] There she was—peaceable, industrious, thrifty, hard-working, giving offence to no one. And her cornfields have been trampled, her villages have been burned, her art treasures have been destroyed, her men have been slaughtered—yea, and her women, and children too. [Cries of 'Shame!'] Hundreds and thousands of her people, their neat, comfortable little homes burned to the dust, are wandering homeless in their own land. What was their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian King. [Applause.] I do not know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. [Derisive laughter.] I have a shrewd idea what he will get; but one thing he has made certain, and that is that no nation will ever commit that crime again."

"I AM A COUNTRY. I AM NOT A ROAD"

And Mr. R. D. Harlan, an American writer, aptly quotes the following characterization of Belgium's self-sacrifice by a young Chinaman:

"A few months after the outbreak of Germany's war against the world, *L'Echo de Chine*, a Shanghai journal representing French interests in China, contained a brief article on Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality from the pen of a young Chinaman, whose knowledge of current events was more accurate than his command of the English language. The following was his quaint summary of the chain of events that within a few weeks plunged seven European nations into the war that has finally set the world on fire:

"Now there is a great war in Europe. This began because the Prince of Austria went to Serbia with his wife. One man of Serbia killed him.

"Austria was angry, and wrote Serbia.

"Germany wrote a letter to Austria and said, 'I will help you.'

"Russia wrote a letter to Serbia and said, 'I will help you.'



A Relic of the German Invasion

A young Belgian soldier with a machine gun, which it will be noticed has been struck by many bullets.

"France did not want to fight, but they got ready their soldiers.

"Germany write a letter to France and said, 'You don't get ready, or I will fight you in nine hours.'

"Germany, to fight France, passed Belgium.

"Belgium said, 'I am a Country; I am not a Road.'

"And Belgium write a letter to England about Germany, to help them.

"So England helped Belgium.'

"The salient acts and mobilizations and counter-mobilizations which are described in the voluminous White and Red and Yellow and Blue Books of diplomatic correspondence issued by the foreign offices of the leading European belligerents were condensed by this young Chinaman into a dozen or more lines.

"I am a Country; I am NOT a Road.' That epitome of Belgium's right to remain neutral in the war between Germany and France is as convincing as a whole treatise on the international law as to the 'rights of neutrals.'

RUSSIA THE FOE, SAY GERMANS

Germans Suddenly Discover that the World Must Be Saved from
"Russian Barbarism"!

XXI

WHO ARE THE SLAVS?

GERMANY, as soon as it felt obliged to explain its action in beginning the war, found its chief excuse in declaring that it was defending European civilization against "Russian barbarism." It is therefore interesting to read the following description of Russian civilization, which appeared in the *Saturday Review*:

"Who is the Slav? where is he at home?—questions these that till quite lately were generally answered with the words, 'Russian and Russia.' But though the Balkan War showed the Slav outside Russia as a mighty power, the various branches of the Slavs are yet but little known. What of the Teuton's racial opponent? Is he the untutored, shiftless being, helpless unless strongly governed, that Teuton historians would have us believe?

"Not far from Berlin, running north through the Spreewald, and in such towns as Bautzen, are vast numbers of Slavs, preserving their own tongue and, in places, their distinctive dress; and as we go farther east we are amidst the Poles around Posen, divided by the Germans of Silesia from the Slavs of Bohemia. At the Norman Conquest the whole of this part of Europe—Pomerania, Silesia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, down to the Magyar frontier, the Danube—was Slav. To-day in all these countries the Slav may be seen at home; and in Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria vast numbers of the Slav races are found, whilst in Galicia and the Bukovina they predominate. Even to-day German writers and speakers say that the Slav is an untutored race; and very often the word

'savage' is used to show the Slav's place among the nations. But a journey amidst these people quickly disperses such ideas! The Slav, for example, under the rule of the young countries in the Balkans is keenly alive to culture. The Slav peasant throughout these States is a great lover of music and dancing; and, in their brilliant colors and picturesque dresses, the peasants' fêtes are brilliant spectacles. There is a strange strain of melancholy, due, perhaps, to the long years of servitude, mingled with this gaiety; and a Serb singing his national airs to the plaintive *gusle*, the native stringed instrument, will draw tears to the eyes as he sings of his people and their homelands.

"Amidst the wealthier Slavs in all these countries patriotism is intense; and of late years this patriotism has led to keen organization, a drawing together of all the various branches of the Slav peoples. At the great Slav gatherings held in various centers the race elevation and development have been prominently brought out.

"In the Slav middle-class homes there is great refinement, and often deep culture. Music and art are keenly enjoyed. Masterly expositions, especially of their own composers, may often be heard on piano and stringed instruments in many a home; and an innate sense of beauty furnishes the homes of these Slavs with charming taste.

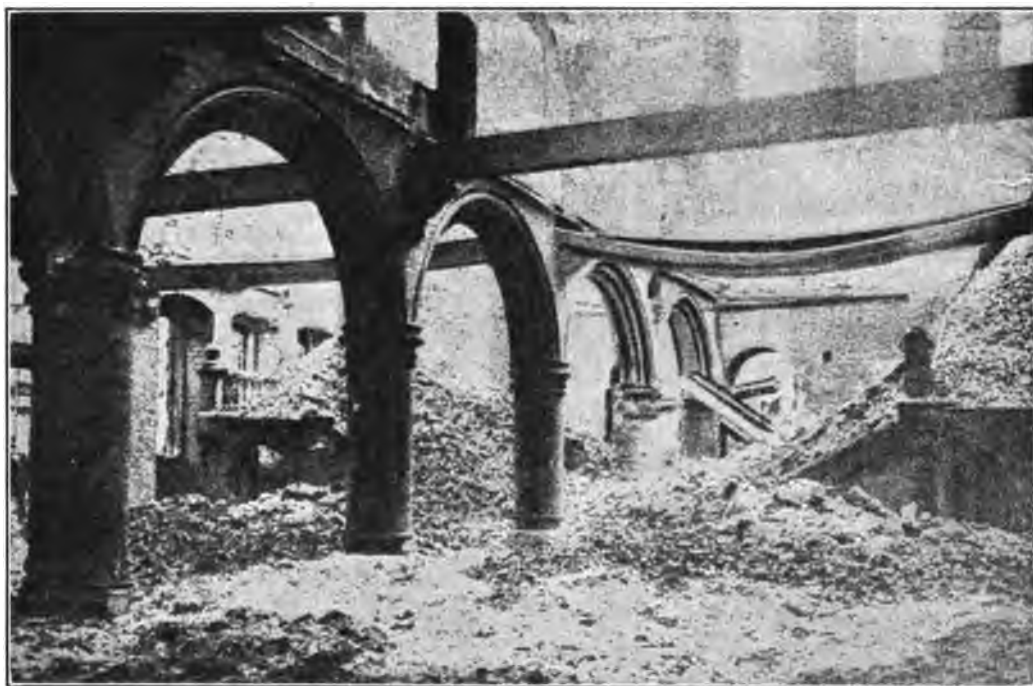
"In the peasant homes there is a sense of picturesqueness and cleanliness often lacking amongst other races. The cooking utensils will be clean and in order, and the pictures, often of sacred or patriotic subjects, are regarded with pride.

"In the Austrian provinces the Slav's artistic leaning has been turned to good account by the excellent system of technical education that lifts up the whole race; and in agriculture also this education has helped the Slavs to become some of the best cultivators in Europe. In Bohemia especially is this noticeable, where every inch

of ground is made to yield its full increase; but many are good cultivators from ancestry, as witness the market cultivation of the Bulgarians round about Czernowitz in the Bukowina.

"Until lately it has always been said of the Slavs that there was no cohesion amidst their various sections and nationalities, and in spite of the coöperation of three Slav nations during the Balkan War, there are still many who say the Slavs will never hold together. But in

Slav world to-day, and in Prague in 1912 the Slavs from every part of the world were drawn together to witness the marvelous drill of 11,000 men and 6,000 women on the great Letna plain. During this spectacle, meetings and concerts, and reunions and debates were held by the Slavs of the various nations—Bohemians, Poles, Russians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Ruthenians, Montenegrins, Moravians—in this capital of Bohemia, proving—what the world



Amid the Ruins of Louvain

Showing the ruins of the vestibule of the Library. Louvain was one of the first cities to suffer in the course of the German invasion of Belgium.

Central Europe there has been working for some fifty years an organization which during the last ten years has developed enormously, and has had marked influence in uniting the varied branches of the Slavs of all nations in one race union, and in linking the scattered Slavs in America and our colonies, in England and Germany, with the masses of Slavs in Central Europe, and in the Balkans and in Russia, in one common association, with the aim of uplifting the Slav wherever he may be to an energetic, self-conscious, hardened manhood; working with patriotic aims to the advancement of the Slav by means of an ennobled life, brought about by a highly developed drill, working together in great masses under one command, and advancing higher culture through music, art, and literature—in fact, ever keeping the development and organization of the Slav to the front.

"This union of unions is called the 'Sokol!'—that is, the Falcon. Its branches pervade the

learnt in the following October by the Balkan War—that the Slavs can work harmoniously together."

GERMANY'S NEWLY DISCOVERED HORROR FOR "RUSSIAN SAVAGERY"

Professor Bury, of Cambridge University, thus characterizes the novelty of Germany's position as the protector of Europe against "Russian barbarism":

"Neither Prussia nor Germany ever betrayed the slightest symptom of a desire to stand forth as champions against 'Muscovite barbarism.' That the two Powers should hold together in the interest of monarchism was the policy of Bismarck, as of Nicholas I. The one thing which Prussia feared was that if her neighbor adopted

a liberal policy in Russian Poland trouble might be created in her own Polish provinces. Her object, therefore, was to confirm what she now stigmatizes as 'Czarism' in its autocratic principles, and to hinder any liberal concessions that might be entertained at Petrograd.

"Till the end of the Bismarckian period the danger of Slavism lay, so far as Germany was

vonian States, which oppose an obstacle to those interests, and that Germany is afraid of the Russian philo-Polish policy."

GERMAN ORIGIN OF RUSSIAN BUREAUCRACY

Bury also explains that the Russian government, against the "barbarism" of which



British Soldiers Salvaging Sacred Objects from a Church in Armentières

concerned, in the possibility of the adoption of the philo-Polish policy by the Russian government, and she was comparatively indifferent to Russian relations with the South Slavonic States. This indifference ceased when she began, in the reign of William II, an ambitious policy in the sphere of the Turkish Empire. The direct interest of Austria-Hungary in the Balkan countries now became the indirect interest of Germany.

"Here we have the only tangible meaning that can be discovered in the cry of Teutonic *versus* Slavonic civilization. The sole actuality behind the claim that the present war is a struggle of Teutonic enlightenment against Slavonic 'barbarism' lies in the fact that German and Austrian interests in the Balkan Peninsula are embarrassed by the sympathy of Russia with the small Sla-

Germany protested, was itself largely of German origin:

"In the process of Europeanizing the Muscovite Empire, which began with Peter the Great and progressed steadily throughout the eighteenth century, Germans played a leading rôle and filled most important positions in the State's service. They helped to organize bureaucracy and to build up the military system, which was founded on German models. As time went on Russia depended less on foreigners, but Germans belonging to the Russian lands of Esthonia, Livonia, and Kurlands were, in the early years of Nicholas I, still preponderant in the higher commands in the Army and in important State offices. It was Benckendorff who organized the Political Secret Police (Third Section), perhaps



Rough and Ready Life of a Military Camp

French and Belgian soldiers preparing a meal in a farmyard in Flanders. Among them, doubtless, are some of the *gourmets* of Paris and Brussels, now thoroughly accustomed to the discomforts of military life and the crudity of its fare. War overturns the habits of peace and puts rich and poor on an equality in the field.

the most unpopular institution introduced by Nicholas.

"And the influence of Germans at court and in public administration has continued till the present time. A high authority [Professor Pares in *Cambridge Modern History*] on Russia writes, referring to the reign of Nicholas II:

"Englishmen and Germans who had lived long in Russia almost invariably maintained that it was the German who was disliked. There were reasons why this should be so. Russians at large were more nearly touched by their own system of government than by questions of foreign policy, and here the Germans were constantly presented to them as the agents of power. Baltic Germans were strong at the court; they held many of the highest administrative posts and were in every chancellery; they had, for instance, a disproportionate share in the work of the court-martial. German stewards with scrupulous exactness collected the revenues of their absent masters. German firms captured the strategic posts of trade, and German managers ruled Russian workmen. Owing to a strong contrast of character between the two races their use of their power was often contemptuous and rarely sympathetic."

"It is certain that, whatever judgment may be found of Russian civilization in its political aspect, men of the German race have largely participated in its development."

NATIVE RUSSIANS HATE GERMANS

A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for 1914 thus explains the attitude of the native Russian toward the Germans:

"Hatred against Germany, Austria, and everything German has been accumulating in Russia for a long time. That hatred was greatly increased during the last two decades. Exactly as Bismarck strove to make Russia harmless by inducing her to make war upon the Turks, William the Second induced Russia to waste her strength in the Far East. The Russo-Japanese War has been very largely of Germany's making, and every Russian knows it. It was intended to cripple Russia for many years to come, but it has failed to achieve its object. The Russo-Japanese War, far from crippling Russia, has greatly increased her strength. The terrible lessons in-

flicted upon her have caused Russia to set her house in order. They have had an effect similar to that of the Prussian defeat in 1806. After her disasters in Manchuria, Russia set to work to reorganize the country and her Army. The wonderful efficiency of the Russian forces was acquired on the stricken fields of Manchuria. At the outbreak of the present war Russia was far stronger than she was before her war with Japan."

VON BERNHARDI ON RUSSIA'S STRENGTH, 1911

Von Bernhardi, in his *Germany and the Next War*, written in 1911, gives the ordinary German conception of the vigor of the Russian State held at the time:

"It is quite obvious that the policy of marking time, which Russia is adopting for the moment, can only be transitory. The requirements of the mighty Empire irresistibly compel an expansion toward the sea, whether in the Far East, where it hopes to gain ice-free harbors, or in the direction of the Mediterranean, where the Crescent still glitters on the dome of St. Sophia. After a successful war, Russia would hardly hesitate to seize the mouth of the Vistula, at the possession of which she has long aimed, and thus to strengthen appreciably her position in the Baltic."

"Supremacy in the Balkan Peninsula, free entrance into the Mediterranean, and a strong position on the Baltic, are the goals to which the European policy of Russia has naturally long been directed. She feels herself, also, the leading power of the Slavonic races, and has for many years been busy in encouraging and extending the spread of this element into Central Europe."

"Pan-Slavism is still hard at work."

"It is hard to foresee how soon Russia will come out from her retirement and again tread the natural paths of her international policy. Her present political attitude depends considerably on the person of the present Emperor, who believes in the need of leaning upon a strong monarchical State, such as Germany is, and also on the character of the internal development of the mighty Empire."

AUSTRIA THREATENS SERBS

Knowing that Her Attack on Serbia Will Meet Resistance from Her Ally, Russia, Austria Attacks

XXII

AN IMPERIAL MANIFESTO

SERBIA'S place in the Slavic world was well known. Russia was pledged to support her against Pan-German ambitions, as all the world knew. Had Russia failed Serbia in 1914, the whole Pan-Slavic idea would have perished. The official Austrian attitude toward Serbia was well expressed in a manifesto issued at the declaration of war by the Emperor Francis Joseph, July 28, 1914:

EMPEROR FRANZ JOSEF CALLS UPON HIS PEOPLE TO CRUSH SERBIA

"To my peoples! It was my fervent wish to consecrate the years which, by the grace of God, still remain to me, to the works of peace and to protect my peoples from the heavy sacrifices and burdens of war. Providence, in its wisdom, has otherwise decreed. The intrigues of a malevolent opponent compel me, in the defence of the honor of my Monarchy, for the protection of its dignity and its position as a power, to grasp the sword after long years of peace.

"With a quickly forgetful ingratitude, the Kingdom of Serbia, which, from the first beginnings of its independence as a State until quite recently, had been supported and assisted by my ancestors, has for years trodden the path of open hostility to Austria-Hungary. When, after three decades of fruitful work for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I extended my sovereign rights to those lands, my decree called forth in the Kingdom of Serbia, whose rights were in nowise injured, outbreaks of unrestrained passion and the bitterest hate. My government at that time employed the handsome privileges of the stronger, and with extreme consideration and leniency only requested Serbia to reduce her army to a peace footing and to promise that, for the future, she would tread the path of peace and friendship. Guided by the same spirit of moderation, my government, when Serbia, two years ago, was embroiled in a struggle with the Turkish Empire, restricted its action to the defence of the most serious and vital interests of the Monarchy. It was to this attitude that Serbia primarily owed the attainment of the objects of that war.

"The hope that the Serbian Kingdom would appreciate the patience and love of peace of my government and would keep its word has not been fulfilled. The flame of its hatred for myself and my house has blazed always higher; the design to tear from us by force inseparable portions of Austria-Hungary has been made manifest with less and less disguise. A criminal propaganda has extended over the frontier with the object of destroying the foundations of State order in the southeastern part of the Monarchy; of making the people, to whom I, in my paternal affection, extended my full confidence, waver in its loyalty to the ruling house and to the Fatherland; of leading astray its growing youth and inciting it to mischievous deeds of madness and high treason. A series of murderous attacks, an organized, carefully prepared, and well-carried-out conspiracy, whose fruitful success wounded me and my loyal peoples to the heart, forms a visible bloody track of those secret machinations which were operated and directed in Serbia.

"A halt must be called to these intolerable proceedings and an end must be put to the incessant provocations of Serbia. The honor and dignity of my Monarchy must be preserved unimpaired, and its political, economic, and military development must be guarded from these continual shocks. In vain did my government make a last attempt to accomplish this object by peaceful means and to induce Serbia, by means of a serious warning, to desist. Serbia has rejected the just and moderate demands of my government and refused to conform to those obligations the fulfillment of which forms the natural and necessary foundation of peace in the life of peoples and States. I must therefore proceed by force of arms to secure those indispensable pledges which alone can insure tranquillity to my States within and lasting peace without.

"In this solemn hour I am fully conscious of the whole significance of my resolve and my responsibility before the Almighty. I have examined and weighed everything, and with a serene conscience I set out on the path to which my duty points. I trust in my peoples, who, throughout every storm, have always rallied in unity and loyalty around my throne, and have always been prepared for the severest sacrifices for the honor, the greatness, and the might of the Fatherland. I trust in Austria-Hungary's brave and devoted forces, and I trust in the Almighty to give the victory to my arms.

"FRANZ JOSEF.

"Ischl, July 28, 1914."

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A GERMAN VIEW OF THE SERBIAN CRISIS

German public opinion was directed from above to support the Austrian position. The well-known *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin thus expressed the official attitude toward the mur-

hours' work daily. From these lads, on their return home, were recruited the agitators of the Greater Serbia propaganda. Among them mingled degenerates who adopted the ideal of Serbian expansion as the last anchor of deliverance for their almost shipwrecked lives. From people of this type sprang the man of violence, Savro



Serbian Officers Examining a Staff Map—1914

der of the Archduke by the Serbian "beggar student," Savro Princip:

"Since 1909, there has existed outside the governmental circles of Belgrade a band of revolutionary nationalists whose members were closely connected with the South Slavic youths of Austria-Hungary, so that in 1910 the nationalistic anarchistic propaganda reached a crisis and secret societies were formed in the grammar schools, the preparatory, and other schools. The center of the movement, as hitherto, still remained in Belgrade. Measures were taken that the young men from the South Slavic countries of the monarchy in ever-increasing numbers should flock to Belgrade. These youths were received with open arms, and on the recommendation of certain politicians were permitted to domicile there as trustworthy. They were employed at a wage of from ten to fourteen dollars a month on light clerical work for the office of the Skupshtina, which only required of them from two to three

Princip, the murderer of the heir to the crown, Grand Duke Francis Ferdinand. He was just such a beggar student. In the Belgrade free coffee stands, where a meal for five cents goes with the coffee, some dozens of these fellows were lounging, ready at any time to commit violence, indulging their morbid vanity in order to be fêted as national heroes."

THE SLAVIC MOVEMENT IN SERBIA

The Serbian government explained with emphasis that it had done all in its power to avoid the war. M. Miyatovich, formerly Serbian minister in London, in August, 1914, well explained what the Serbians desired:

"Russia fights for a great and noble ideal, the realization of which is her duty. She has now every chance to accomplish fully her great national object—the liberation of all the Slavonic



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German Shell Bursting upon the Cathedral at Rheims

This was early in the war; the edifice was later on almost completely destroyed.

nations who are now under the rule of Germany and Austria, and the union of all the Slavonic nations in one form or other—probably the federation of the Czardom of Poland, Czardom of Bulgaria, Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (embracing Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia)—with the great Russian Empire. She has the best chance of attaining it now because she has mighty allies in France and Great Britain; which countries, for their own special and specific reasons, wish to destroy Germany and, indirectly, her ally, Austria-Hungary.

"No one knew better than the philosophical politicians and statesmen of Germany how fundamentally incapable of adjustment were the Pan-Germanic and Pan-Slavonic movements. The greatest of German statesmen, Bismarck, dreaded

the conflict of those two movements. He tried to prevent it, or at least to adjourn it by professing friendship for Russia, and by encouraging her to become the mistress of all Asia, with Persia and India, too. Then he concluded the Triple Alliance for the mutual defence against the expected attack by France and Russia. But all these measures did not exercise the slightest impression on the Pan-Slavonic movement, which was the very breath and very life of Russia. This Pan-Slavonic movement, which was not limited to Russia, but was spreading to other Slavonic countries, was deeply offended and irritated when in 1908 Austria transformed the occupation into annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two Serbian and therefore Slavonic countries. The direct outcome of that provocation was that Russia, having secured herself against

complications in Asia, concentrated all her attention on the great mission of the Russian people. It was Russia which created the Balkan Alliance and held Austria in check, not to interfere with the victorious progress of the Serbians against the Turks. The Serbian victories, the considerable increase of their territory by the annexation of a large portion of Macedonia, naturally increased the prestige of the independent Kingdom of Serbia among the Serbians in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and the so-called Banat and Bachka—southern portions of Hungary inhabited by the Serbians. The sympathy of the Serbians in those parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was not the product of some artificial and foreign agitation. It was absolutely spontaneous and quite natural. The Serbians of those countries are highly intelligent and somewhat cultured people with a very lively political consciousness.

SERBIAN ASPIRATIONS

"The idea of the union of all the Slavonic countries in the south of Austria-Hungary with the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula into one self-governing national State is not a new idea. The Croatian politicians and publicists started the idea in 1878 most enthusiastically. Their mistake was that they thought all the southern Slavs could be united under a new name—the Illyrians—which could be applied to all the Serbians and Croats as well. This attempt was speedily seen to be impracticable; but the fundamental idea remained alive, and with the progress of culture and prosperity was only deepening and spreading. Especially within the last ten years great efforts have been made by the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian literary men and artists from Lublyan (Laibach), Agram, Serajevo, and Belgrade, for by culture, language, and arts they are one and

the same nation. They spoke only of cultural union, but everybody understood that under that name was meant political union too. Of course in a free and constitutional country like Serbia, with the full liberty of the press, right of public meetings, and of associations, there were not wanting associations to agitate for the political union of all the Serbian and Croatian people of Austria-Hungary with Serbia. Even if the Serbian government wished to suppress that movement constitutionally it could not do so. But that agitation did not create, it only encouraged the already existing, and quite spontaneously existing, wish—or perhaps I should say only hope—that the Serbian provinces of Austria-Hungary might one day be united with the free and independent Kingdom of Serbia. But that agitation had absolutely nothing to do with the plot to assassinate the heir presumptive to the throne of Austria-Hungary. The Serbian nation as a whole abhors, condemns, and deplores that assassination. The more so as it has been taken for the pretext for Austria, of course in full understanding with Germany, to precipitate the general European war.

"We Serbians did not wish for that war at present. After two bloody wars our people wanted peace and rest to recuperate their strength and financial resources. We wanted time to organize newly annexed countries, to create and train a new army of some six hundred thousand soldiers. We were just on the point to order three hundred thousand new rifles and three hundred thousand new soldiers' uniforms in England. We wanted at least five years to organize, train, and properly equip our forces. Just to preserve peace, so necessary to us, our government went to the utmost limits of self-humiliation in accepting nine out of ten Austrian demands. Austria and Germany were evidently determined to provoke the general war at once."

GERMANY PROVOKES WAR

Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador to Great Britain,
Acknowledges His Country's Responsibility

XXIII

THE LICHNOWSKY MEMORANDUM

A FRANK admission of Germany's guilt in bringing on the war, and of England's effort to maintain peace, is made by Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador to Great Britain, in his famous *Memorandum*, published during the war. He says:

"At the end of June I went to Kiel, by command of the Emperor. A few weeks earlier I

had received an honorary doctorate at Oxford, a distinction which had not been conferred on any German ambassador since Herr von Bunsen. On board the *Meteor* we learned of the death of the archducal heir to the throne. His Majesty regretted that his efforts to win that prince's support for his ideas had thus been rendered vain. Whether the plan of an active policy against Serbia had already been decided on at Konopischt, I am not in a position to know.

"As I was not kept posted regarding views and proceedings in Vienna, I did not attach very great importance to this event. All that I could ascertain later was that among Austrian aristocrats a feeling of relief outweighed other sentiments.

On board the *Meteor*, also as a guest of his Majesty, was an Austrian, Count Felix Thun. In spite of the splendid weather, he had remained in his cabin all the time, suffering from seasickness. After receiving the news, however, he was well. Alarm or joy had cured him!

"On my arrival in Berlin I saw the Imperial Chancellor. I told him that I considered our foreign situation very satisfactory, since we were on better terms with England than we had been for a long time. In France, too, a pacifist ministry was at the helm.

"Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg did not seem to share my optimism, and complained about Russian armaments. I tried to calm him, emphasizing in particular [my belief] that Russia had no interest whatever in attacking us, and that such an attack would in no case receive Anglo-French support, since both countries desired peace. Next I went to Dr. Zimmermann, who was acting for Herr von Jagow, and learned from him that Russia was about to raise 900,000 additional troops. His words revealed unmistakable dissatisfaction with Russia, which he found everywhere in our way. There was question also of difficulties in the field of trade policy. Of course I was not told that General von Moltke was pressing for war. I learned, however, that Herr von Tschirschky had received a reprimand, because he reported that in Vienna he had counseled moderation toward Serbia.

"On my return from Silesia, on my way to London, I stopped only a few hours in Berlin, where I heard that Austria intended to take steps against Serbia in order to put an end to an untenable situation.

"At the moment, unfortunately, I underestimated the significance of the news. I thought that nothing would come of it, this time either, and that in case Russia made threats the matter would be easily adjusted. I now regret that I did not stay in Berlin and at once declare that I would not coöperate in a policy of this kind.

"Subsequently I learned that, at the decisive conference at Potsdam on July 5th, the Vienna inquiry received the unqualified assent of all the controlling authorities, with the further suggestion that it would not be a bad thing if war with Russia should result. At least this statement was made in the Austrian protocol which Count Mensdorff received in London. Soon afterward Herr von Jagow was in Vienna, to talk everything over with Count Berchtold.

LICHNOWSKY WORKS FOR MODERATION

"Next I received instructions to try to induce the English press to adopt a friendly attitude, should Austria administer the 'deathblow' to the Pan-Serbian movement, and to use my influence so far as possible to prevent public opinion from becoming hostile to Austria. Recollections of the English attitude during the annexation crisis, when public opinion showed sympathy for the rights of Serbia to Bosnia, and of the benevolent furtherance of national movements in the days

of Lord Byron and of Garibaldi—these and other considerations argued so strongly against the probability of any support of the intended punitive expedition against the regicides that I found myself moved to give an urgent warning. I added a warning against the whole plan, which I characterized as adventurous and dangerous; and I advised that moderation be recommended to the Austrians, as I did not believe that the conflict could be localized.

"Herr von Jagow replied to me that Russia was not ready. There would probably be some blustering, but the more firmly we stood by Austria the more certainly would Russia give way. Already Austria was accusing us of flabbiness, and for this reason we must not hold back. Public opinion in Russia, on the other hand, was becoming more and more anti-German, so we must just risk it.

"In view of this attitude (which, as I found later, was based on reports from Count Pourtales that Russia would not move under any circumstances—[reports] that caused us to incite Count Berchtold to the utmost energy) I hoped for rescue through English mediation, as I knew that Sir Edward Grey's great influence in St. Petersburg could be utilized in favor of peace. I therefore availed myself of my friendly relations with the minister to request him in confidence to advise moderation in Russia, in case Austria, as seemed likely, should demand satisfaction from Serbia.

AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM STIRS ENGLAND

"At first the attitude of the English press was calm and friendly to the Austrians, because the murder was generally condemned. But gradually more and more voices were raised, insisting that, however much the crime merited punishment, its exploitation for political purposes could not be justified. Austria was earnestly exhorted to show moderation.

"When the ultimatum was published, all the papers, with the exception of the *Standard*, which was always in financial difficulties and was apparently paid by the Austrians, were unanimous in condemnation. The whole world, except in Berlin and Vienna, realized that it meant war, and, what was more, world war. The British fleet, which by chance was assembled for a naval review, was not demobilized.

"I urged, in the first place, that as conciliatory a reply as was possible be obtained from Serbia, since the attitude of the Russian government left room for no further doubt as to the gravity of the situation.

"Serbia's answer was in accord with the British efforts; M. Pashitch, in fact, agreed to everything, except two points, about which he declared his willingness to negotiate. Had Russia and England wished for war, in order to fall upon us unawares, a hint to Belgrade would have been enough, and the unprecedented [Austrian] note would have been left unanswered.

"Sir Edward Grey went through the Serbian

reply with me and pointed out the conciliatory attitude of the Belgrade government. Thereupon we discussed his proposal of mediation, which was to establish by agreement an interpretation of the two points which should be acceptable to both parties. M. Cambon, Marquis Imperiali, and I were to meet under his presidency; and it would have been easy to find an acceptable formula for the points at issue, which in sub-

tent himself with a diplomatic success and quietly accept the Serbian answer. This hint, however, was not given. On the contrary, pressure was exercised in favor of war. It would have been so fine a success.

"After our refusal, Sir Edward Grey begged us to come forward with a proposal of our own. We insisted on war. I could not obtain any reply except that Austria was showing itself



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German Reservists Responding to the Call to the Colors

stance concerned the coöperation of Austrian officials in the investigations at Belgrade. Given good will, everything could have been settled at one or two sittings, and the mere acceptance of the British proposal would have brought about a relaxation of the tension and would have further improved our relations with England. I therefore strongly supported the proposal, because otherwise the World War was in sight, in which we would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. In vain! It was declared to be derogatory to the dignity of Austria; moreover we did not intend to interfere in the Serbian affair; we were leaving this to our ally. I was to work for the 'localization of the conflict.'

GERMAN ATTITUDE MAKES FOR WAR

"It would of course have required only a hint from Berlin to induce Count Berchtold to con-

enormously 'conciliatory' in that it aimed at no annexation of territory.

"Sir Edward rightly pointed out that, without annexation of territory, it was possible to reduce a country to vassalage, and that Russia would see in this a humiliation and therefore would not suffer it.

"The impression grew continually stronger that we desired war under any circumstances. In no other way was it possible to interpret our attitude on a question which, after all, did not directly concern us. The urgent requests and explicit declarations of M. Sazonof, followed by the Czar's positively humble telegrams; the repeated proposals of Sir Edward Grey; the warnings of Marquis di San Giuliano and of Signor Bollati; my own urgent counsels—all were of no avail. Berlin would not budge; Serbia must be massacred.

"The more I pressed, the less inclination there

was to turn back, if only that I might not have, together with Sir Edward Grey, the credit of preserving peace.

"Then, on the 29th, Sir Edward decided to give his famous warning. I replied that I had invariably reported that we should have to reckon with English opposition if it came to a war with France. Repeatedly the minister said to me: 'If war breaks out, it will be the greatest catastrophe the world has ever seen.'

"Soon after this events were precipitated. Until this time, following the directions he received from Berlin, Count Berchtold had played the part of the strong man. When at last he decided to change his course, and after Russia had negotiated and waited a whole week in vain, we answered the Russian mobilization with the ultimatum and the declaration of war.

GREY TRIES TO FIND A WAY OUT

"Even then Sir Edward Grey continued to search for new expedients. On the morning of August 1st, Sir William Tyrrell called on me, to tell me that his chief still hoped to find a way out. Would we remain neutral in case France did the same? I understood that we were to declare ourselves ready, in such case, to spare France; but his meaning was that we should remain altogether neutral, that is, toward Russia also. That was the well-known misunderstanding. Sir Edward had an appointment with me for that afternoon. At the moment he was at a meeting of the Cabinet, and, Sir William Tyrrell having hurried to him at once, he called me up on the telephone. In the afternoon, he talked only about Belgian neutrality and the possibility that we and France might face one another in arms without attacking.

"There was accordingly no proposal at all, but a question that carried with it no binding engagement, since, as I have already stated, our interview was to take place soon afterward. Berlin, however, without waiting for the interview, made the news the basis of far-reaching [diplomatic] activity. Then came M. Poincaré's letter, Bonar Law's letter, King Albert's telegram. The waverers in the Cabinet—excepting three members who resigned—were converted.

"Till the very last moment I had hoped for a waiting attitude on the part of England. My French colleague, too, as I learned from a private source, felt far from sure [that England would intervene]. As late as August 1st the King had given the President an evasive reply. In the telegram from Berlin announcing imminent danger of war, England, however, was already included in the list of adversaries. Berlin was therefore already reckoning on war with England.

"Soon after my arrival I became convinced that under no circumstances had we to apprehend an English attack or any English support of an attack by a third power, but that under any circumstances England would protect the French. I advanced this opinion in repeated

reports, with detailed statement of my reasons and with great emphasis, but without obtaining any credence, although Lord Haldane's refusal of the proposed neutrality clause and England's attitude during the Morocco crisis gave us very clear hints. Besides all this, there were those secret agreements which I have already mentioned and which were known to the Foreign Office.

"I always pointed out that, in any war between European Great Powers, England, as a commercial State, would suffer enormously, and that it would therefore make every effort to prevent such a war, but that, on the other hand, because of its interest in maintaining the European balance of power and in preventing Germany from gaining a dominant position, England could never tolerate a weakening or annihilation of France. Lord Haldane had told me this shortly after my arrival. All the influential people expressed themselves in the same sense."

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, JULY 5, 1914

Mr. Henry Morgenthau, American ambassador at Constantinople, had from Baron von Wangenheim, the German ambassador, one of the participants, the following account of the Potsdam Conference, held on July 5, 1914, in which the German government decided to provoke the war:

"The Kaiser presided; nearly all the ambassadors attended; Wangenheim came to tell of Turkey and enlighten his associates on the situation in Constantinople. Moltke, then chief of staff, was there, representing the Army, and Admiral von Tirpitz spoke for the Navy. The great bankers, railroad directors, and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparations as the Army itself, also attended.

"Wangenheim now told me that the Kaiser solemnly put the question to each man in turn: Was he ready for war? All replied 'Yes' except the financiers. They said that they must have two weeks to sell their foreign securities and to make loans. At that time few people had looked upon the Serajevo tragedy as something that was likely to cause war. This conference took all precautions that no such suspicion should be aroused. It decided to give the bankers time to readjust their finances for the coming war, and then the several members went quietly back to their work or started on vacations. The Kaiser went to Norway on his yacht, Von Bethmann-Hollweg left for a rest, and Wangenheim returned to Constantinople.

"In telling me about this conference, Wangenheim, of course, admitted that Germany had precipitated the war. I think that he was rather proud of the whole performance; proud that Germany had gone about the matter in so methodical and far-seeing a way; especially proud

that he himself had been invited to participate in so momentous a gathering. . . . Whenever I hear people arguing about the responsibility for this war or read the clumsy and lying excuses put forth by Germany, I simply recall the burly figure of Wangenheim as he appeared that August afternoon, puffing away at a huge black cigar, and giving me his account of this historic meeting. Why waste any time discussing the matter after that? . . .

"This imperial conference took place July 5th; the Serbian ultimatum was sent on July 22nd. That is just about the two weeks' interval which the financiers had demanded to complete their

plans. All the great stock exchanges of the world show that the German bankers profitably used this interval. Their records disclose that stocks were being sold in large quantities and that prices declined rapidly. At that time the markets were somewhat puzzled at this movement; Wangenheim's explanation clears up any doubts that may still remain. Germany was changing her securities into cash, for war purposes. . . .

"Wangenheim not only gave me the details of this Potsdam Conference, but he disclosed the same secret to the Marquis Garroni, the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople. Italy was at that time technically Germany's ally."

THE GERMANS AT FAULT

Lichnowsky, and Dr. Muehlton, a Krupp Director, Issue Frank
Indictments of the German Cause

XXIV

ON THE EVE OF THE WAR

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY was the German Ambassador in London from 1912 to the outbreak of the war. He then retired to his estate in Germany and devoted himself to the preparation of an elaborate *Memorandum* to which his name has since been attached. In this significant document he rehearsed in great detail his experiences as the official representative of the Fatherland at King George's court. Many of his observations were of a highly sensational character. Only one or two copies of the *Memorandum* were prepared, but one of these got into print, and then many thousand copies were struck off, and the *Memorandum* was extensively printed in all countries.

A movement was started in the Prussian Upper House to expel him from membership in that body, and vehement demands for his punishment came from leading militarists, but ultimately the matter was hushed up. Perhaps the most significant conclusion in the Lichnowsky *Memorandum* is his summing up of the question of Germany's responsibility for the war, as follows:

"It is shown by all official publications and is not disproved by our White Book, which, owing to the poverty of its contents and to its omissions, constitutes a grave indictment against ourselves, that:

"1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved and the danger of a World War must have been known to us. Whether we were acquainted with the wording of the ultimatum is completely immaterial.

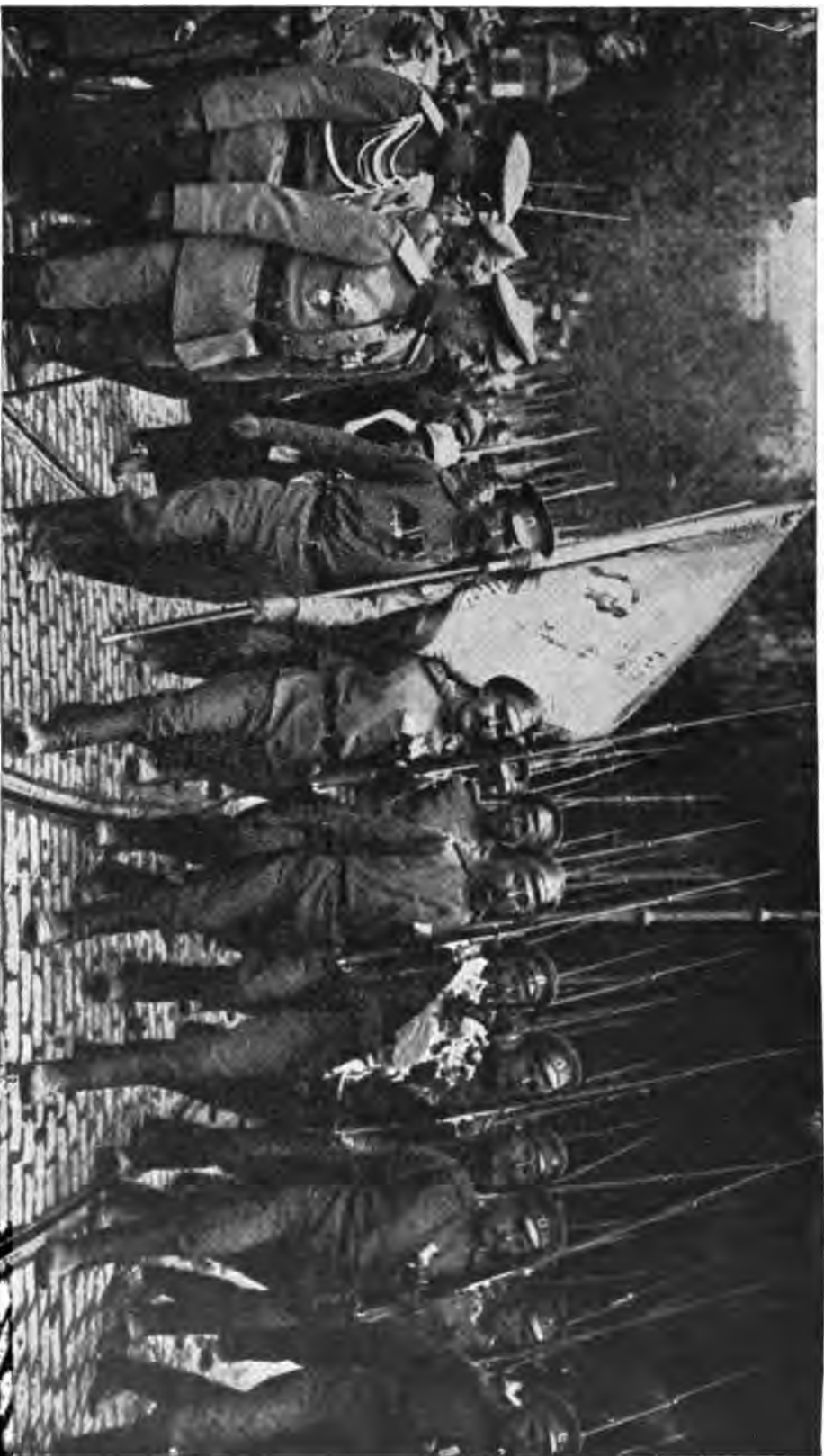
"2. During the period between the 23rd and the 30th of July, 1914, when M. Sazonof emphatically declared that he could not tolerate an attack on Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole of the ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points at issue could easily have been reached and Count Berchtold was even prepared to content himself with the Serbian reply.

"3. On the 30th of July, when Count Berchtold showed a disposition to change his course, we sent an ultimatum to St. Petersburg merely because of the Russian mobilization and though Austria had not been attacked; and on the 31st of July we declared war against the Russians, although the Czar pledged his word that he would not permit a single man to march as long as negotiations were still going on. Thus we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

"In view of these incontestable facts, it is no wonder that the whole civilized world outside of Germany places the sole responsibility for the World War upon our shoulders."

THE MUEHLTON DISCLOSURES—THE KAISER KNEW WAR WAS COMING

The published statements of Dr. William Muehlton, formerly a director of the Krupp Works at Essen, constitute the most important source of information of events in Ger-



The Czar's Sturdy Soldiers March Through the Streets of Marseilles

The landing of Russian troops in France was one of the most dramatic movements of the World War. They were men trained in Russia whom the government could not equip. They are shown in the photograph carrying the long French rifles and bayonets.

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many relating to the declaration of war. The director speaks in plain language, and, unlike Lichnowsky, he shows no personal feeling. He writes:

"In the middle of July, 1914, I had, as I frequently had, a conversation with Dr. Helfferich,

the part of Austria-Hungary. He had said that he regarded an Austro-Hungarian conflict with Serbia as an internal affair between these two countries, in which he would permit no other State to interfere. If Russia mobilized, he would then mobilize also. To him, however, mobilization meant immediate war. This time there would be no wavering. The Austrians were very



German Soldiers Making Themselves Comfortable in a Ballroom Near Aerschot

at that time director of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, and now Vice-Chancellor of the Empire. The Deutsche Bank had indicated unwillingness to take part in several large transactions (in Bulgaria and Turkey) in which the Krupp Company, for business reasons (delivery of war material), had a lively interest. One of the reasons ultimately given me by Dr. Helfferich to justify the attitude of the Deutsche Bank was as follows: The political situation had become very menacing. The Deutsche Bank must in any case wait before entering into any further engagements in foreign countries. The Austrians had recently been with the Emperor. Within a week Vienna would send to Serbia a very sharply worded ultimatum with a very short term for reply. In it would be contained such demands as punishment of a number of officers, dissolution of political associations, criminal investigations in Serbia by officials of the Dual Monarchy, and, in general, a series of definite and immediate satisfactions; otherwise Austria-Hungary would declare war on Serbia.

"Dr. Helfferich added that the Emperor had expressed decided approval of this procedure on

well satisfied by this resolute attitude on the part of the Emperor.

"A LASTING LESSON" FOR THE SERBS

"When I thereupon said to Dr. Helfferich that this gruesome communication converted my fears of a World War, which were already strong, into absolute certainty, he replied that it certainly looked like that. Perhaps, however, France and Russia would think twice on the matter and reach a different decision. The Serbs certainly deserved a lasting lesson. This was the first information I received about the Emperor's conversations with our allies. I knew Dr. Helfferich's particularly confidential relations with the personages who were sure to have inside information and the trustworthiness of his communication. Accordingly, after my return from Berlin, I promptly communicated my information to Herr Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, of whose board of directors at Essen I was at that time a member. Dr. Helfferich, I may add, had expressly given me permission to do this. (At that time there was an intention to

appoint him to membership in the supervisory council of the Krupp Company.) Von Bohlen seemed disturbed that Dr. Helfferich was in possession of such information, and he made a censorious remark to the effect that the government people could never quite hold their tongues. He then disclosed to me the following facts. He had himself been with the Emperor recently. The Emperor had spoken to him also of the conversation with the Austrians and of its outcome, but had characterized the affair as so

Dr. Helfferich, however, thought that the note had that ring only in the German translation. He had had opportunity to see the ultimatum in French, and in that text it could not give any impression of over-statement.

THE KAISER'S CRUISE "ONLY FOR THE SAKE OF APPEARANCES"

"On this occasion Helfferich also said to me that it was only for the sake of appearances



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Belgium Under German Rule

A photograph taken in front of the Stock Exchange on the Boulevard Anspach, Brussels, February 4, 1915, showing German soldiers standing guard on the steps of the Bourse.

secret that he would not have ventured to communicate it even to his board of directors. Since, however, I was already posted, he could tell me that Helfferich's statements were correct. Indeed, the latter appeared to know more details than he, Bohlen, himself. The situation was really very serious. The Emperor had told him personally that he would declare war immediately if Russia mobilized. People would see this time that he would not weaken. The Emperor's repeated insistence that in this matter no one would be able to reproach him again with want of resolution had produced an almost comic effect.

"On the very day indicated to me by Helfferich the ultimatum from Vienna to Serbia appeared. At this time I was again in Berlin, and I told Helfferich that I regarded the tone and contents of the ultimatum as absolutely monstrous.

that the Emperor had gone on his northern cruise; that he was not going anything like so far as usual, but was keeping himself near enough to be reached at any time and in constant [telegraphic] connection. Now one must wait and see what would happen. It was to be hoped that the Austrians, who, of course, did not expect the ultimatum to be accepted, would act rapidly before the other Powers would have time to interfere. The Deutsche Bank had already made such arrangements as to be prepared for all eventualities. For instance, it was no longer putting back into circulation the gold that came in. This could be done without attracting any notice, and the amounts thus secured day by day were already very considerable.

"Immediately after the [publication of the] Viennese ultimatum to Serbia, the German government issued declarations to the effect that Aus-

tria-Hungary had acted on its own hand, without Germany's prior knowledge. When one attempted to bring these declarations into any sort of harmony with the proceedings mentioned above, the only possible explanation was that the Emperor had already committed himself without arranging that his government should coöperate, and that, in the conversation with the Austrians, no provision was made on the German side for agreement upon the wording of the ultimatum. For, as I have already shown, the contents of the ultimatum were pretty accurately known in Germany.

"Herr Krupp von Bohlen, with whom I spoke about these German declarations—which, in effect at least, were lies—was also far from edified by them, because in so weighty an affair Germany ought not to have given unlimited power of attorney to a State like Austria. It was the duty of our leading statesmen to demand, as well of the Emperor as of our allies, that the Austrian demands and the ultimatum to Serbia should be discussed and settled in minute detail and that at the same time the exact program of all further proceedings should be determined. No matter what point of view one took, we ought not to have put ourselves into the hands of the Austrians and exposed ourselves to eventualities that had not been reckoned out in advance. On the contrary, we ought to have attached suitable conditions to our engagements. In short, Herr von Bohlen regarded the German denial of previous knowledge, if there was any trace of truth in it, as an offence against the elementary principles of diplomatic statecraft; and he told me that he intended to speak in this sense to Herr von Jagow, then Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, who was a special friend of his.

"The outcome of this conversation, as communicated to me by Herr von Bohlen, was as follows: Herr von Jagow remained firm in assuring Von Bohlen that he had not collaborated in formulating the text of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, and that no demand whatever for such collaboration had been advanced by Germany. In reply to the objection that this was incomprehensible, Herr von Jagow said that he,

as a diplomatist, had naturally thought of making such a demand. At the time, however, when Herr von Jagow was consulted and drawn into the affair, the Emperor had so committed himself that it was too late for any action on customary diplomatic lines, and there was nothing more to be done. The situation was such that it was no longer possible to suggest modifying clauses. In the end, he, Jagow, had thought that the failure to take such precautions would have its advantages—namely, the good impression which could be made on the German side in St. Petersburg and in Paris by the declaration that Germany had not coöperated in the preparation of the Viennese ultimatum."

THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST BELGIUM

Dr. Muehlon further declares:

"I have myself talked, in Germany, with many men qualified to form an opinion on the subject, but never with one who so much as attempted, with a single word, to hint at any fault on the part of Belgium. Nevertheless, thousands of hirelings were and are still permitted to circulate a constantly growing series of accusations, which are intended to cause that declaration of the Imperial Chancellor to be forgotten and to harden the hearts of the German people against Belgium. The German people, who, as it is, trouble their leaders with few questions about truth and justice in the war, who above all things desire to roll off upon others the inevitable burden of misery and, in the main, demand from their leaders one thing only—that they encounter no material reverse of fortune! The German people, who, as it is—no matter what the Imperial Chancellor may have said—are to a certain degree determined to believe that the Belgians got only their deserts when their country was raided, and who do not need any addition to their old stock of fairy tales about Belgium: that the French were in Belgium first; that the English would have come to Belgium anyway; that the Belgians should have behaved—themselves and offered no resistance, etc."

A Repentant German Poet

The Amsterdam correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle* cabled on August 14, 1915:

"Even Ernst Lissauer appears to be becoming ashamed of his 'Song of Hate.' He writes to the Berlin *Tageblatt* saying he agrees with its view that the song is not intended for the young, and he has often advised against its publication in school books. The 'Song of Hate,' he writes, was written as a result of a passionate impulse in the first week of war, when the impression created by England's declaration of war was fresh.

"The song, he writes, is a political poem directed, not against the individual Englishman, but collectively against the English will to destruction which threatens Germany. 'In the excitement of those days my feelings were deeply stirred by this. Whether these feelings can continue with the cool consideration of practical politics in another question.'" (Quoted in *New York Times Current History*.)

ITALY LEAVES TRIPLE ALLIANCE

Declaring that Germany Fights an Aggressive War, the Italian Government Refuses Assistance

XXV

THE POSITION OF ITALY

AS the Triple Alliance became more clearly a mere tool to further Pan-German interests, Italy's interest in it began to cool. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer in a letter to the *New York Times*, in January 1915, said:

"The fact that Germany, the chief Protestant nation in Europe, was the ally of Italy, might also be regarded as a support to the Italians in their long conflict with Papal pretensions; but how little Germany cared for Italy's welfare in this struggle appeared in 1903, when Kaiser Wilhelm prevented the election of Cardinal Rampolla as Pope. Rampolla, if not a Liberal, was a devoted Italian; Sarto, who defeated him, was a Reactionary, controlled by the Jesuits, hostile to Italy.

"When we look at Germany's action in other affairs we find pleasant words, but no tangible profit. From her geographical position Italy claimed an interest in the status of the Balkan Peninsula, and particularly in the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Germany pretended to favor her interests—according to Crispien, Bismarck even went so far as to ask, 'Why don't you take Albania?'—but it was Austria that Germany steadily pushed on into the Balkans; and in 1908, when Austria, with Germany's connivance, appropriated Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Italians realized that they had been tricked again, as they were in the case of Tunis.

"Since 1908 the Teutonic partners, growing more and more arrogant, have shown indifference to the concerns of their Italian ally, who, seeing no future for her in Europe, swooped down on Tripoli, the only stretch of North African littoral not already possessed by the French and by the English. Persons on the inside at Rome whispered that, if Italy had not occupied Tripoli when she did, Germany would have forestalled her; for the Kaiser, furious at being thwarted in Morocco and at having failed to bully France into submission, as he had done in 1905, had determined to seize Tripoli, come what might. More than one Foreign Office has ample proof to settle this assertion. Its plausibility is patent—Germany was already in close league with Turkey, and, looking forward to a war on England, she saw the advantage of owning territory and a naval base within easy reach of the Suez Canal.

"Certain it is that both Germany and Austria frowned on Italy's Libyan enterprise, and that, in their intrigues in the Balkan Peninsula, in 1912 and 1913, they ignored their Italian partner.

"And yet as long ago as 1895 Germany admitted that Italy was hardly getting a fair return from her bargain with her Teutonic allies. On March 5, 1895, Senator Lanza reported an interview he had just had with Emperor William, who said: 'He had found Count Kálnoky (the Austrian Premier) . . . still uneasy lest we (Italy) may come to consider the Triple Alliance insufficiently advantageous, merely because it can not supply us, at once and in times of peace, with the necessary means of satisfying our desires with regard to the territories of Northern Africa and others as well. His Majesty . . . added: "Wait patiently. Let the occasion but present itself and you shall have whatever you wish.'"

"In spite of the Kaiser's assurance, Italy has got less and less return from the Triple Alliance every year since 1895.

"It appears, therefore, that Italy long ago opened her eyes as to the real profit the alliance brought her. When England loomed up as the objective which Germany resolved to destroy, Italy quite logically let it be understood that she would not engage in a fight against England. Over thirty years of political alliance had created no sympathy among the Italians for the Germans. Like all other Europeans, they resented the arrogance of the Teutons who strode over their country."

FURTHER LIGHT ON ITALY'S POSITION

Mr. Foster Bovill, in the *British Review* for 1914, gives this further description of Italy's position in the Triple Alliance:

"One is continually being told that Italy has for some time tired of her position as a member of the Triple Alliance, and that the reasons for her having entered the *Dreibund* have become obsolete. Is this so? It is true that Tunis is now almost forgotten, and that, thanks to the efforts of Signor Luzzatti, the commercial relations between France and Italy are very favorable, to say nothing of the marked improvement in mutual friendship between the two Latin States, due in no small manner to the long residence of M. Barrère in Rome as French ambassador, and yet whilst the Italians may not love Austria they have for so long preferred to have her as a colleague than an enemy. What has produced this fear? Primarily there are the geographical advantages possessed by the less efficient Austro-Hungarian Navy. Dalmatia has

its distinct advantages as a strategic coast line and Italy recognizes it. Italy, on the other hand, on her Adriatic coast is deficient in harbors of value. On land, too, 'the Italians are handicapped by frontier inequalities, with the result that the most prized strategic positions are all in the hands of the Austrians, and the railways serving these positions are more numerous, with better rolling stock, on the Austrian side than on the Italian.' Then again, a war to regain the Trentino, which is not a rich country, always found many important opponents who refrained from prejudicing Italian finance, and who believed that in the maintenance of peace was to be found Italy's best interest.

"In reviewing the situation one must recognize that, although Italy in recent years has progressed considerably, she is inferior in certain important aspects to her rival and 'ally,' Austria-Hungary. It is affirmed by many who are able to judge the situation in the Near East and southern Europe and who are well acquainted with the historic and political past of the country that Italy entered somewhat late into the orbit of Great Powers. Then again, there is the anti-Clerical movement in Rome. A writer to one of our important dailies in August, 1911, speaking of Italian foreign policy, declared that, 'The Church is Austria's ablest agent in North Albania, while the Albanian Catholics are shocked at a government which, possessed of "the holiest thing on earth" (the picture of Our Lady of Good Counsel, miraculously transported from Skutari to Genazzano at the time of the Turkish conquest), yet is influenced by anti-Clerical votes. Italian Foreign Ministers, notably Signor Tittoni, saw this clearly, and supported, despite Socialist clamor, the Italian church schools abroad.'"

ITALY'S OWN INTERESTS AT STAKE

Signor Bissolati, a leading Italian Socialist, but an advocate of Italian intervention, thus explained Italy's position in 1914 to an American newspaper:

"Italy is merely saving herself from being submerged by greater nations. But, it will be asked, is not Italy bound by the Triple Alliance? When Russia and France descended into the field of war did not the conditions in sight come under the provisions of the Alliance referred to?

We are not going to discuss the question whether the Italian people are disposed or indisposed to keep compacts of which they have learned nothing. One thing is certain, the people of Italy govern themselves by nothing else but the consideration of their own interests and of their own predilections in acting either in conformity with or in opposition to the compacts signed by the government.

"The Socialists are unwilling to take up arms against an ally. The Socialists, moreover, have declared their sympathy with the Serbian people, now threatened by Austria, but they do not believe that even the Serbians should ask Italy for succor by taking action in arms against Austria-Hungary. The Socialists, like all popular parties, recognize the fact that the line for Italy to follow is that of neutrality toward those who neighbor on both the eastern and western frontiers of the land. They will not entertain the thought of mobilizing against Austria in favor of Serbia, much less mobilizing against France in favor of Austria and Germany. In this way Italy discharges, as far as possible, the duties imposed upon her by the treaties, while she escapes being immersed in this vast conflict. . . . Italy can not but be interested in the struggle now going on, although fortunate circumstances permit her at this time to maintain her neutrality. The neutrality of to-day may serve to give her opportunity to conserve her strength unimpaired in order that she may take her part to-morrow in insuring the rise of a better era for the people in Europe."

GERMAN VIEW OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

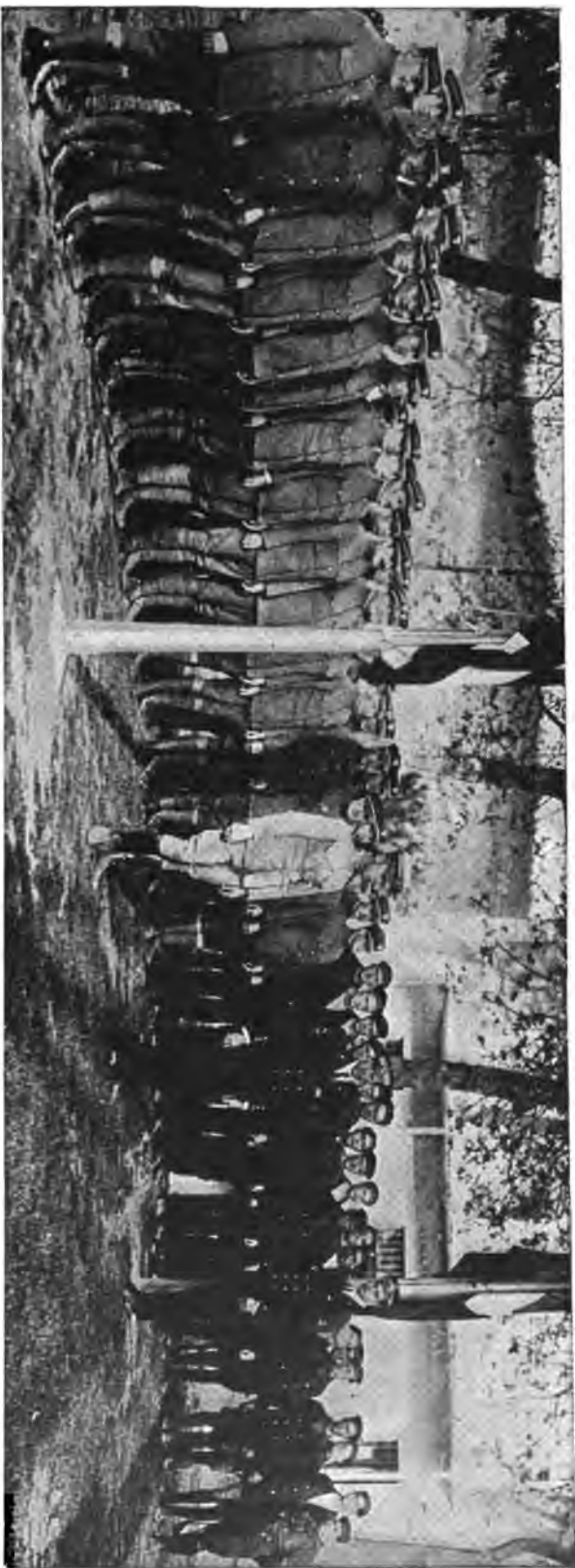
Bernhardi apparently foresaw that Italy would not fight in a World War on the German side. He wrote:

"We are penned up. We are surrounded by England, France, and Russia—three enemies who are closely allied, and whenever we endeavor to increase our power we meet with their united and determined opposition. These three Powers have tied down Italy's forces in the Mediterranean in such a manner that they can be only of little assistance to Germany in case of war. Only Austria-Hungary stands faithfully by our side."

Why Austria Went to War

(From a Manifesto by Kaiser Franz Josef at Ischl, July 28, 1914.)

"The honor and dignity of my monarchy must be preserved unimpaired, and its political, economic, and military development must be regarded from these continual shocks. In vain did my government make a last attempt to accomplish this object by peaceful means and to induce Serbia, by means of a serious warning, to desist. Serbia has rejected the just and moderate demands of my government and refused to conform to those obligations the fulfillment of which forms the natural and necessary foundations of peace in the life of peoples and of states. I must therefore proceed by force of arms to secure those indispensable pledges which alone can insure tranquillity to my states within and lasting peace without."



Brother Aviators

American aviators instructed in Italy who flew with the Italian army are standing at the left; Italians at the right.

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JUNKER AND CAPITALIST

Germany's Surprising Economic Growth Has Forced Nobles to Combine with Capitalists

XXVI

THE ARISTOCRATS OF PRUSSIA

IN the absence of any true democracy, Germany was controlled by a combination of two castes, the hereditary feudal nobility, and the aristocracy of capitalists. Until about 1879 these two forces were mutually antagonistic, but, under Bismarck's guidance, found a common cause in keeping under firm political control the peasants and the industrial workers. Professor Maurice Milloud of the Swiss University of Lausanne makes a close analysis of this development of German society. He says, in the *New York Times Current History of the War*:

"In Germany, as is known, the abolition of the *ancien régime* did not take place brusquely as in France. After the revolution and the French occupation, the noble caste recovered all its privileges. It has lost them little by little, but not yet entirely. Even the liquidation of the property of the feudal régime was not completed until toward 1850. Napoleon made some sad cuts in the little sovereignties, but from 1813 to 1815 the princely families did their utmost to recover their independence. The greater part were mediatized, but their tenacity offered a serious obstacle up to 1871 to the establishment of German unity.

WELDED BY FIRE AND SWORD

"That unity was accomplished in despite of them, by sword and fire, as Bismarck said, that is to say, by the wars of 1866 and 1870. Care was taken, however, not to abase them more than was strictly necessary, for it was intended to maintain the hierarchy. What was wanted was a monarchical unity, made from above down, and not a democratic unity brought about by popular impulsion.

"On the other hand, the smaller nobles formed, after 1820, a vast association for the defence of their rights, the *Adelskette*. Moreover, they could not be sacrificed, in the first place, because they had rendered invaluable services in the wars of independence, they had arisen as one man, and they had ruined themselves in sacrifices for the national cause, they had organized the people and led it to victory, finally because they served to restrain the high nobility whose domination

was feared. They sustained the throne against the princes, the higher nobility against the democracy, the lesser nobility against the higher, the two forming an intermediary class between the Monarch and the Nation. That was the social conception which prevailed with those who were working to realize the unity of Germany, so that the nobility, lesser or higher, in default of its privileges retained its functions.

"Treitschke, in his last lessons, about 1890, called it 'a political class.' For the bourgeois, he said, wealth, instruction, letters, arts. Their part is fine enough. The nobility is apt at governing. That is its special distinction. For a long time, in fact, the nobility has filled alone or almost alone the great administrative, governmental, and military posts.

"Bismarck was the finished type, the representative par excellence of this class of men. He had their intellectual and moral qualities carried to the highest degree of superiority. But he underwent evolution after 1871, and his caste with him, under the pressure of general circumstances.

"Bismarck was a Junker, a Prussian rustic, monarchist, particularist, agrarian, and militarist.

"Bismarck for a long time was the decided opponent of naval armaments and colonial policy, in short, of imperialism. Even his projects for social reform—insurance against sickness, against old age—which have been accepted as concessions to modern ideas, were due entirely to his monarchical and patriarchal conception of the State. He copied the ancient decrees of Colbert as to naval personnel. He would have gone as far as assurance against non-employment. In the dominion of the King, he said, no one should die of hunger.

WHAT THE JUNKERS DID

"The Junker made a force of Prussia; he made Prussia itself. It was due to him that she passed after 1815 from the form of a *Polizeistaat* to the form of *Kulturstaat*, the latter only an expansion of the former. In place of a watchful, regulating, and vexatious State she became an organized State, the instructor of youth, the protector of religion, the source of inspiration for agricultural reforms, and all great commercial and industrial enterprises. This State was not an emanation from the national will, but the creator of a nation, the living and moving self-incarnation of the Hegelian 'idea,' that is to say, the Divine thought.

"Of all the German aristocracy the noble of Pomerania or Brandenburg, the Prussian Junker, represented this social type most definitely. In

the south the liberal tendencies—to be exact, the memories of the French Revolution persisted far into the nineteenth century. But it is well known that German unity was accomplished by military force and against liberalism.

"After 1871, and even after Sadowa, the problem of interior policy which presented itself was that of the 'Prussianization' of Germany. At one time it seemed that Bismarck was on the point of succeeding in it. What was that national liberal party upon which he depended for

many, but in that spirit and in that system contemporary German militarism would never have fructified. It was contrary to the characteristic tendencies of a monarchical State supported by a conservative caste, which was also particularist, military, and agricultural. A State of this kind tends to become a closed State.

RISE OF CAPITALISTS

"What then happened? An event of capital importance of which everybody knows, but of



At the Boundary Between Two Countries

Here on the Swiss frontier the French fighting lines ended. On one side of the boundary line stood a Swiss soldier, and on the other side a French soldier with steel helmet and fixed bayonet stood guard. The photographer stood in Switzerland to take this picture of American war correspondents grouped in France.

so long? It was the old liberal party, with advanced tendencies tainted with democratic liberalism and even with cosmopolitanism, keeping up its relations with the intellectuals, the university men, who made so much noise with pen and voice about 1848 and later. They dreamed of the unity of Germany in the democratic liberty and moral hegemony of their nation, having become in Europe the sobered heir of the French Revolution.

"Under the influence of Bismarck they sacrificed to their dream of unity, to their national dream, their liberal dream, and they secured for the Chancellor the support of the upper *bourgeoisie*.

"It was indeed the Prussianization of Ger-

many which we only now begin to see the consequences. It was the radical transformation of Germany from an agricultural to an industrial nation. In its origin this phenomenon dates from before the nineteenth century. By 1848 it had become perceptible. Since 1866, and especially since 1871, it has dominated the entire social evolution of the Empire. Here, in fact, is the revolution. It partakes of the character of a tragedy, it has overturned the conditions of life throughout the entire German territory.

"At the close of the War of Independence, four out of five Germans lived on the land, two out of three were engaged in agriculture. By 1895 the agricultural population was only 35.7 per cent. That supported by industry and com-

merce kept continually increasing. In 1895 it was 50.6 per cent.

"This progress of industry and trade indicates the rise of a new class of the population, that of the capitalists. It seemed at first that their arrival would result in a dispossession of the nobility. For example, under the *ancien régime* the bourgeois could not acquire the property of the nobles. Toward 1880, for Eastern Prussia only, 7,086 estates of 11,065 belonged to non-nobles. They could have been acquired only with money. Capital was supplanting birth. To-day even, in Prussia, five members of the Ministry, a little more than one-third, are bourgeois not enjoying the particle *von*.

"The new dominant class encroached upon the ancient in two ways, by depriving it of its clientèle and by acquiring a considerable weight in the State.

"As to the 'weight' of the new class, it increased prodigiously during the years following the war of 1870, thanks to the millions which the Empire could invest in its industries and which allowed it to endow its commerce and its merchant marine, to complete the network of its road, canals, and railways. . . .

"In the famous years 1871 to 1874, which the Germans call the *Gründerjahre*, the foundation years, gigantic industrial and commercial enterprises took a spring which seemed irresistible. A Director of the Deutsche Bank, of the Dresdener Bank, the President of a company for transatlantic commerce, such as the Hamburg-American Line, or of the committee of great electric establishments, enjoyed an influence in the councils of the State far greater even than that of a Baron, a Count, or a little mediatised Prince.

"What was the aristocracy of birth going to do about it? Struggle desperately? It took that tack at first. Bismarck ranged himself in its support for some time. He was himself an agrarian. But he was not long in installing paper mills on his estates at Varzin. It is said that the Emperor himself possesses porcelain factories. A part of the nobility for a long time tried to adapt itself to the new method of production. It took to it awkwardly and often ended in ruin.

"A part of the nobility yielded, fell into the hands of the financiers, the money lenders, the managers of agricultural enterprises, sold their lands, and took refuge in the great civil, administrative, and military posts. The remainder resisted as well as they could.

"Bismarck was the target for vehement opposition when he inclined toward the party of the traders and the industrials in his colonial and tariff policy. This evolution came about 1879. For a while the great Chancellor was looked upon almost as a traitor.

"Nevertheless, his view was just. Balancing the forces on the one hand by those on the other, ceding protective duties first to one side and then to the other, offsetting the advantages which he offered to one side by the prerogatives

which he accorded to the other, he finally succeeded in reconciling them.

RECONCILIATION AND COÖPERATION

"From this reconciliation of the two dominant classes has resulted the extraordinary power of Germany. The bourgeois parties have from time to time grumbled over the military appropriations, but they have always voted them. And militarism, which is the support of the aristocracy, has been placed at the service of capitalistic ambition. By the prestige of force, awakening hopes here and inspiring fears there, more than once by the help of maneuvers of intimidation, it has become an instrument of economic conquest.

"Other combinations, other reciprocal interlacings, have taken place which have given an exceptional and unique character to contemporary Germany. It is a case of social psychology of extreme interest. To describe it would require long detail. The combination of the aristocratic and military tendency with the industrial and plutocratic tendency, the tendency of the police spirit, the regularizing spirit of the *Kulturstaat* with the individual initiative of the capitalist *entrepreneur*, methodical habits of administration with the love of risk characteristic of the speculator, all this constitutes imperialism, German imperialism, distinct from every other, because to a definite object, economic conquest, it adds another, less precise, in which the moral satisfaction dear to aristocracy, the pleasure of dominating, the love of displaying force, the tendency to prove one's own superiority to one's self, play a large part.

"Economic conquest has become a necessity for Germany. Transformed into an industrial State, it no longer produces its own food. Since 1885 its imports have exceeded its exports by 1,353,000,000 marks. Whence did Germany derive these 1,300,000,000 marks which were needed, good year and bad, to meet its balance of trade? It owes them to its maritime commerce and the revenue of its capital invested abroad. Its maritime commerce then must augment and must triumph over all competition. At every cost it must open for itself outlets for its industrial products in order to buy foodstuffs which it does not produce sufficiently. If not, famine."

RISE OF INDUSTRIAL GERMANY

The German pride in their own achievements was high. They were blinded by egotism, and thought that achieving great things gave them superiority over the rights of others. Professor von Schulze-Gävernitz of Freiburg thus described the economic progress of his country:

"On November 11, 1870, Carlyle wrote to *The London Times*: 'Patient, pious, and plodding

Germany has coalesced into a nation, and has taken over the hegemony of the European Continent. That seems to me the most hopeful international fact which has happened in my lifetime.'

"Germany, the late-comer! While the Briton was conquering the world, Germany has been pushed out since the Thirty Years' War to the outer line of the world's affairs. The customary

that marks the boundary. How much philosophical thought is pre-Kantian even to-day and even with us. Oswald in Germany and English 'pragmatism' are cases in point.

"THE CUCKOO HOUSE"

"As long as the Germans were content to live in the clouds the Briton ceded to them the legion



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly

Greek Reservists Respond to Their Country's Call

Two thousand Greeks at Hope Mills, Va., assembled in response to a notification that they were wanted to take their places in the Greek army.

ballast of ships that were returning from Germany was sand—the 'produce of Germany,' (*le produit de l'Allemagne*), as the French sarcastically put it.

"The Hansa merchants were like so many roosters that picked a few grains in the stable of a noble steed and were kicked out when they became a nuisance. But in that quiescent life old Germany gathered a new youth—that mysterious strength which Carlyle foreshadows in depicting Frederick William I and his surroundings. Then, toward the end of the eighteenth century, under the protection of Prussian neutrality in the revolutionary wars, that classical age arose when Germany was crowned with the wreath of intellectual achievement. Kant is the mighty figure

of intellectual Empire, 'the cuckoo house' and fools' paradise of philosophic speculation. He feared neither Fichte's virile *Talks to the German Nation*, nor Hegel's world-embracing system of thought. But wrongly so, because that culture which seemed so remote from the world was in reality intensely practical. The German culture was a new spring of inexhaustible strength which was to inspire the German idealist to a reshaping of the visible world.

"With the alliance between historic Prussia and the 'ideal nation'—'the German Nation'—as Fichte had visualized it—a great power arose in Europe on a thorough national foundation. This new German Empire, in the opinion of Bismarck, its founder, appeared to be 'satiated in

Europe,' so lacking in tendencies of expansion that Great Britain ceded to it the rock island of Heligoland in 1892 without a shadow of misgiving. But the finger of economic necessities—a yearly increase of 800,000 in population on a small area—pointed beyond Europe.

"By the merger of the historic Prussian customs union, principally with the West German ideas of Fr. List, Germany raised herself to the position of an economic world power, which by the restriction imposed upon a smaller Germany prepared the way for a greater Germany. List's final goal was also a political one; wealth was but the means, the end was the liberation of humanity from the mountain of British pressure. To this end List accepted Napoleon's Continental system as well as 'Fichte's national idea.'

"But do you,' he appealed to his countrymen,

'who are struggling to prevent the restoration of Gallic supremacy, find it more endurable and honorable to yield your rivers and harbors, your shores and your seas, to the sway of the British from now on?'

"Step by step Germany caught up with the British model economic state, and overtook Britain first in iron and steel production, and then in chemical and electrical industries. Germany now became the seat of modern high finance; her aggregations of capital, accompanied by an even distribution of national wealth, outgrew all British proportions and began to approach American dimensions; with this difference, that the German system is more systematic and more closely coordinated with the State than the somewhat accidental, and still half colonial, capitalism of the United States."

GERMAN INDUSTRY WISHES WAR

With Rapid Growth in Population, German Manufacturers Saw in War a Chance for Gain

XXVII

TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG

UNDoubtedly one of the chief reasons for Germany's desire to extend her territories was the continued increase of her population and the wish to find outlets for trade in wares produced by her rapidly growing industries.

Dr. Dernburg summed up the relative growth of the population of Germany and France as follows:

"In 1870 there were 38,000,000 Germans fighting against 40,000,000 of French. At the return of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany the ratio was reversed. Germany had 40,000,000, France had 38,000,000. But, while Germany, making great progress in its population and without addition of territory, has now more than 66,000,000 of inhabitants, France has remained absolutely stationary with 40,000,000 inhabitants; it was clear from the start that in a European struggle France must be crushed by the sheer weight in numbers and that the European equilibrium, which was the stock theory of England, would thereby go forever if England did not take a hand in the matter."

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION AND LABOR

German population was increasing at the rate of a million a year. Considerable appre-

hension was felt for the future, said Bernhardi:

"The livelihood of our working classes directly depends on the maintenance and expansion of our export trade. It is a question of life and death for us to keep open our oversea commerce. We shall very soon see ourselves compelled to find for our growing population means of life other than industrial employment. It is out of the question that this latter can keep pace permanently with the increase of population. Agriculture will employ a small part of this increase, and home settlements may afford some relief. But no remunerative occupation will ever be found within the borders of the existing German Empire, for the whole population, however favorable our international relations. We shall soon, therefore, be faced by the question, whether we wish to surrender the coming generations to foreign countries, as formerly in the hour of our decline, or whether we wish to take steps to find them a home in our own German colonies, and so retain them for the fatherland. There is no possible doubt how this question must be answered. If the unfortunate course of our history has hitherto prevented us from building a colonial Empire, it is our duty to make up for lost time, and at once to construct a fleet which, in defiance of all hostile Powers, may keep our sea communications open."

THE NECESSARY OUTLET FOR TRADE

Von Bernhardi shows us clearly to what an extent the desire for trade expansion en-

tered into the German determination to enlarge the bounds of the Fatherland. He says:

"Just as increase of population forms under certain circumstances a convincing argument for war, so industrial conditions may compel the same result.

"In America, England, Germany, to mention only the chief commercial countries, industries

tensify this struggle. Great commercial countries will, on the one hand, shut their doors more closely to outsiders, and countries hitherto on the down-grade will develop home industries, which, under more favorable conditions of labor and production, will be able to supply goods cheaper than those imported from the old industrial States. These latter will see their position in the world markets endangered, and



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Dutch Soldiers Mobilized for War

They are reading the latest news from the front, at the time of the defence of Liège.

offer remunerative work to great masses of the population. The native population can not consume all the products of this work. The industries depend, therefore, mainly on exportation. Work and employment are secured so long as they find markets which gladly accept their products, since they are paid for by the foreign country. But this foreign country is intensely interested in liberating itself from such tribute, and in producing itself all that it requires. We find, therefore, a general endeavor to call home industries into existence, and to protect them by tariff barriers; and, on the other hand, the foreign country tries to keep the markets open to itself, to crush or cripple competing industries, and thus to retain the consumers for itself or win fresh ones. It is an embittered struggle which rages in the market of the world. It has already often assumed definite hostile forms in tariff wars, and the future will certainly in-

thus it may well happen that an export country can no longer offer satisfactory conditions of life to its workers. Such a State runs the danger not only of losing a valuable part of its population by emigration, but of also gradually falling from its supremacy in the civilized and political world through diminishing production and lessened profits."

THE GERMAN MERCHANT MARINE

The remarkable growth of the German merchant shipping just before 1914 was one of the startling facts of international industry. There is no doubt that it made a great impression on the British people. F. W. Wile, in the *London Daily Mail*, in June, 1914, summed up the German progress as follows:

"In 1900 the Kaiser's mercantile marine totaled 2,495,389 tons. To-day it is more than double—5,050,000 tons—and is the second largest in the world. The German mercantile marine is, of course, far behind Great Britain's tonnage of roundly 19,500,000, but it has increased 20 per cent since 1910, as against Great Britain's increase of 7.4 per cent.

"Including the 62,000 ton 'bigger sister' of the *Vaterland* and *Imperator* . . . and seventeen other ocean-going vessels now on the stocks (which include three 21,000-ton ships for the South American trade), the Hamburg-American Line has a tonnage of 1,360,360, contained in 196 ocean-going vessels. In 1886, when Herr Ballin joined the 'Hapag,' as the Hamburg-American Line is called, its capital was £750,000 and gross profits were £125,000. To-day the capital is £9,000,000, and in 1913 the line earned £2,926,050. While the recent general meeting was voting to increase the capital from £7,500,000 to £9,000,000—it had been quintupled between 1897 and 1913—a shareholder suggested that at the present rate the company's capital in 1927 would be £25,000,000. 'I hope so,' quietly rejoined Herr Ballin, 'for we may be sure in that event that conditions will make such a capital extremely useful.'

"The North German Lloyd's ocean fleet of 101 vessels accounts for gross tonnage of 982,857, including two liners of 28,000 and 35,000 tons soon to enter the transatlantic service, and fourteen vessels being built for the Australian and Far Eastern trades. In 1888 the Lloyd's capital was £1,000,000. It is now £6,250,000.

"The Hamburg-South-American Line (controlled by the 'Hapag') owns a fleet of thirty-seven liners, soon to include two 19,000-ton vessels. The Hansa Line of Bremen, which concentrates on India and the Far East, operates sixty-three ocean vessels with a tonnage of 419,258, and is building fifteen new ships. The Hansa pays a 20 per cent dividend, a striking testimonial of the success with which German shipping is at work on the other side of the world."

"To the Kaiser the mercantile marine is as dear as his Navy itself. He attends the launchings of mammoth liners and takes trial trips in them. He congratulates the 'Hapag' and the Lloyd on every new achievement—the opening of a service, the attainment of a speed record, the noteworthy act of a captain. He showers honors upon Herr Ballin and Herr Heineken (heads, respectively, of the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd lines), serves as peace-maker when their lines quarrel, and graces Hamburg and Bremen often and regularly with his presence. He dispatches Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia on the maiden voyage of the liner *de luxe* which is to inaugurate a new epoch in Germany's designs on South American trade, assigns him the simultaneous mission of touring Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, and orders Germany's two newest dreadnaughts to cruise in South American waters at the same time.

"The significant thing about the German mercantile marine is that it is not merely a trade-

carrier, but a trade-finder, a pioneer in the highest sense of that oft-misused term. The ships of Hamburg and Bremen do not lie lazily at anchor at home or in foreign ports, waiting for trade to turn up like some haughty chauffeur on a cab-rank. They make it their business to create trade. That is why Herr Ballin organized an 'independent' German exhibit for the Panama-Pacific Exposition when the German government officially declined to do so. That is why he offered to transport German wares to and from San Francisco free of charge, and to carry British exhibits on the same terms, if desired. That is why the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd lines are in the forefront of the new associations being formed month by month for market exploitation in every quarter of the globe. German shippers believe implicitly that 'trade follows the flag.' It is always their flag—the German merchant emblem—which is carried in front of the German commercial army. The naval ensign is never far behind."

LABOR AND ITS RELATION TO NATIONAL GREATNESS

Germany had her chief economic difficulty with labor. The founders of Socialism were Germans. The efforts of the State to bring this factor into accord with the plan of nationality are described as follows:

"The economical prosperity of Germany as the visible result of three victorious campaigns created a labor market sufficiently large for present purposes, although without the conscious intention of the State. German labor, under the protection of the political power, gained a market for itself. On the other hand, the German State has intervened with legislation, with full consciousness of the end and the means. As Scharnhorst once contrasted the duty of the citizen with the rights of man, so the Emperor William I recognized the duty of the State toward those who were badly equipped with the necessities of life. The position of the worker was assured, so far as circumstances allowed, by social legislation. No excuse, therefore, for revolutionary agitation now existed."

But it would not be downed, and in this Van Bernhardt saw the chief weakness of German society. His doubts are summed up as follows:

"A vigorous opposition to all the encroachments of the Social Democrats indicated the only right way in which the justifiable efforts of the working class could be reconciled with the continuance of the existing State and of existing society, the two pillars of all civilization and progress. This task is by no means completed. The question still is, How to win back the working class to the ideals of State and country?"

Willing workers must be still further protected against social democratic tyranny."

FINANCIAL PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Charles A. Conant, a leading American financial writer, thus sums up the steps taken by European financiers in anticipation of the

end toward which the Imperial Bank strove resolutely and persistently from that moment until Germany stood forth in shining armor to oppose the intervention of Russia in behalf of threatened Serbia. By maintaining a discount rate of 6 per cent at the Imperial Bank from January 1 to October 27, 1913, by active bidding at the London gold auctions for the gold which arrived weekly from South Africa, and by several



Suippes

A beautiful French town that became the scene of slaughter and destruction; only chimneys are left standing where once were homes and shops.

war that they long had reason to believe was imminent:

"Russia began setting her house in order by withdrawing the large balances which she had kept in German, French, and English banks, and which in time of peace she had counted as a part of her gold reserve, having the same security as coin and bullion in the vaults of the Treasury or the State Bank.

"In Germany, the story was familiarly told that the Kaiser, near the end of the year 1913, inquired of the Governor of the Imperial Bank if the German banks were equipped for war. Being told that they were not ready, he is said to have replied, 'When I ask that question again, I want a different answer.'

"To be able to give a different answer was the

changes in monetary legislation, the gold was steadily piled up which might enable the Governor of the bank to answer 'yes' when again asked whether German finance was equipped for war.

"From a gold fund of \$184,000,000 on December 31, 1912, the Imperial German Bank increased its reserve to \$336,000,000 on June 30, 1914. In addition, it gathered up for the Imperial Government a sum of about \$30,000,000 to be added to the same amount stored in the vaults of the Juliusturm at Spandau."

HERR KRUPP'S VISIT TO ENGLAND, JUNE, 1914

One of the biggest single industrial establishments in Germany, active in causing the

war, was the Krupp munition plant at Essen. The *Daily Mail* correspondent in August, 1914, related the following story, which, with due allowance for existing feelings, has an interesting bearing on the outbreak of the war:

"Before our senses are numbed by the clash and din of titanic killings on land and sea—before we lose the faculty of remembering the past in the staggering attempt to grasp the present—I would like to take Englishmen back to an event which happened in their unsuspecting midst exactly two months ago. A most sinister event, ~~in the light of what has happened since, and one designed as~~ hardly any other could be to persuade the most skeptical among us that the war Kaiser's plans for the sacking of Europe were deep-laid, deliberate, and stealthy. It reduces to criminal absurdity the German contention that Armageddon was kindled at Serajevo.

"I refer to the strange visit paid by Herr Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, the head of Krupp's, between June 14th and 23rd, to Birkenhead, Barrow-in-Furness, Glasgow, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Sheffield. His charming wife, the Cannon Queen and proprietress of Krupp's, accompanied him. That bolstered up the fiction that the visit was 'private and unofficial.' But in order that the inspection of the Firth, Laird, Vickers, Brown, Armstrong, Whitworth, Cammell, and other establishments should not be strictly informal, Herr Krupp von Bohlen brought with him his chief technical expert, Dr. Ehrensberger, of Essen. There was a fourth member of his party—Herr von Bülow, a kinsman of the former Imperial Chancellor, who until recently—perhaps yet, for all I know—represented the Krupps in London.

"Herr Krupp von Bohlen's previous visits to England have been undoubtedly private in character. Both he and his wife were fond of London, and liked to come to us informally, to live quietly like well-born people of means at a fashionable Piccadilly hotel. In recent times they came primarily to sit for the late Sir Hubert Herkomer. Never until the visit of June did they come accompanied by experts. They came this time, in other words, strictly for business. And it is not a comforting reflection

to think that they accomplished their business thoroughly.

"There can be no manner of doubt that Herr Krupp von Bohlen's last sojourn in these isles was at the direct instigation of somebody higher up. There is but one person in Germany who could send him on such a mission. And that some one is the Kaiser.

"Herr Krupp von Bohlen is not in the habit of 'traveling' on behalf of his gigantic firm. The tour of England, as a matter of fact, was the first of the kind he ever made. He undertook it because the necessity of spying out the armament secrets of Great Britain had suddenly become a matter of vital significance to Germany; and he came at the behest of the Krupps' great family friend, the Emperor, who, as we now know, preached peace while plotting war.

"The genesis of the Krupp investigation of the state of preparedness of our facilities for manufacturing land and sea armaments is no less remarkable than the investigation itself. Early in May certain of the firms above mentioned received a delightfully courteous letter from the Master of Essen, announcing his intention to visit England during the season. Frankness incarnate, the letter suggested that an inspection of establishments making articles similar to those manufactured by Krupps would naturally be of the greatest interest.

"The recipients of Herr Krupp von Bohlen's letters forthwith communicated with our naval and military authorities. It was agreed that subject to the elementary precautions advisable in such circumstances, there could be no harm in extending to the Essen visitors the hospitality for which, I fear, we are sometimes all too famous. They came and they saw. Whether they conquered remains to be seen. Doors, at any rate, were flung wide open to them. There was even some speechmaking. The fact that the utmost possible care was exercised that the lynx-eyed Dr. Ehrensberger and Herr von Bülow did not see too much does not alter the underlying gravity of the visit itself. At the time Birkenhead, Barrow-in-Furness, Glasgow, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Sheffield thought it passing strange that Herr Krupp von Bohlen should suddenly desire to look us over. Intervening events, I venture to believe, have given them furiously to think."

The Last Post

Walter Lightowler Wilkinson, Lieut. 8th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.
Killed at Vimy Ridge, April 9, 1917.

Come home! Come home!
The winds are at rest in the restful trees,
At rest are the waves of the sun down seas,
At home—they're home—
The wearied hearts and the broken lives—
At home! At ease!

THE STRUGGLE FOR IRON

Close Proximity of Germany's Coal Beds and Her New Lorraine Iron Gave Her Great Industrial Strength

XXVIII

AN ENGLISHMAN'S DISCOVERY

THE Lorraine iron ore contains a small amount of phosphorus which is not eliminated in the processes of reduction used in 1870, and it was on that account considered valueless. France, therefore, thought nothing about her loss of the great ore beds when she handed over Lorraine in 1871. Neither did Germany consider she was gaining a very great thing in obtaining them.

In 1878 Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, a London solicitor's clerk who studied chemistry in the evening, discovered a process for eliminating phosphorus from iron ores. It was done by using a basic lining of magnesia or magnesian limestone. He secured the co-operation of his cousin, Percy Gilchrist, a chemist employed at some iron works in Wales, and the invention was developed into practical success. Young Thomas, when studying in London, was denied the honor of graduation at the Royal School of Mines, although he had passed the examinations required for a degree, because he had not attended any day lectures. The completion of his invention brought him wealth and fame. His process for removing phosphorus from iron was adopted by the Germans. They applied it to the abundant ores in Lorraine and the result was to place them in the ascendancy among continental iron producers. They had abundant coal deposits nearby in Sarre basin, which enabled them to compete successfully with other nations. The possession of abundant supplies of coal, iron, and limestone in proximity one with another is the guarantee of the industrial prosperity of any energetic people.

France had always resented the cession of Lorraine, but the realization of the advantage Germany was taking from it only increased her disappointment. In the great race of modern industrial development she was forced

to see her rival outstrip her—and all by virtue of the forceful acquisition of Lorraine. The thought served to whet the French desire for reannexation and the German determination to hold by all means what had been obtained.

LORRAINE'S RICHES IN IRON

As the war progressed the importance of coal became more and more clear in French eyes. M. DeLaunay, in 1916, called the attention of his countrymen to the situation in some striking articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He said:

"In 1880, all Germany produced 50,000,000 tons of coal; 90,000,000 in 1890; 150,000,000 in 1900; 215,000,000 in 1908; 255,000,000 in 1912; nearly 279,000,000 in 1913. And this was only a beginning in the rising scale, for the newly discovered, tremendously rich layers were hardly touched yet.

"And the center of this vast treasure-land is Westphalia, with Essen as her central fort, and 76,000,000,000 of tons as reserve for eight centuries to come! Two things were yet missing: the access to the Atlantic and a sufficient output of iron, a commodity which we have the misfortune of possessing in Lorraine. If the German invasion took the route it did, if her statesmen tore up the Belgian treaty at the risk of England's intervention, all this was done, no doubt, to surprise us at a frontier not sufficiently defended by us, but mainly, of course, with the purpose of annexing Belgium. It is not by mere hazard that they took hold of all the factories of Belgium, of two-thirds of our coal-mines in our northern department, and of our iron-mines in Lorraine. The latter would have definitely fallen as a natural prey to their avidity, if Foch, Gallieni, and Joffre had not stopped their hordes at the Marne. Bismarck and Moltke overlooked this iron corner in 1871; Bethmann-Hollweg and Moltke, Jr., intended to mend the geological mistake of their forbears.

COAL THE SECRET OF GERMAN POWER

"It is this tremendous wealth in coal rather than the prestige of her military victories in the past or her wonderful talent of organization that contains the secret of Germany's sudden rise in power. . . . Should I be accused of exaggeration, I am ready to submit the counter-proof: why are the Latin nations, who occupied in

former ages so brilliant a position in the world in spite of their intellectual superiority to take a back seat? Simply, because Italy and Spain have almost no coal at all—and the reader knows by this time the plight of France.

"We produce hardly two-thirds of the coal needed by our industry. The output is not one-half of what we could use in order to claim our place in the sun, a claim justified by our coast development, skill of our seamen and artisans, our riches in iron. Germany, which has more coal than she can use, was still enriched, in the course of the last twenty years, by lucky geological discoveries. We stand powerless in face of such an overwhelming, brutal inferiority. There is only one hope left now to retrieve our geological misfortune: a complete victory in this war which has been forced upon us by an insatiable enemy."

M. Herbet, in the *Echo de Paris*, gave this pointed approval to the words of M. DeLaunay:

"We ought, therefore, to remember this—the future peace of Europe will never be solid if the Germans continue to possess unlimited supplies of coal and iron, and they will always be tempted to say, 'Let us improve our methods and this time the blow will succeed.' The equilibrium of Europe will depend to a certain extent upon the fate of the miners on the left (west) bank of the Rhine. Ought not this fate to be fixed in advance?"

Continuing M. DeLaunay said:

VERDUN A "BATTLE FOR IRON ORES"

"In order to beat Germany decisively, it is not necessary to penetrate her territories very far, not even to reach Essen and Dortmund. It

would almost suffice if we entered Thionville; a dozen kilometers beyond our frontier of 1871 would deliver to us the iron mines of Lorraine. That done, Germany would have to look out for herself. Not having the means of supplying her furnaces for making iron and steel, no longer able to satisfy the insatiable appetites of her Krupp factories, despite her supplies from Siegen and Sweden, she would be wounded unto death. Perhaps I seem to exaggerate one of the numerous phases of the present struggle, but my opinion is shared by the Germans themselves; and when you understand what it means, you will see that the battle of Verdun was not only a supreme effort to reach Paris, an assault upon a supposedly weak salient on our front, . . . but it was also 'the battle for the iron ores.' For Verdun and Nancy are on the French sides the doors which give access to them, just as Metz and Thionville defend them too stoutly on the German side. To have hurled us back from Verdun would have meant to deprive us for a long time of the hope of regaining our own mines and, consequently, to prolong the misery our metal industry now suffers. It was also to take away the possibility of our reaching the German mines, and to work such a capital disaster that the German Commander-in-chief, above all, had to take his strongest precautions.

"France possesses to-day this remarkable wealth of iron. If, with the necessary coal, she can recover an industrial place of the first rank, it is because means have been found for eliminating, in reducing the iron ore, the small amount of phosphorus which the ores contained, often in minute quantities, but whose presence was enough to spoil without remedy the iron obtained from the furnace. The process of removing the phosphorus, to which the name of Gilchrist Thomas is given, permitted the utilization of iron ores which existed by the billions of tons in Lorraine, and which seemed previously without value."

AMERICA AND GERMANY

Germany Early Tries to Secure the Good Will of the United States,
but America Resists Her Appeal

XXIX

THE "REAL TRUTH" FOR AMERICAN CONSUMPTION

AMERICAN tourists leaving Germany in August, 1914, were handed copies of the following appeal, which shows how anxious the Germans were to maintain American friendship—and American commerce.

The circular was evidently inspired by government. It read:

AMERICANS!

Citizens of the United States!

"In this earnest moment in which you are leaving the soil of Germany and Berlin, take with you from German citizens, from representatives of trade and industry, who are proud to entertain friendly commercial relations with the United States, a hearty farewell coupled with the desire of a speedy return.

"Together with this farewell we beg you to do us a favor. As our guests, whom we have always honored and protected, we ask you to take this paper with you as a memorial and to circulate the same among your authorities, press, friends, and acquaintances.

"For, we are well aware that the enemies of Germany are at work to make you the instruments to lower Germany's people and army in the face of the whole world in order to deceive foreign nations as to Germany's policy and economical power. We ask you, as free citizens face to face with free citizens, to circulate the real truth about Germany among your people as compared to the lies of our enemies.

"We beg you to take the following main points to heart:

"1. The German Emperor and the German Nation wanted peace. The cunning and breach of faith of our opponents have forced the sword into the hands of Germany.

"2. After war has been forced on us the German Nation, Emperor, and Reichstag have granted everything in the most brilliant unanimity for the war. No difference prevails in Germany any longer, no difference between party, confession, rank or position, but we are a united nation and army.

"3. Our military organization and our mobilization has proceeded with splendid precision. The mobilization was accomplished during the course of a few days. In addition to those who are compelled to serve, more than 1,200,000 volunteers have offered their services. All civil organizations, from the heads of industry and finance to the smallest man downward, vie with each other in works of voluntary aid and welfare.

"4. In the field German arms have had splendid successes in the first days of mobilization."

"In the east the Russian enemy has been driven from the German frontier, in numerous small fights by our troops in conjunction with those of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. By successful *coups de main* our Navy has been successful in damaging and alarming our Russian opponent in her Baltic naval ports. The Russian port of Libau has been burned down and in Russian Poland revolution has already begun. Russian mobilization is a long way from being accomplished, the troops are badly, poorly nourished, and many deserters sell their weapons and horses.

"IMPOSING VICTORIES" OVER BELGIUM AND FRANCE

"In the west the German Army has gained imposing victories over Belgium and France.

"In Belgium, where the population unfortunately committed the most barbarous atrocities against peaceful Germans before the war broke out, comparatively weak German forces conquered the strong fortress of Liège a few days

after the mobilization, inflicting severe damage on the enemy and opening up the way via Belgium to France.

"Valuable victories have been obtained over France on the Alsatian frontier toward the strong French fortress of Belfort as well as in the direction of the fortress Lunéville. At Mühlhausen one and a half French Army divisions were overthrown and driven back over the frontier with heavy losses.

"The strong and effective German fleet is on the watch against the English fleet.

"England's risk is great in staking her reputation as the strongest naval power on one throw against the German fleet. Further, England runs the danger that her large colonies, such as India and Egypt, will seize a moment that has been long desired to revolt.

"It is for the United States to utilize the present moment to frustrate by powerful initiative England's endeavors to keep down all nations, including America, in the trade and traffic of the world.

"Citizens of the United States! Take the conviction with you to your homes that Germany will stake her last man and her last penny for victory. Germany must conquer and will conquer.

"Remember! That after a successful victory Germany will make new political and economical progress, and that America, as a shrewd business-like State and as a friend of Germany, will participate in such progress.

"To-day we beg you earnestly to convey to your fellow-citizens that the German Nation, as the safe refuge of civilization and culture, has always protected the loyal citizens of its enemies in every manner in contrast to Russia, France, and Belgium. By circulating this short memorial among your fellow-citizens you are likewise insuring that also in the future the United States will learn the truth about Germany's battles and victories. Your friends here will always do the best in their power to supply you with genuine



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\$5,000,000 in Gold in Barrels on U.S.S.

Tennessee

It was shipped to Europe early in the war for the aid of stranded Americans.

news. We wish you a happy voyage toward your home, so appreciated by all Germans, and hope to see you again in a victorious and prosperous Germany.

"REPRESENTATIVES OF GERMAN INDUSTRY.
"Berlin, August 13, 1914."

AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMANY —FAVORABLE POINTS

There was much disposition to be as fair as possible to Germany in the early months

the commercial and financial growth of Germany during the past forty years, believing it to be primarily the fruit of well-directed industry and enterprise; (3) all educated Americans feel strong gratitude to the German Nation for its extraordinary achievements in letters, science, and education within the last hundred years. Jealousy of Germany in these matters is absolutely foreign to American thought, and that any external power or influence should undertake to restrict or impair German progress in these respects would seem to all Americans intolerable, and, indeed, incredible; (4) all Americans who



Fleeing the Storm

Wheel-barrows, bicycles, carts, and baby-carriages were all forced into service to help the peasants of France and Belgium.

of the war. President Emeritus Eliot, of Harvard, summed up the points favorable to Germany as follows:

"There are many important matters concerning which American sympathy is strongly with Germany: (1) The unification of Germany, which Bismarck and his co-workers accomplished, naturally commended itself to Americans, whose own country is a firm federation, containing more or less different peoples; while most Americans did not approve Bismarck's methods and means, they cordially approved his accomplishment of German unification; (2) Americans have felt unqualified admiration for

have had any experience in Governmental or educational administration recognize the fact that German administration—both in peace and in war—is the most efficient in the world, and for that efficiency they feel nothing but respect and admiration, unless the efficiency requires an inexpedient suppression or restriction of individual liberty; (5) Americans sympathize with a unanimous popular sentiment in favor of a war which the people believe to be essential to the greatness, and even the safety, of their country—a sentiment which prompts to family and property sacrifices very distressing at the moment, and irremediable in the future; and they believe that the German people to-day are inspired by just such an overwhelming sentiment."



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Americans Fleeing from the War Zone

Loading their trunks on hay carts for an eight-mile trip, to make connection with the Munich-Paris Express.

AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMANY— UNFAVORABLE POINTS

The same writer was equally convincing when he summed up its unfavorable points. He said:

"In the hope that American public opinion about the European war may be a little better understood abroad it seems worth while to enumerate those German practices which do not conform to American standards in the conduct of public affairs:

"(a) Americans object to the committal of a nation to grave measures of foreign policy by a permanent Executive—Czar, Kaiser, or King—advised in secret by professional diplomatists who consider themselves the personal representatives of their respective sovereigns. The American people have no permanent Executive, and the profession of diplomacy hardly exists among them. In the conduct of their national affairs they utterly distrust secrecy, and are accustomed to demand and secure the utmost publicity.

"(b) They object to placing in any ruler's hands the power to order mobilization or declare war in advance of deliberate consultation with a representative assembly, and of coöperative action thereby. The fact that German mobilization was ordered three days in advance of the meeting of the Reichstag confounds all American ideas and practices about the rights of the people and the proper limits of Executive authority.

"(c) The secrecy of European diplomatic intercourse and of international understandings and terms of alliance in Europe is in the view of ordinary Americans not only inexpedient, but dangerous and unjustifiable. Under the Constitution of the United States no treaty negotiated by the President and his Cabinet is valid

until it has been publicly discussed and ratified by the Senate. During this discussion the people can make their voice heard through the press, the telegraph, and the telephone.

"(d) The reliance on military force as the foundation of true national greatness seems to thinking Americans erroneous, and in the long run degrading to a Christian nation. They conceive that the United States may fairly be called a great nation; but that its greatness is due to intellectual and moral forces acting through adequate material forces and expressed in education, public health, and order, agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce, and the resulting general well-being of the people. It has never in all its history organized what could be called a standing or a conscripted Army; and, until twenty years ago, its Navy was very small, considering the length of its sea coasts. There is nothing in the history of the American people to make them believe that the true greatness of nations depends on military power.

OBJECT TO EXTENSION BY FORCE

"(e) They object to the extension of national territory by force, contrary to the wishes of the population concerned. This objection is the inevitable result of democratic institutions; and the American people have been faithful to this democratic opinion under circumstances of considerable difficulty—as, for example, in withdrawing from Cuba, the rich island which had been occupied by American troops during the short war with Spain, (1898,) and in the refusing to intervene by force in Mexico for the protection of American investors, when that contiguous country was distracted by factional fighting. This objection applies to long-past acts of the German government as well as to its proceedings in the present war—as, for example, to the taking of Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine, as well as to the projected occupation of Belgium.



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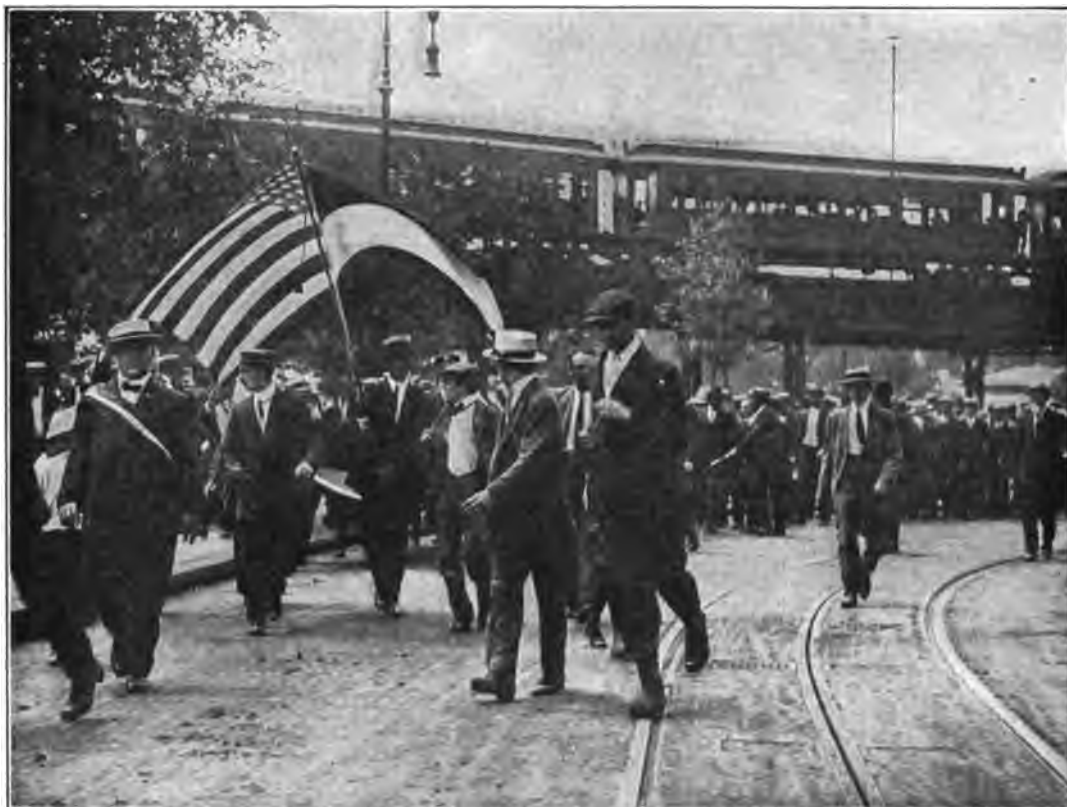
American Refugees

This picture was taken in August, 1914, at Arricourt.

THE SANCTITY OF CONTRACTS

"(f) Americans object strenuously to the violation of treaties between nations on the allegation of military necessity or for any other reason whatever. They believe that the progress of civilization will depend in future on the general acceptance of the sanctity of contracts or solemn agreements between nations and on the development by common consent of international law.

ferences of opinion and clashes of interests, and the frontier is 3,000 miles long and for the most part without natural barriers. Cherishing the hope that the peace of Europe and the rights of its peoples may be secured through solemn compacts, (which should include the establishment of a permanent international judicial tribunal, supported by an international force,) Americans see, in the treatment by the German government of the Belgian neutralization treaty



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German-Americans Parade in New York

Marching down Broadway in the summer of 1914, after offering their services at the German consulate.

The neutralization treaties, the arbitration treaties, The Hague Conferences, and some of the serious attempts at mediation, although none of them go far enough, and many of them have been rudely violated on occasion, illustrate a strong tendency in the civilized parts of the world to prevent international wars by means of agreements deliberately made in time of peace. The United States has proposed and made more of these agreements than any other power, has adhered to them, and profited by them. Under one such agreement, made nearly a hundred years ago, Canada and the United States have avoided forts and armaments against each other, although they have had serious dif-

as nothing but a piece of paper which might be torn up on the ground of military necessity, evidence of the adoption by Germany of a retrograde policy of the most alarming sort. That single act on the part of Germany—the violation of the neutral territory of Belgium—would have determined American opinion in favor of the Allies, if it had stood alone by itself—the reason being that American hopes for the peace and order of the world are based on the sanctity of treaties.

GERMAN "FRIGHTFULNESS"

"(g) American public opinion, however, has been greatly shocked in other ways by the Ger-

man conduct of the war. The American common people see no justification for the dropping of bombs, to which no specific aim can be given, into cities and towns chiefly inhabited by non-combatants, the burning or blowing up of large portions of unfortified towns and cities, the destruction of precious monuments and treasures of art, the strewing of floating mines through the North Sea, the exacting of ransoms from cities and towns under threat of destroying them, and the holding of unarmed citizens as hostages for the peaceable behavior of a large population under threat of summary execution of the hostages in case of any disorder. All these seem to Americans unnecessary, inexpedient, and unjustifiable methods of warfare, sure to breed hatred and contempt toward the nation that uses them, and therefore to make it difficult for future generations to maintain peace and order to Europe. They cannot help imagining the losses civilization would suffer if the Russians should ever carry into Western Europe the kind of war which the Germans are now waging in Belgium and France. They have supposed that war was to be waged in this century only against public, armed forces and their supplies and shelters.

"These opinions and prepossessions on the part of the American people have obviously grown out of the ideals which the early English colonists carried with them to the American wilderness in the seventeenth century, out of the long fighting and public discussion which preceded the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in the eighteenth century, and out of the peculiar experiences of the free Commonwealths which make up the United States, as they have spread across the almost uninhabited continent during the past 125 years."

AMERICANS NOT FAIR TO GERMANY, SAY GERMANS

The German Secretary of State von Jagow made this reply to American criticisms, a typical statement from that side:

"Every American newspaper representative tells us how anxious the American public is to get the news, the real truth about the war, and yet when the Imperial government offered to let American newspaper men use the cable in the event of its being reopened, and also to allow the news sent to the American press to go out uncensored, as long as it was not prejudicial to the German military plan of campaign, it hardly made a ripple among your news-loving people.

"The Imperial government offered to pay the entire cost of repairing the cable and putting it into commission, and was willing that President Wilson should appoint censors at the American end of the cable in order to supervise all messages transmitted.

"When our zeppelins attack London, which is a fortified city defended with cannon, full of

soldiers and prepared as far as it can be to resist attack by land or air, the American papers teem with the most vitriolic articles about the 'Huns.' When the airmen of the Allies attack absolutely unprotected German towns and villages without one cannon or one soldier in them and kill old men, women, and children, your papers are either silent or else they give a carefully expurgated account, without bitter criticism therein, and, much more significant, the letters which appear in the American newspapers, signed by readers



Count von Hertling

Appointed Imperial German Chancellor
Nov. 1, 1917.

of the papers, exhibit (in the main) only horror at our legitimate aerial warfare and none at the entirely unjustifiable conduct of our opponents.

"Also by prohibiting absolutely the importation of fodder necessary to enable our cows to furnish milk of a good quality Great Britain is warring on the little children of Germany, and when philanthropic people in the United States, who wish to help the children, desire to ship milk for their use, Great Britain interposes its sea veto. Our children are fully as dear to us as the children of Americans are to them. What do the press and the people of the United States really think of a warfare directed against little children?

"Further, what do Americans think of the British practically forcing the Dutch steamers going to and coming from America to make Falmouth a 'port of call' and then claiming the right to rifle the first-class mail on the ground that a British port is made a port of call?

"We are not unmindful of our good friends in the United States, millions of whom are not of German descent, neither are we ungrateful for the fair play publicity accorded Germany by certain papers in America, which, however, are unfortunately exceptions to the prevailing tone of your press. All Germany wants is fair play. Let the American papers give the people all the news; let Americans pass judgment with all facts in their possession, that is all Germany asks, but please try to accord us what you must surely admit we deserve, and that is simple justice."

HARDEN SCOFFS AT AMERICA (1915)

In view of recent suggestions that Maximilian Harden would make an acceptable ambassador to the United States, the following words of Harden in 1915 are interesting:

"The land of the Stars and Stripes is only being asked to give its neutrality the color of good-will. It is, for the time being, unlikely that the United States would stand beside our

opponents with Army and Navy, as has been urgently counseled by Mr. Roosevelt, (who received the honorary doctor's title in Berlin and as a private citizen reviewed a brigade drill at the Kaiser's side.) Nevertheless, experience warns us to be prepared for every change of weather, from the distant West, as well as the distant East, (and to guard ourselves alike against abuse and against flattery.)

"The sentiment of the Americans is unfriendly to us. In spite of Princes' travels, Fritz monuments, exchanges of professors, Kiel Week, and cable compliments? Yes, in spite of all that. We can't change it. And should avoid impetuous wooing.

"The missionaries of the Foreign Office brought along with them in trunks and bundles across the sea the prettiest eagerness; but in many cases they selected useless and in some cases even injurious methods. Lectures, pamphlets, defensive writings—the number of the defenders and the abundance of their implements and talk only nursed suspicion. Whatever could be done for the explanation of the German conduct was done by Germania's active children, who know the country and the people.

GERMANS COURT OUR SYMPATHY

German Propagandists, Official and Unofficial, Try to Exploit America's Friendship; but Eventually They Are Dismissed

XXX

PROPAGANDA OF DR. DERNBURG

A FEW weeks after the war began Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly Colonial Secretary in Germany, arrived in the United States and became the head of an active educational propaganda. He found many German-Americans and some natives who were willing to help him, at a liberal rate of compensation. His efforts deceived nobody and were generally resented.

The following letter of a German agent in the United States to Maximilian Harden, the German journalist, gives us an interesting view of Dernburg's work by one who was, in a sense, a confederate:

"My dear Mr. Harden:

"As I chance to have a unique and absolutely safe opportunity, I must tell you something which I have had on my mind for a long while, but which I could not entrust to the post, as many of my letters have been taken en route.

"About a year ago I told you that you should not hold too high an opinion of Count B. (Bernstorff).

"I must now tell you that he has done splendid work here. In the most difficult situation he has shown tact, skill, and energy beyond anything that we expected from him. Any one who knows the type of people who are in power here can not fail unreservedly to admit and admire his activities. He well deserves a kind word once in a way, particularly as there are still influences at work over there, on your side, who wish to decry his services. One of the foremost of these is widow Speck von Sternburg. The fact that for a time B. could accomplish but little here was mainly due to the presence of your friend (?) B. D. (Bonehead Dernburg), who, I may remark in parenthesis, is very fond of speaking of 'that Punchinello Harden.' This man was regarded by the Americans, and even by many Germans, as the real Ambassador. His immense vanity, his desire to come to the front, his tactlessness, and the qualities which he himself, with a certain pride, described as 'truthfulness and openness,' did a very great deal of harm. At the same time he was accessible to every toady and flatterer, and no one with self-respect could possibly work with him. Accordingly he surrounded himself with a crowd of favorites, who for the

most part were quite incapable and unreliable, and have spoiled many chances. He not only came into collision with, and disturbed, the Count's patient labors, but more than once destroyed their results. It was a most unhappy thought to send him here, and the consequences were highly disastrous.

"The people in Berlin seem still to believe that any one who has once been in America knows the country and the people, and understands how to handle them properly. Many mistakes would have been avoided if they had taken the advice of those who have long experience on this side. But ! ! ! ! any one who has ever been in government service, if only as consular interpreter or secretary, is always given the preference. At present, one naturally does not wish to stir up the dust; but later on I will tell you more about this—when I next visit Berlin, I hope.

"Whether the Count has qualifications for the post for which you once described him as destined is, however, a question which I would prefer not to answer yet. I still think that a man like Falkenhayn should be employed in the peace negotiations. He is extraordinarily capable and possesses genius, a thing which up to now I have been unable to discover in any of our diplomats. . . .

"With kindest regards, &c.,
"GEORGE VON SKAL."

(*Parliamentary Papers, Miscellaneous*, No. 6; 1916.)

DR. DUMBA'S OFFENSIVE LETTER

Dr. Dumba, Austrian Ambassador to the United States, sent the following letter to Count Burian, head of the Austrian government, but it was intercepted in England and came into the hands of the American government, whereupon Secretary Lansing promptly demanded the recall of Dumba. It was intolerable that an ambassador should ask for money for the purpose indicated here:

"Noble Lord:

"Yesterday evening Consul General von Nuber received the inclosed *pro memoria aide memoire*, as it has been called, or simply 'memorandum' from the chief editor of the local influential newspaper *Szabadsag* after a previous conversation with me and in pursuance of his oral proposals with respect to the preparation of disturbances in the Bethlehem Schwab's steel and munitions factories, as well as in the Middle West.

"To-day at 12 o'clock Mr. Archibald, who is well known to your Excellency, leaves on the *Rotterdam* for Berlin and Vienna. I would like to use this rare, safe opportunity to recommend the proposals most warmly to your Excellency's favorable consideration.

"I am under the impression that we could, if not entirely prevent the production of war mate-



Hardy in the Brooklyn Eagle

Whose Hand?

A cartoon suggested by the burning of American manufacturing plants.

rial in Bethlehem and in the Middle West, at any rate strongly disorganize it and hold it up for months, which, according to the statement of the German Military Attaché, is of great importance, and which amply outweighs the relatively small sacrifice of money.

"But even if the disturbances do not succeed, there is a probability at hand that we shall compel, under pressure of the crisis, favorable working conditions for our poor oppressed fellow-countrymen. In Bethlehem these white slaves at present work twelve hours a day in seven days in the week!!! Alas, weak persons succumb, become consumptive. As far as German workingmen are found among the skilled elements, provision will be made forthwith for their exit. There has, besides this, been created a German private underlined registry office for providing employment, and which already works voluntarily and well for such persons. We, too, shall join, and the widest support is contemplated for us.

"I beg your Excellency kindly to inform me through wireless reply with respect to this letter, whether you approve of same.

"In greatest haste and respectful devotion,
"C. DUMBA."

DISMISSAL OF THE AMBASSADOR

Secretary Lansing's letter dismissing the Austrian Ambassador, was as follows:

"Mr. Constantin Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, has admitted that he proposed to his government plans to instigate strikes in American manufacturing plants engaged in the production of munitions of war. The information reached this government through a copy of a letter of the Ambassador to his government. The bearer was an American citizen named Archibald, who was traveling under an American passport. The Ambassador has admitted that he employed Archibald to bear official dispatches from him to his government.

"By reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Mr. Dumba to conspire to cripple legitimate industries of the people of the United States and to interrupt their legitimate trade and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of the enemy of Austria-Hungary, the President directs me to inform your Excellency that Mr. Dumba is no longer acceptable to the government of the United States as the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty at Washington.

"Believing that the Imperial and Royal government will realize that the government of the United States has no alternative but to request the recall of Mr. Dumba on account of his improper conduct, the government of the United States expresses its deep regret that this course

has become necessary and assures the Imperial and Royal government that it sincerely desires to continue the cordial and friendly relations which exist between the United States and Austria-Hungary.

"LANSING."

(September 10, 1916.)

DISMISSAL OF BOY-ED AND VON PAPEN

The American people, late in 1915, were pleased to know the government had at last got evidence enough to justify the recall of two notorious German propagandists, Boy-Ed and Von Papen, Naval and Military Attachés at the German Embassy. They had not expected to be dismissed, but in the face of Secretary Lansing's peremptory demands in two letters to Ambassador von Bernstorff, they had to leave the country.

"Department of State,

"Washington, December 4, 1915.

"EXCELLENCY—Confirming my conversation with you on December 1, I have the honor to state that various facts and circumstances having come to the knowledge of the government of the United States, as to the connection of Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché, and Captain van Papen, Military Attaché, of the Imperial German Embassy, with the illegal and questionable acts of certain persons within the United States, the President reached the conviction that the continued presence of these gentlemen as attachés of the Embassy would no longer serve the purpose of their mission, and would be unacceptable to this government.

"The President, therefore, directed me to notify your Excellency, as I did orally, that Captain Boy-Ed and Captain von Papen are no longer acceptable to the government of the United States as attachés of his Imperial Majesty's Embassy at Washington, and to request that your Excellency's government withdraw them immediately from their official connection with the Imperial German Embassy.

"As I informed you at the time of our interview, the government of the United States deeply regrets that this action has become necessary and believes that the Imperial Government will realize that this government has, in view of the circumstances, no alternative course consistent with the interests of the two governments in their relations with each other. Accept, etc.

"ROBERT LANSING."

LANSING AGAIN NOTIFIES BERNSTORFF.

"Department of State,

"Washington, D. C., Dec. 10, 1915.

"MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

"On December 1, I informed your Excellency that Captain Boy-Ed, the Naval Attaché of your Embassy, and Captain von Papen, the Military



F. G. C. in Collier's

U. S.: "I am thankful I have it to give."

Immediately after the Germans began their devastation of invaded Belgium, the American people contributed liberally to the relief of sufferers in its ruined towns and villages.

Attaché, were no longer *persona grata* to my government and requested that the Imperial Government immediately recall the two Attachés.

"As ten days have passed without the request of this government being complied with and without communication from you on the subject, other than your personal letter of the 5th inst., which in no way affected the fact that the two Attachés were unacceptable or presented a ground for delay, I feel compelled to direct your atten-

and powerful "German-American" population. The prevalence of German influence in the United States was widely exaggerated before we entered the war. Professor E. A. Ross in *The Century Magazine* discussed the subject in the following manner:

"Thanks to the *Hausfrau* ideal for women and to the militarist demand for recruits, the German



Americans Stranded in Paris

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Money was very hard to get in the first days of the war in Europe, and many Americans in Paris, although they had money orders and checks, could get no cash. Here a group is shown attempting to cash money orders at the American Express office.

tion to the expectation of this government and that its request would be immediately granted.

"I trust, my dear ambassador, that you appreciate the situation and will urge upon your government a prompt compliance with the request in order that this government may not be compelled to take action without awaiting the recall of the Attachés, an action which this government does not desire to take, but will be forced to take unless the Imperial Government meets the express wish of this government without further delay. I need not impress upon your Excellency the desirability of avoiding a circumstance which would increase the embarrassment of the present situation. I am, etc.

"ROBERT LANSING."

GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES

The German government was apparently confident of keeping the United States neutral through what it considered to be the enormous

people has until recently persevered in truly medieval fecundity. Despite an outflow of 6,500,000 between 1820 and 1893, population has doubled in seventy years and trebled in a hundred. Prince Bülow complains that 'the Poles of Eastern Prussia multiply like rabbits, while we Germans multiply like hares.' The fact is, a generation ago the Germans, too, were multiplying like rabbits. This is the reason why, during the seventies and eighties, although political conditions had much improved, great numbers of farm laborers, female servants, handicraftsmen, small tradesmen, and other members of the humbler classes, streamed out of crowded Germany in the hope of improving their material condition. The peasant living on black bread and potatoes heard of and longed for the white bread and fleshpots of the American West. Although the overwhelming majority of the 1,500,000 Germans who immigrated during the eighties represented the lower economic strata, they came in with fair schooling, considerable industrial skill, and, on an average, three times as much money as the

Slav, Hebrew, or southern European shows today at Ellis Island.

"The German influx dropped sharply as soon as the panic of 1893 broke out, and when, after four and a half years of economic submergence, this country struggled to the surface, the tide of Teutons was not ready to flow again. America's free land was gone, and ruder peoples, with lower standards of living, were crowding into her labor markets. In the meantime, Germany's

the Scandinavians lead; in the Mormon States, with their many converts from England; and in Louisiana and Florida, with their Italians and Cubans. In Milwaukee half the people are of German parentage, in Cincinnati and St. Louis a third. About half the Germans are in cities, whereas five-eighths of the Irish are urban dwellers. Whether one considers their distribution among the States, their partition between city and country, or their dispersion among the



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Scene at the Gare de l'Est, Paris

In the first months of the war Americans and other neutrals in Paris were eager to get away from the war zone. In this picture they are shown crowding the railway station.

extraordinary rise as a manufacturing country, her successes in foreign trade, and her wonderful system of protection and insurance for her laboring population, had made her sons and daughters loath to migrate overseas. German immigration into the United States is virtually a closed chapter, and has been so for twenty years.

DISTRIBUTION THROUGHOUT THE STATES

"No other foreign element is so generally distributed over the United States as the Germans. A third of them are between Boston and Pittsburgh, fifty-five per cent live between Pittsburgh and Denver, seven per cent are in the South, and five per cent are in the Far West.

"In the South they are more numerous than any other non-native element. They predominate, except in New England, where the Irish abound; in States along the northern border, into which filter many Canadians; in the Dakotas, where

callings, the Germans will be found to be the most pervasive element so far added to our people.

"Unlike the Irish immigrants, the Germans brought a language, literature, and social customs of their own; so that, although when scattered they Americanized with great rapidity, wherever they were strong enough to maintain churches and schools in their own tongue they were slow to take the American stamp. For the sake of their beloved *Deutschtum*, about the middle of the last century the promoters of this migration dreamed of creating in the West a German State where Germans should hold sway and hand down their culture in all its purity. Missouri, Illinois, Texas, and later Wisconsin, seemed to hold forth such a hope. But the immigrants would not remain massed, the Yankees pushed in, and 'Little Germany' never found a place on the map.

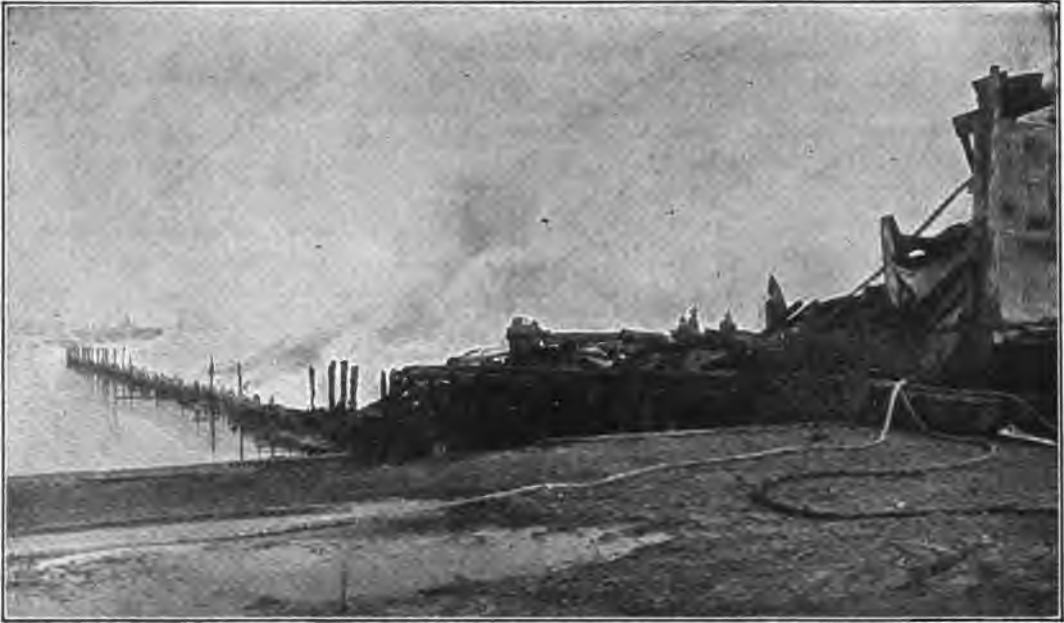
"The 'Forty-eighters' had given a great stimulus to all German forms of life,—schools, press,

stage, festivals, choral societies, and gymnastic societies,—but since the passing of these leaders and the subsidence of the Teutonic freshet, *Deutschtum* has been on the wane. German newspapers are disappearing, German-American books and journals become fewer, German book stores are failing, German theaters are closing, and the surviving German private schools may

southern Brazil, are careful to keep themselves unspotted from the people about them, have proved, on the whole, easy to Americanize."

BERNHARDI ON GERMAN-AMERICANS

Von Bernhardi can be relied on to express German purposes on most questions. It is



© Brown Bros.

A Suspected German Plot

The ruins of a great fire on the B. & O. piers at Locust Point which was suspected of being of German origin.

be counted on the fingers. Probably not more than ten per cent of the children of German parentage hear anything but English spoken at home. Champions of *Deutschtum* admit sadly that nothing but a strong current of immigration can preserve it here. The spreading German-American National Alliance is bringing about a marked revival, but hardly will it succeed in persuading the majority of its people to lay upon their children the burden of a bi-lingual education. It is the apparent destiny of the descendants of the myriads of Germans who have settled here to lose themselves in the American people, and to take the stamp of a culture which is, in origin at least, eighty per cent British.

"It is no small tribute to the solvent power of American civilization that the stable and conservative Germans, who, as settlers in Transylvania or in Palestine, among the Russians on the lower Volga, or among the Portuguese in

not surprising to find him expressing the German sentiments on the relation of Germany to the German-Americans, as in the following extract from his book, *Germany and the Next War*:

"The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality, is one from which, in our direct interests, we cannot withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American-Germans have formed a political alliance with the Irish, and thus united, constitute a power in the State, with which the government must reckon."

TROUBLES OVER THE BLOCKADE

Germans Try to Separate America and England by Emphasizing the Harshness of the North Sea Blockade

XXXI

ANTI-ENGLISH PROPAGANDA

PRO-GERMAN sympathizers in the United States did their utmost to convince the American people that the British government, in attempting completely to blockade Germany, was inflicting more dam-

the purpose of intercepting Germany's imports and exports." The process is summed up in the following "conclusions":

"(I.) German exports to oversea countries have been almost entirely stopped. Such exceptions as have been made are in cases where a refusal to allow the export of goods would hurt the neutral concerned without inflicting any injury upon Germany.

"(II.) All shipments to neutral countries ad-



Bradley in the Chicago Daily News

Time to Beat Some Plowshares into Swords

This and similar cartoons were suggested early in the war by the dawning consciousness of America that ultimately the country would have to prepare for war.

age upon America, through restraint of trade, than the German government, which was causing the death of American citizens at sea. Their attempts did not meet with wide success. A study of the British blockading system, however, is important.

THE RESTRAINT OF GERMAN TRADE

A British White Paper, issued January 4, 1916, gives a full "account of the manner in which the sea power of the British Empire has been used during the present war for

jacent to Germany are carefully scrutinized with a view to the detection of a concealed enemy destination. Wherever there is reasonable ground for suspecting such destination, the goods are placed in the prize court. Doubtful consignments are detained until satisfactory guarantees are produced.

"(III.) Under agreements in force with bodies of representative merchants in several neutral countries adjacent to Germany, stringent guarantees are exacted from importers, and so far as possible all trade between the neutral country and Germany, whether arising overseas or in the neutral country itself, is restricted.

"(IV.) By agreements with shipping lines and by a vigorous use of the power to refuse bunker

coal, a large proportion of the neutral mercantile marine which carries on trade with Scandinavia and Holland has been induced to agree to conditions designed to prevent goods carried in these ships from reaching the enemy.

"(V.) Every effort is being made to introduce a system of rationing which will insure that the neutral countries concerned only import such

or sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in



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Austrian Volunteers in New York

A scene in the Austrian consulate on the eve of the war, July 31, 1914, when Austrian reservists gathered to report for service in the Austrian Army.

quantities of the articles specified as are normally imported for their own consumption."

PROPOSED NEW RULES FOR SUBMARINES

The following proposals were submitted by Secretary Lansing to the belligerents about January 18, 1916. At that time events seemed to be carrying us toward war, and the American government was very anxious to get the rules of submarine warfare placed on a legal basis. It is needless to say that the proposition was agreeable to neither side:

"While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of age

the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

"In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in their destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarines, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents in the present war.

"Your government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally

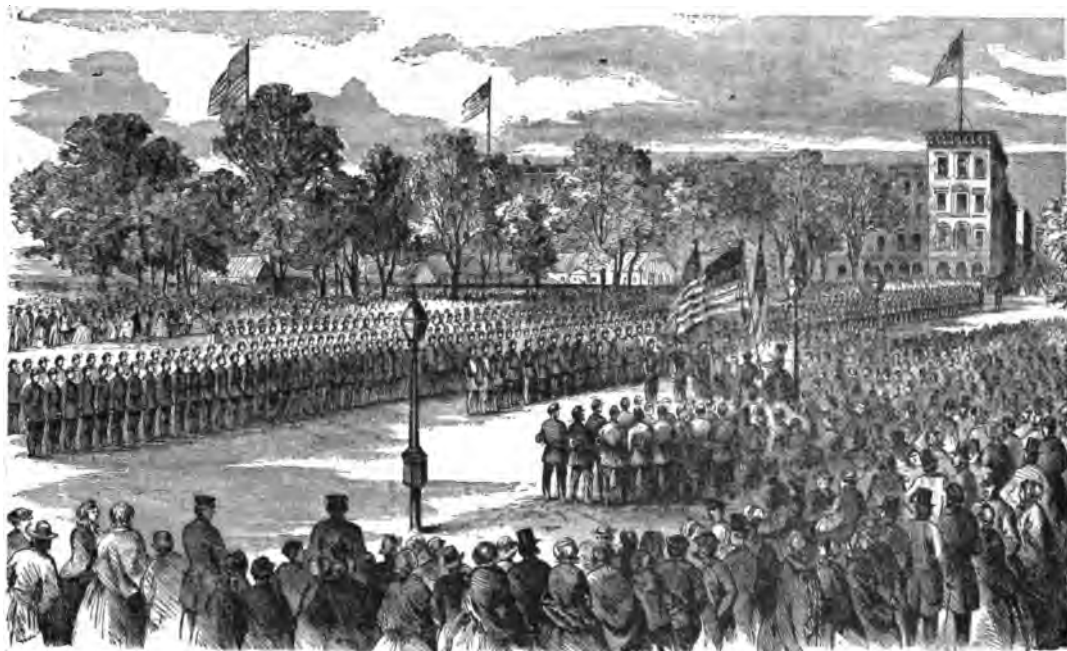
efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities.

"My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

"1. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a

"We take our stand firmly on the necessity of taking ships before a prize court. If the Germans can not do this, they have no real complaint, for the established principles of international law are perfectly clear, although the enemy has chosen deliberately to disregard them.

"Merchant ships have been armed from time



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly

Germans Who Offered Their Lives for the Union

It is interesting to recall that in our Civil War German-Americans were prompt to volunteer as soldiers for the Union, and their patriotism was unquestioned. This old engraving shows the Steuben Volunteers, a regiment composed entirely of Germans, parading in New York before leaving for the front.

belligerent flag, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by a naval vessel of another belligerent the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

"2. An enemy merchant vessel when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine should immediately stop.

"3. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or resist, the attack should be discontinued.

"In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel, or to convoy it into port, the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety."

The London *Times* stated the British view when it said in reply:

immemorial, and their right to resist capture was never disputed until the Germans began to make their numerous efforts to undermine our power at sea. It is inconceivable that the British government should make any concessions in this direction.

"The American note connects the arming of merchantmen with the weakness of submarines, contending that the introduction of submarine warfare has altered the relative status of an armed merchantman, rendering submarines liable to successful attack by them. The Allied governments can not be expected to suffer and the Germans to profit by this. Let the belligerents abide by the requirements of international law which prescribe one method only, that of detention, visit, and search."

GERMAN POSITION AS TO ARMED SHIPS

The Germans claimed that a ship carrying freight, but armed only in her defence, was

a warship and could be sunk at sight; the position was contrary to international law. It was fundamental in the submarine controversy, since the British merchantmen were armed to defend themselves against submarines. The German note October 15, 1914, ran:

"An official notice appearing in the *Westminster Gazette* of September 21, 1914, states that the Department of State at Washington has ruled that ships of belligerent nations when equipped with ammunition and armament shall be treated nevertheless, while in American ports, as merchant ships, provided the armament serves for defensive purposes only. This ruling wholly fails to comply with the principles of neutrality. The equipment of British merchant vessels with artillery is for the purpose of making armed resistance against German cruisers. Resistance of this sort is contrary to international law, because in a military sense a merchant vessel is not permitted to defend itself against a war vessel, an act of resistance giving the warship . . . with crew and passengers. It is a question whether or not ships thus armed should be admitted into ports of a neutral country at all. Such ships, in any event, should not receive any better treatment in neutral ports than a regular warship, and should be subject at least to the rules issued by neutral nations restricting the stay of a warship. If the government of the United States considers that it fulfills its duty as a neutral nation by confining the admission of armed merchant ships to such ships as are equipped for defensive purposes only, it is pointed out that so far as determining the warlike character of a ship is concerned, the distinction between the defensive and offensive is irrelevant. The destination of a ship for use of any kind in war is conclusive, and restrictions as to the extent of armament afford no guarantee that ships armed for defensive purposes only will not be used for offensive purposes under certain circumstances."

SECRETARY LANSING ON THE AMERICAN POSITION
ON ARMED SHIPS (November 7, 1914)

"The government of the United States is obliged to dissent from the views of the German government as expressed in your telegram in regard to the treatment to be accorded armed merchant vessels of belligerent nationality in neutral ports. The practice of a majority of nations and the consensus of opinion by the leading authorities on international law, including many German writers, support the proposition that merchant vessels may arm for defence without losing their private character and that they may employ such armament against hostile attack without contravening the principles of international law.

"The purpose of an armament on a merchant



Megendorfer Blätter (Munich)

Uncle Sam Feeds the Fire

A German cartoon evidently prompted by the sale of American munitions to the Allies.

vessel is to be determined by various circumstances, among which are the number and position of the guns on the vessel, the quantity of ammunition and fuel, the number and sex of the passengers, the nature of the cargo, etc. Tested by evidence of this character, the question as to whether an armament on a merchant vessel is intended solely for defensive purposes may be readily answered and the neutral government should regulate its treatment of the vessel in accordance with the intended use of the armament.

"This government considers that in permitting a private vessel having a general cargo, a customary amount of fuel, an average crew, and passengers of both sexes on board, and carrying a small armament and a small amount of ammunition, to enjoy the hospitality of an American port as a merchant vessel, it is in no way violating its duty as a neutral. Nevertheless it is not unmindful of the fact that the circumstances of a particular case may be such as to cause embarrassment and possible controversy as to the character of an armed private vessel visiting its ports. Recognizing, therefore, the desirability of avoiding a ground of complaint this government, as soon as a case arose, while frankly admitting the right of a merchant vessel to carry a defensive armament, expressed its disapprobation of a practice which compelled it



The Resourceful Lover

Punch, Feb. 17, 1915

Teuton Troubadour (serenading the Fair Columbia): "If she won't listen to love songs, I'll try her with a brick."

Suggested by Germany's decree of February 4, 1915, declaring a war zone around the British Isles and warning neutral vessels of the dangers of venturing into the proscribed area.

to pass upon a vessel's intended use, which opinion if proven subsequently to be erroneous might constitute a ground for a charge of unneutral conduct.

"As a result of these representations no merchant vessels with armaments have visited the ports of the United States since the 10th of September. In fact from the beginning of the European War but two armed private vessels have entered or cleared from ports of this country, and as to these vessels their character as merchant vessels was conclusively established.

"Please bring the foregoing to the attention of the German government and in doing so express the hope that they will also prevent their merchant vessels from entering the ports of the United States carrying armaments even for defensive purposes, though they may possess the right to do so by the rules of international law.

"LANSING.

"(Acting Secretary of State, Robert J. Lansing in *Am. Journal of International Law*, IX, Spec. Suppl. 283-240.)"

CONTINUOUS VOYAGE

The British government, in its desire completely to blockade Germany, was obliged to infringe to a certain extent upon the neutral rights of Holland and the Scandinavian States by insisting upon the principle known to international lawyers as the doctrine of "continuous voyage." Von Bernhardt foresaw the controversy about continuous voyage; but characteristically he thought the decision would be made by fear of German punishment. He said:

"It would be necessary to take further steps to secure the importation from abroad of supplies necessary to us, since our own communications will be completely cut off by the English. The simplest and cheapest way would be if we obtained foreign goods through Holland or perhaps neutral Belgium; and could export some part of our own products through the great Dutch and Flemish harbors. New commercial routes might be discovered through Denmark. Our own oversea commerce would re-



Staarrett in the New York Tribune

An Interrupted Hatching

The Department of Justice was very active in discovering bomb-plotters, who were organized widely throughout the country prior to our entrance into the war.

main suspended, but such measures would prevent an absolute stagnation of trade.

"It is, however, very unlikely that England would tolerate such communications through neutral territory, since in that way the effect of her war on our trade would be much reduced. The attempt to block these trade routes would approximate to a breach of neutrality, and the States in question would have to face the momentous question, whether they would conform to England's will, and thus incur Germany's enmity, or would prefer that adherence to the German Empire which geography dictates. They would have the choice between a naval war with England and a Continental war with their German neighbors—two possibilities, each of which contains great dangers. That England would pay much attention to the neutrality of weaker neighbors when such a stake was at issue is hardly credible."



© Western Newspaper Union

André Tardieu

Diplomat, author, soldier, and statesman. High commissioner of the French Republic in the United States, and Secretary for Franco-American war coöperation.

IS AMERICA "TOO PROUD TO FIGHT"?

English and French Feeling Towards This Country Exhibits a Certain Contempt Because of Our Strict Neutrality

XXXII

HOW COULD AMERICA BE NEUTRAL?

THE apparent determination of the American government to remain neutral in the great struggle was a natural cause of the growth in the early days of the war of a spirit of contempt and dislike among the Allies. They, the belligerents, saw clearly that they were fighting for the cause of justice, and could not understand, any more than some Americans, how the United States could remain neutral between right and wrong.

THE FRENCH ATTITUDE, 1915

Richard Harding Davis thus describes the French attitude toward America in the autumn of 1915:

"We were very good customers. From different parts of France we imported wines and silks. In Paris we spent, some of us spent, millions on jewels and clothes. In automobiles and on Cook's tours every summer Americans scattered money from Brittany to Tours. They were the natural prey of Parisian hotel keepers, restaurants, milliners, and dressmakers. We were a sister republic, the two countries swapped statues of their great men, we had not forgotten Lafayette, France honored Paul Jones. A year ago, in the comic papers, between John Bull and Uncle Sam, it was not Uncle Sam who got the worst of it.

"Then the war came, and with it, in the feeling toward ourselves, a complete change. A year ago we were almost one of the Allies, much more popular than Italians, more sympathetic than the English. To-day we are regarded not with hostility, though after the war it may grow to that, but with contempt.

"This most regrettable change was first brought about by the letter calling upon Americans to be neutral. The French could not understand it. From their point of view it was an unnecessary affront. It was as unexpected as the cut direct from a friend, as unwarranted, as gratuitous, as a slap in the face. The millions that poured in from America for the Red Cross, the services of Americans in hospitals, were accepted as the offerings of individuals, not as representing the sentiment of the Ameri-

can people. That sentiment, the French still insist in believing, found expression in the letter that called upon all Americans to be neutral, something which to a Frenchman is neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring.

"We lost caste in other ways. We supplied France with munitions, but, as a purchasing agent for the government put it to me the other day, we are not losing much money by it, and, until the French government protested, it was found that some of our manufacturers were supplying shells that could not be persuaded to explode, and shoes made of pasteboard. I have seen the cross section of a shoe 'Made in U. S. A.' of which 80,000 pairs had been ordered, the main deck of which was brown paper. When an entire people, men, women, and children, are fighting for their national existence and their individual home and life, to have such evidences of Yankee smartness foisted upon them does not make for friendship. It inspires contempt.

"This unpleasant sentiment was strengthened by our failure to demand satisfaction for the lives lost by the *Lusitania* and by the unfortunate announcement that we were 'too proud to fight.'

"This latter struck the French not only as proclaiming us a cowardly nation, but as assuming superiority over the men who not only would fight, but who were fighting. And as several million Frenchmen were at the moment fighting, it was natural that they should laugh.

"The change of sentiment is shown in many ways. To detail them would not help matters. But as one hears of them from Americans who, since the war began, have been working in the hospitals, on distributing committees, in the banking houses, and in official posts, that our country is most unpopular is only too evident.

"It is the greater pity because the real feeling of our people toward France in this war is one of admiration. Of all the Allies, Americans who respect efficiency probably hold for the French the most hearty good feeling, affection, and goodwill. That through the government at Washington this feeling has been ill-expressed, if not entirely concealed, is unfortunate. Mr Kipling, whose manners are his own, has given as a toast: 'Damn all neutrals' The French are more polite. But when this war is over we may find that in twelve months we have lost a friend of many years."

BRITISH DISLIKE FOR AMERICANS, 1916

To Mr. Davis's report on the state of feeling in France we may add James D. Whelp-

ley's account of British feeling at the end of 1915:

"At the end of this war Englishmen will be liked better than they were in some parts of the world and more hated in others, and they will be as indifferent to these changes of feeling as if there had been none. At the end of this

The English, French, Russians, and Italians don't approve of us because they think we have failed to protest sufficiently against German methods, have been too patient with German and Turkish outrages, and that we have profited enormously in a financial way from the misfortunes of others.

"The Belgian relief work, the rebuke to Ger-



© Underwood & Underwood

The American Embassy in Paris

The Embassy building in the Rue François Premier was once the home of the Marquis de Ganay. Busts of Franklin and Washington may be seen here in the Hall of Honor.

war Americans will be more heartily and generally disliked everywhere, except possibly in Belgium and Serbia, than they were in that peaceful year of 1913 which now seems to belong to a remote past. Also they will care more than ever. They will feel hurt and resentful, for they will believe that it should be quite the contrary, for good and sufficient reasons.

"There will be many causes for this dislike; none of which will seem reasonable to an American, but the fact will remain. In the first place, we are, and probably will remain, neutral to the end. Neutrality means treading on every one's toes. The Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians do not like our form of neutrality, for under the circumstances it favors their enemies.

many for her submarine methods, the vast American contributions to all forms of assistance for the wounded and otherwise stricken among the warring peoples, the enlistment of several thousand Americans in the war on the side of the Allies, the unselfish labor of official and unofficial Americans for the relief of distress, the loans and credits given to warring nations in large amounts—none of these things, nor all of them, will prevail to make America or Americans popular with other peoples after this war.

"We may reasonably be expected to ask why this is so. The answer lies in the domain of psychology and not of reason, and it is rather difficult to analyze.

"At an English social gathering not long ago

the discussion ran to America's part in the war. An American present, well versed in current events, analyzed and explained the position of his country in the various crises which have arisen since August 4, 1914. The assembled company accepted the explanations in good part,



A German Idea of the Influences Urging America to Go to War

and apparently all was harmonious, when an Englishwoman present, whose mind reflects that of her soldier husband and his friends rather than her original thought, suddenly dropped a bomb by saying, in almost spiteful tone, 'You Americans feel so beastly virtuous because you are not in this war,' and in the momentary silence that ensued before the topic of conversation was changed the atmospheric condition resumed the normal state which generally prevails in an Anglo-American gathering in England in these times; the barometer suddenly dropped from 'set fair' to 'changeable.'

"Remember the *Lusitania*!" is the challenge of one of Lord Kitchener's recruiting posters which is displayed in every English village. I went into a little shop in a small English town one day recently to purchase something. On a wall opposite this shop was one of these posters. The woman behind the counter, while attending to my wants rather absent-mindedly, as they all do these days, began to talk of the war. Noting that I was an American, she said, in a very anxious tone, 'Do you think America

will soon come into the war against us?' I expressed my astonishment at her question, and she added, 'Oh, lots of people around here expect that.' I did some missionary work right there, and left her apparently much relieved in her mind, but her question haunted me, and still does.

"Whence come these impressions of America and the attitude of her people toward the war? One can only theorize about it because of lack of definite knowledge, for no one is ever able to give any exact reason for his impressions or any exact information as to the stories he hears.

"I have almost given up going to one of my clubs in London, where nearly all the members are military or civil servants of the British government, because of the atmospheric change which has taken place in the past few months. On the club bulletin board is posted a 'Roll of Honor.' On it, the last day I saw it, were the names of forty members who had been killed in action and sixty who had been wounded. In the big smoking room, now half deserted, nearly every one is in khaki; even the old dodderers are doing something that entitles them to wear it or they are going on what they have done in the past. An American enters the club. A few glance over their papers at the unusual sight of mufti. His nationality is recognized at once. Men who are talking together look around, a remark is made *sotto voce* or conversation stops altogether. It is not a personal thing, it is national, and, while the American's own state of mind may exaggerate the effect through hypersensitiveness, still it is unmistakable.

"Why?" you ask yourself again, and the question remains unanswered.

"Will America sit at the council table when peace is to be arranged?" I can hear the indignant shouts of 'No!' from men and women of every and any class in these British Isles. What would they have America do at the present moment other than is being done? They do not know. They think we should at least have made formal protest against the invasion of Belgium, and many of us Americans agree with them. They admit that there is no real cause for us to go to war as yet, and that we are wise and right in keeping out of it—that is, the intelligent Britishers do—and here their argument or talk trails off into sarcasm or growl which leads to no statement of definite program that they would lay down for us to follow. I can't help feeling at times that there is a great deal in the peppery outburst of the uninformed Englishwoman who said, 'You Americans feel so beastly virtuous because you are not in this war.'

HANOTAUX SEES AMERICA AGAINST THE WALL

When, in the early spring of 1917, it seemed that President Wilson had at last made up his mind to accept the issue which

*Kladderadatsch (Berlin)*

In History's Padded Cell

"Suffering from an incurable moral insanity."

This weird production is a good index of perverted German psychology on the issues which forced America into the war.

Germany had long offered, the United States, of course, became more sympathetic in the minds of the Allied nations. M. Gabriel Hanotaux, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a most distinguished French historian, wrote of America at that time:

"In the cataclysm which German ambition has let loose upon the earth the nations most exposed to danger are not those which are fighting. They at least are going forth to the struggle; they are giving the enemy of the human race terrible blows, which sometimes make him measure his length on the ground. Even as a conqueror, he would respect them; vanquished, he will submit to their law.

"No, those who run the greatest risk, whichever way destiny may decide the struggle, are the countries which think themselves safe, and which desire to enjoy in peace the misfortunes of others; and in the first rank of these are the American republics. They are enriching themselves, it is said, upon the universal ruin. In appearance, yes; but they are impoverishing themselves in reality. They may add up their great dividends—the final total will be liquidation. For nations, like individuals, must set down in the first line of their ledgers the honor and respect which they inspire in others.

"All the leaders of North American opinion now understand this. A well-turned phrase of one of them sums up the whole crisis: 'It's

a matter of finding out whether the capital of the United States is Washington or Berlin.' President Wilson, seizing with authority upon the opening just presented, has lunged at the German-American party and forced it to answer this clearly posed question: 'Can an American citizen go to Europe in safety, or can he not? If a steamer has on board a few guns for defence, is this sufficient to rob the American flag of its protective power?'

"President Wilson is still clearer. He adds: 'Are we to be governed henceforth by German money, by an industrious use of foreign capital?' For here is the double peril which the energetic action of the President has unveiled: Inside the country, if the victory should be gained by the party whose aggressions the President, supported by both Republicans and Democrats, is resolved to check, the United States would no longer be anything but a German colony; it would have surrendered without fighting.

"There are then, henceforth, two parties in North America—a party of subservience to Germany and a party of American independence. President Wilson, though a Democrat, is frankly with the old Americans, as is Roosevelt, the pro-

*Der Brummer (Berlin)*

A Word in Season

Japan: "Say, old chap, don't give away all your powder, you may need some of it yourself."

It was the Kaiser who first called attention to the "Yellow Peril," and it has for years been a favorite theory of German militarists that Japan would some day seek a war with the United States.



The Sinking of the *Lusitania*

© N. Y. Herald Co.

At 2.15 P.M., on May 7, 1915, in broad daylight off the coast of Ireland, the Cunarder was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine, and sank in less than twenty minutes. She carried 1,257 passengers, and a crew of 702. The total loss of life was 1,198, including 124 Americans. Of the 39 babies on board, 37 perished.

tagonist of the Republican Party. Inside its borders, at least, America will know how to guard jealously her independence and her liberty. . . .

"And what would happen if the rampart of Entente armies and fleets did not protect the great republic beyond the sea? The Germans boast of having built submarines capable of crossing 'the great width of the ocean' over and back, without landing. Is this for the purpose of molesting navigation in European waters, in the Channel, or in the Mediterranean? Certainly not; it has to do with quite a different enterprise. Its object is to make the United States tremble and to humble American pride, while American competition can still be carried on against the nations which are fighting for universal freedom. President Wilson seems to have let it be understood that the only way to bring about an early peace was to throw the weight of America's will into the balance. This is what the German government is trying by

every means to hinder. It has not forgotten the decisive intervention of President Roosevelt in the Russo-Japanese conflict. . . .

"Since the beginning of the war I have insisted upon the fact of impossible neutralities. Events are unrolling in such a way that they carry with them like an avalanche all that seeks to escape them. Germany has put America up against the wall, has forced her to declare herself: whosoever is not with me is against me. We are in the epoch of threats, of the refrain, 'Look out for our submarines!' If America does not submit, the other consequences will follow. The die is cast! Germany, gasping under the attacks of the Allies, dares to use intimidation. Victorious, she will hurl herself upon the only remaining power still standing in her way. No sooner shall the waves of the ocean be under her control than a formidable armada will set sail for the defenceless coasts of the Western Continent."

THE ROAD TO FRANCE *

By DANIEL M. HENDERSON

Thank God, our liberating lance
Goes flaming on the way to France!
To France—the trail the Gurkhas found;
To France—old England's rallying ground!
To France—the path the Russians strode!
To France—the Anzacs' glory road!
To France—where our Lost Legion ran
To fight and die for God and man!
To France—with every race and breed
That hates Oppression's brutal creed!

Ah, France, how could our hearts forget
The path by which came Lafayette?
How could the haze of doubt hang low
Upon the road of Rochambeau?
How was it that we missed the way
Brave Joffre leads us along to-day?
At last, thank God! At last, we see
There is no tribal Liberty!
No beacon lighting just our shores,
No Freedom guarding but our doors,

The flame she kindled for our sires
Burns now in Europe's battle-fires,
The soul that led our fathers west
Turns back to free the world's oppressed.

Allies, you have not called in vain;
We share your conflict and your pain.
"Old Glory," through new stains and rents,
Partakes of Freedom's sacraments.
Into that hell his will creates
We drive the foe—his lusts, his hates.
Last come, we will be last to stay.
Till Right has had her crowning day.
Replenish, comrades, from our veins
The blood the sword of despot drains.
And make our eager sacrifice
Part of the freely rendered price
You pay to lift humanity—
You pay to make our brothers free.
See, with what proud hearts we advance
To France!

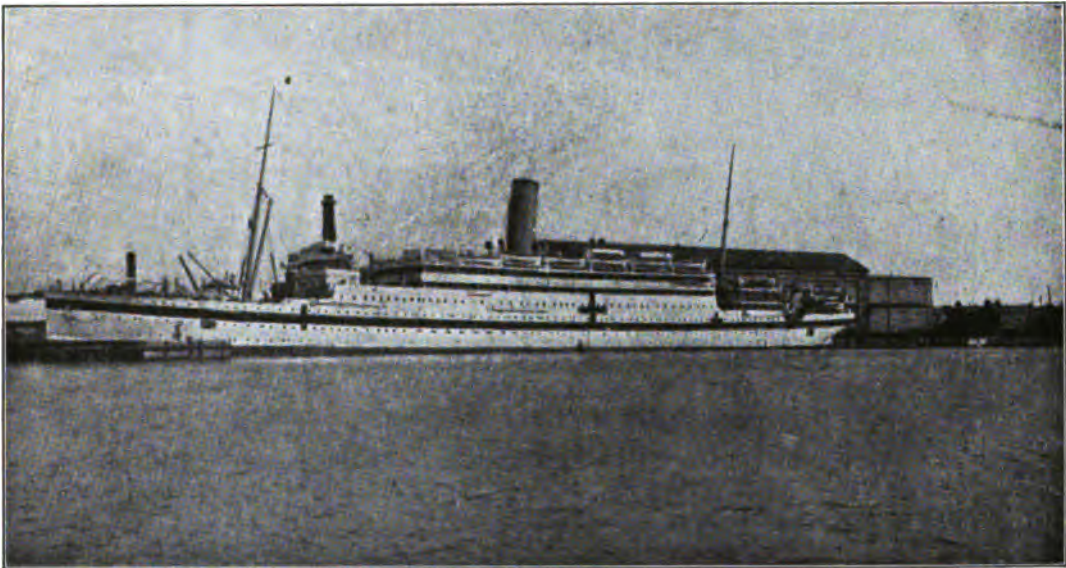
* Awarded first place in a prize-poem contest conducted by the National Arts Club, New York.

WHY AMERICA WENT TO WAR

BY WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

THE year 1914 marks the climax of a ten years' struggle in American politics for a distribution of the common wealth of the people. Ten years before, President Roosevelt, having closed what he regarded as McKinley's second term, began a rather tumultuous agitation to awaken the public conscience to the evils in the distribution of

by public sentiment crowding Congress, and shouldering even the President aside. The United States became in those days a government of active militant public opinion, and public opinion was centered upon one thing. The public mind, indeed, can only function with one idea. And its one idea was to make a readjustment of the various



Hospital Ship *Asturias*

Even the Red Cross, plainly visible on her side, did not save her from the submarine frightfulness.

our common wealth, caused by what came to be known in those days as "big business," "predatory wealth," "aggrandized capital." Roosevelt was America's greatest agitator. He knew how to speak to the public, to lead the public, to arouse the public. He wrote in advertising type, in the plain language of publicity, and he spoke incessantly, but always to one purpose. During the first few years of the decade preceding the outbreak of the war, the Roosevelt seed seemed to be falling upon more or less stony ground; but in the Taft administration, from 1909 to 1913, much real advance was made. It was made

economic funds; interest, profits, wages, and the like. Speaking broadly, and not using terms which were definitely in the public mind, one might say that the heart of America in those years was set upon taking increment from the man who gets what he does not earn and giving it to the man who earns what he does not get. The insurgent movement in Congress overthrew Speaker Cannon, ousted Ballinger from the Taft cabinet, forced the enactment of the Postal Savings Law, the Interstate Commerce Law, made sentiment for the Federal Banking Act, reversed the country's attitude toward public lands and



From Punch, Aug. 19, 1914

The World's Enemy

The Kaiser: "Who goes there?"

Spirit of Carnage: "A Friend—Your only one."

This strong indictment of German militarism appeared very soon after the Kaiser's army broke into Belgium and put thousands of its innocent inhabitants to the sword.

natural resources, and was a new thing in American politics. It had its political phase also: the direct primary, the initiative, referendum, and recall in the various States and in hundreds of cities, flowered as a result of this aggressive belief in political democracy. The national income tax and the direct election of the United States Senate followed as constitutional expressions of the same insurgency. Acceptable leaders in America were aggressive leaders, perhaps noisy leaders, but leaders who spoke to the people in simple, if often rather improper language, about a more just relation between man and man in business and in politics.

THE ARRIVAL OF WOODROW WILSON

The split in the Republican Party, the formation of the Progressive Party in 1912, was another evidence of this intense desire of the American people to put their leadership in the hands of men who are interested in the public aspect of business rather than in its private aspect. In the Republican Party, a score of leaders, more or less miniature editions of Roosevelt, were thriving in all parts of the country, but in the Democratic Party this leadership was more or less confined to William J. Bryan. For it so happened that when a Progressive or insurgent Republican appeared in a State and secured the Republican Party nomination, the Conservative element of the Republican Party supported the Democratic candidate at the polls, and this support became a check upon successful Democratic leaders in the North. The Democratic leaders, while they encouraged the Progressive movement, were themselves, by force of circumstances, indebted for their elections to the Conservative force of the community. Governor Woodrow Wilson was one of the few noted Democratic exceptions to this rule. He was elected Governor of New Jersey as a Liberal Democrat. He functioned there distinctly as a Liberal Democrat, and in the Democratic National Convention he was opposed vigorously by the Conservative force of his own party, who united upon Champ Clark and gave him the majority in the Democratic National Convention, but not the two-thirds majority necessary to win the Presidential nomination.

Then Bryan swung the force of his personality and his followers to Woodrow Wilson, and nominated him for President. So that the election of Wilson was, by a sort of political apostolic succession, the justification of the insurgent Progressive Roosevelt movement. In President Wilson's inaugural message, he definitely assumed the mantle of Liberal leadership in the United States. He coined the phrase "forward looking men." And the first eighteen months of his administration, the months preceding the war, were months of rapid development toward a strongly centralized federal government taking over many affairs we hitherto had considered purely private affairs. We were federalizing and socializing many things. The Democratic Congress, under the leadership of the Democratic President, was devoting itself almost exclusively to institutionalizing through law the demands of the Liberal or Progressive movement in America, which had been set forth in the Progressive national platform of 1912. In spite of the Democratic tenet of State rights, in spite of candidate Woodrow Wilson's declaration in favor of "the new freedom," American sentiment was moving in a rather swift, strong current toward evolutionary State Socialism.

The reflex of this current was found in a back eddy of timidity on the part of Capital. In the winter of 1913-14, thousands of men were out of employment. Industry was anything but robust. Times were beginning to be hard. The crest of the wave toward State Socialism probably had passed. But we did not know it then. The subsidence of the wave was not apparent until the election of 1914, which saw the passing of the Progressive Party. But it was into this vortex of conflicting economic and industrial interests that the news of the World War came. And it was to a people vastly unprepared for war and war's alarms, and war's dangers, that the great spectacle of July, August, and September, 1914, in Europe, unfolded itself. It struck us with amazement, with consternation, with rather chattering fear. Yet most of us had for years been conscious of the impending catastrophe beyond the seas—thoughtful men in America began to ask what it would mean for our own country.



Remember the *Lusitania*

This remarkable float, representing the sinking of the *Lusitania*, was seen in a procession during the Third Liberty Loan Campaign.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

The fear that America felt when the great drama opened in Europe in 1914, was not very personal; it was a vague fear for the life of European civilization. As the countless waves of Uhlans rolled past Liège, past Namur, past all the Belgian barriers into Belgium, across Belgium, down into



Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch
Unprepared

One of the many cartoons which illustrated America's helplessness in case of a victorious Germany.

Northern France, we, in America, saw the great unfolding spectacle as a horror, as a shameful thing to happen upon the stage of civilization; but we did not seem to relate it in any way to our American life, or to the fortunes of our American nation. We were onlookers, not participants. And at first we didn't take sides. There was a genuine feeling of neutrality in America, during those early days of the war; possibly the first faint interest we felt was the instinctive American feeling, perhaps one might say, the instinctive Anglo-Saxon feeling, or perhaps instinctive human feeling, for the under-dog; the rights or wrongs of the war were not elaborately analyzed in our hearts, but as Belgium fell, and as Northern France crumbled under the invader, America did have a rather lively interest in the fortunes of what was obviously the weaker people. We did not at first care much whether those weaker people were right

or wrong. What we cared for was the fact that a rather large, entirely ruthless, and obviously military-minded nation was attacking by surprise, and, as we thought, quite apart from the merits of the controversy,—unfairly from a sporting viewpoint,—a weaker force, unprepared, quite undesirous of war, who were clearly fighting a losing battle of defence. Now the thing which Germany never could understand, was that psychology in the heart of the world, that reaction to their operations. Germany did not realize that sympathy for the weak is more powerful in the human heart than terror for the strong. So Germany became more and more ruthless, more and more terrible, and as Germany in those first weeks of August and September wreaked her wrath upon the rather feebly resisting people, hoping thereby not merely to conquer them, but by dread to conquer the world, America got a definite, ineradicable impression that Germany was the aggressor in the war, and that a nation which could be as brutal as Germany must of necessity be wrong. It was not reasoned out; it was intuitive, and the natural reaction of an open-minded unmilitary people whose fundamental philosophy was not the philosophy of force, but the philosophy of kindness and reasonableness—"of sweetness and light."

Of course there were conflicting threads of sympathy. People of German birth, of German antecedents, had a natural inclination toward the Fatherland. And they were noisy, but not very numerous. Then, of course, there was the ancient school reader myth about our American enmity to England. It somewhat mitigated our sympathy for France and Belgium, and gradually this sympathy, which was emotional rather than intellectual, for the Allies against the Central Powers, grew strongly and definitely in the American heart, and probably even before the first Christmas of the war this sympathy engaged a majority of the American people.

AMERICA AS INNOCENT BYSTANDER

But even then, it was the bystander's sympathy. This does not mean that people here and there, perhaps one in fifty, did not see America's duty to enter the war during those first few months of the war, and those last



As Between Friends

From Punch, Jan. 6, 1915

British Lion: "Please don't look at me like that, Sam. YOU'RE not the Eagle I'm up against."

At the time this cartoon appeared the victorious German armies were causing Great Britain many hours of the utmost anxiety, and American commercial interests were protesting against British seizures of neutral cargoes from this country.

few months of 1914. Here and there in every community, a man or a woman was voicing sentiments, which we regarded as almost treasonable sentiments, which implied that we should go to the rescue of Belgium and France. But the people, generally, however strong their supporting sympathy was for the injured and bleeding combatants, did not feel that America had any business in the war. We felt our isolation stronger than our sym-

sentiment in favor of the Allies and their cause, began to take something more than a mere emotional phase. It was easy for America to see that the aggressors were those who had prepared for the war, who had willed war in general, and to whom war really was something more than a dreadful final arbiter, to whom war was a glorious means to a glorious end. It was easy for America to believe that the Germans were responsible for the war, and that they were wrong in their contentions and wicked in the realization of their hard material philosophy of force as the final arbiter of justice.



Wilson Leaping into the Allies' Ranks

An Italian cartoonist's view of the Allies' eagerness to have America join in the war against Germany.

pathy. For a year we were the innocent bystanders.

Now it was inevitable that such a great dramatic spectacle as the European War, with its intense emotional appeal, could not leave a red-blooded people emotionally active and politically impassive. It became evident early in 1915 that America might possibly motive her emotions, might do something to satisfy the thing which put the look of horror on the American countenance. More and more frequently in all sorts of semi-public places, on trains, in hotels, in theaters, at dinner tables, the man or woman appeared who felt and said that we should get into the war to help France and Belgium. It wasn't thought necessary in those days to talk about helping England. Every one felt that England could take care of herself. But the

ROOSEVELT AND WILSON

Now when a people is going through a great emotional stress toward a conviction, it is inevitable that they must have leaders, men who will voice the things in the public heart. And it so fell out that two leaders rose in this new crisis, . . . two men opposite in method, opposite in temperament, men who distrusted each other, men who more or less despised each other. And these two men took leadership in America, one impetuous, clamorous, practical, direct, yet a dreamer of dreams and a seer of visions; a man who dramatized everything, to whom life was a series of climaxes, to whom politics was a great stage story: always well set, always with a hero and a villain, always with a moral to adorn the tale.

Roosevelt was action incarnate; Wilson was a syllogism. He had no taste for climax or for dramatic appeal. He would meditate in an explosion, and dedramatize whatever he touched. The great story that was passing vividly upon the world's screen—the story of outraged Belgium, and ravished France, the tremendous fate of the under-dog which was arousing the sympathy of America in spite of the German blood in our veins—found no emotional reaction in President Wilson's public utterances, no adequate expression in his public acts. His neutrality expressed our fear, rather than our sympathy, and Europe misjudged him, and misunderstood us.

The antagonism between the two men, partly temperamental, somewhat political, was dramatized in their public attitude toward the war. Early in 1915, it became evi-

dent that Colonel Roosevelt regarded our entrance into the European War as inevitable, and it became equally evident that President Wilson hoped sincerely and believed earnestly that it would be avoidable with honor. These two attitudes on the one hand—Roosevelt's impetuous emotional demand that America stand for justice in the world conflict, and Wilson's calm, implacable demand for peace and neutrality—reflected the two conflicting currents in American life, the two warring spirits in the American soul. And for two years or more these warring dual personalities represented by the two leaders, wrestled within us like mighty tides. And events only added to the bitterness of the conflict. But also, because of the curious misunderstanding in the German mind of America's heart and America's deep sentimentality, Germany gave these events only continuous direction.

The horrible panorama of the war more and more distracted the attention of the American people from their internal political and social problems. It was hard to arouse interest in an audience for working men's compensation laws and mothers' pensions and a federal banking act when men by the thousands were dying under most excruciating torture on the battlefield of Europe, and the struggle for economic justice and for democratic control of government died hard in America. But the leaders of the economic struggle held a bitter resentment toward the war. They felt that it had intervened to block their progress. The more suspicious felt that Capital had brought on the war, that Capital had drawn a herring across the trail and stopped the pursuit of the cunning red fox of industrial greed.

There was a curious parting in the ways. Many of those who had followed Roosevelt in his fight for "social and industrial justice" from 1904 to 1914, left him in his demands that America should enter the war in the name of international justice. On the other hand many of those who had scorned him and jeered at him in his decade-long fight for what he was pleased to call the "square deal" rallied to him in the contest he was making to arouse the spirit of American manhood and bring America into the war. President Wilson had a similarly curious experience. Thou-

sands of radicals who distrusted the Wilson domestic policy of mild progressivism saw in his attitude of neutrality the only course which would permit the continuance of the struggle for economic and industrial freedom in America. So Wilson became the leader of the economic radicals and Roosevelt had



Kirby in the New York World
Stop!

President Wilson, with the power of outraged public opinion behind him, vainly tries to halt the U-boat frightfulness.

trouble holding his old following, although he gained a new one.

"STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY"

But steadily the German foreign policy added justification and strength to the Roosevelt contention. Early in February, 1915, the German agents began blowing up bridges, forging American passports, interfering with industrial affairs. We were making munitions for all Europe, for Germany as well as for the Allies. But the British blockade made it difficult to deliver American made munitions in Germany, although they were promptly and safely delivered to the Allies. Then on February 4, 1915, Germany proclaimed the waters around Great Britain and Ireland a war zone. A week later, the American State Department sent a note to the German government, firm, but friendly, telling the Germans that the United States would



The Destruction of Albert

hold Germany to "strict accountability" should the commanders of the German vessels of war "destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens."

Germany's answer to our warning of accountability was an advertisement in Amer-

steamer *Falaba*, which was torpedoed by the Germans. The Germans indicated that they would not pay damage for the death of Thrasher because neutrals were warned not to cross the war zone, and America began to feel the slowly jabbing elbow of military Germany crowding her out of her decent place in the world. The schooner *William P. Frye* was torpedoed and its cargo lost. The American steamer *Gulflight* was sunk off the coast of Holland, probably by a German mine. Every week saw some act of brutal aggression on the part of the German government, some act intended to terrorize America, but it only aroused American wrath. Day by day, week by week, month by month, during the spring of 1915, the President with great patience backed by a high courage tried through correspondence to persuade Germany of the folly of trying to antagonize America by wanton acts of brutality in the submarine warfare.

And while the President was writing notes, and these notes after all were intended largely for American consumption,

Colonel Roosevelt, voicing the impatience of America, was lampooning our policy of neutrality, and criticizing bitterly the President's patience with the German aggression. Each leader was functioning in his own way.

DRIFTING TOWARD WAR

Looking back at those days of 1915, it seems as if three great forces were pushing us slowly and inexorably into the war: First, the patient, steady neutrality of the President through his notes making it plainer every day that Germany was indeed a wicked, ruthless aggressor, violating American rights indiscriminately; secondly, Colonel Roosevelt's advertising in his own way the impotence of patience; and thirdly, in harmony with it all, the steady, cynical, vicious, inch-by-inch aggrandizement of the Germans upon American rights. In those days, the President, Colonel



Lustige Blätter (Berlin)

The Somme Offensive

England and France in the Squirrel Cage: "What think you, brother, shall we not soon reach the Rhine?"

The Battle of the Somme, which opened on June 30, 1916, was fought by the British and French to relieve the German pressure at Verdun. It continued for several months.

ican newspapers that enemy passenger ships sailing from America would be destroyed by German submarines. Not content with having aroused the sympathy of America for the Allies by the policy of frightfulness, not content with having made Germany an enemy of the world's under-dog, by German brutality, the Germans deliberately set out to motivate the American sentiment for the under-dog with wrath at Germany.

Moreover, in March, Germans forged false clearing papers, and false manifestations in connection with the voyages made by four steamships to supply coal and provisions to the German steamship *Karlsruhe*, and the auxiliary cruiser *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*. The German agents who issued these forgeries were indicted and other German agents caught buying passports were duly sentenced. Then late in March, an American citizen named Thrasher was a passenger lost on the

Roosevelt, and the Germans seemed all to be working at cross-purposes. And the situation seemed to be hopelessly chaotic. But viewing it after five years, one sees that it was all—the Roosevelt policy, the Wilson policy, the German policy—part of the great unconscious plan to bring America into the war.

German wireless plants were discovered in America. German propaganda was filling the American newspapers. And it was obvious that this propaganda was bought and paid for. And it also increased the indignation of Americans for Germany, for this propaganda was clearly an attempt on Germany's part to interfere with American affairs. This interference by Germany in American affairs, industrial, economic, and political, became more and more evident as the year of 1915 grew older. Strikes were instigated. Sabotage in the munition factories was traced to the German agents. German agents tried to assassinate an American banker who was lending money to the Allies. They were caught committing arson, murders, and burglary; and then, upon top of all that, came the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

And again the sympathy of America for the Allies was motivated more strongly by American anger. And the Germans, in their folly, thought that terror would overcome indignation.

Undoubtedly the leadership of Roosevelt, had he been President, could have taken America into the war when the *Lusitania* was sunk. But it is also certain that the leadership of Wilson could not do so. His method was tedious, undramatic, patient, careful, and the notes that he wrote and the insults that he took proved without question to every American as the months wore on and 1915 grew old that the German was deliberate, was malicious, was uncompromising in his cruelty, and ruthless in his desire to dominate the world by force. If Colonel Roosevelt had taken the nation to war, as he might have taken it as President in 1915, he would have taken a nation more or less divided. He would have had a majority, an enthusiastic, cheering, angry majority behind him. But he might have had a sullen, unconvinced, pacifist minority, partly pro-German, partly composed of economic radicals,



Die Muskete (Vienna)

The Terror of the Air

Ghost of King Edward (to the late Queen Victoria): "Mother! Mother! Turn off the stars. Here comes the Zeppelin."

The Germans defended bomb-dropping from Zeppelins on English cities and towns, thereby killing non-combatants, on the ground that these places were military centers because troops were quartered there.

who would have protested against the war as unnecessary, avoidable, as headlong, hot-blooded diplomacy. But while the President wrote notes which convinced this potential pacifist minority of the righteousness of the American cause, Roosevelt, lampooning those notes, jeering at the President's patience, hooting at the policy of debate under insult, kept a belligerent majority red-hot for war, while in another pot the President was slowly boiling the cooler-blooded minority. And all the time Germany was feeding the flames under the two pots by her submarine policy, which was intended to duplicate upon the high seas the terror which the German name inspired in Europe.

THE MORAL ISSUE

But not even during this fateful year of 1915 did America see the moral issue in

volved in the European War. It still remained a great contest between a bully and a peaceful citizen. It was a contest in which we were beginning to have something more than the interest of an innocent bystander, because as an innocent bystander we were

Germans, castigating the President, or the President himself, calmly allowing the Germans through their correspondence to reveal their German baseness and show, in their shameless pride, their own bloody hand. The two leaders seemed most violently in oppo-



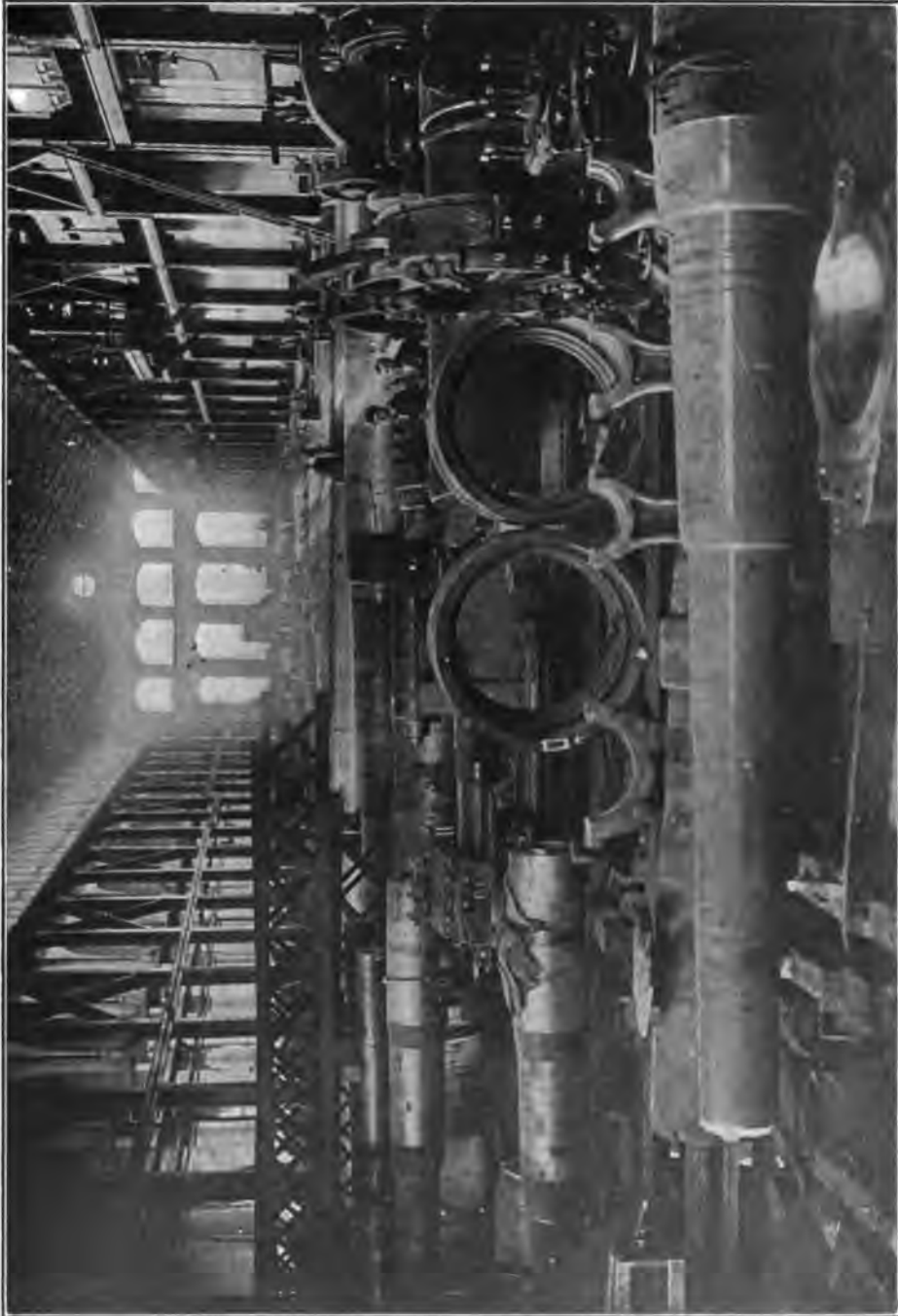
The American Embassy in Berlin, August, 1916

Ambassador Gerard is seen in the middle, with the Embassy staff on either side.

being more or less injured; it was not even then a deep, fundamental, moral interest which stirred us. We still harbored only the angered irritation of a man whose material rights are threatened, and who feels reluctantly that he would like to strike back, but probably should not do so. The President continued his note writing, and the note writing continued deeply to convince America of the wickedness of the German philosophy and the weakness of the German cause.

It is hard to tell who put into the hearts of the American people more deeply the implacable hatred for all things German which afterward flowered in our declaration of war; whether it was Colonel Roosevelt lashing the

sition; they seemed to have nothing in common; yet they were working for a common purpose all unknown and unimagined by themselves. They were attacking the American heart and conscience from two angles, steadily, resistantly, and righteously, and all the time the American people thought these leaders were taking sides upon the issue of the war when as a matter of fact they were only making up the American public mind, quickening and steadying the American heart, uniting the American people. And so 1915 saw the passing almost entirely from the American mind and heart of all interest in domestic, economic, and industrial problems. The ten years' long struggle for righteousness



America's Answer to the Kaiser

A section of the main gun shop at the Watervliet Arsenal, showing a number of 16-inch guns soon to be ready for shipment to France.

was left like a plow in the furrow. It is true that Congress, under the momentum of a sentiment that had passed, was gradually enacting into laws the demands of the latter part of the Roosevelt decade of agitation. But new issues were not ripening, new demands were not appearing. The war had closed the drama of which Colonel Roosevelt was the hero from 1904 to 1914, and the new spectacle of blood, and fire, and agony, the spectacle of a world in torture and pain, had attracted the eyes of the American people from their own affairs to those affairs which had, at first, seemed quite remote, but which gradually before their eyes they saw coming nearer and nearer. And so we enter the year 1916 with its memorable slogan: "He kept us out of war."

HOW THE WAR DRAMA BEGAN

The year 1916 was a year of drama. In the background was the constantly approaching spectacle of the war, moving nearer and nearer to America, becoming less and less an impersonal affair, eliciting not merely our sympathies for the under-dog, but becoming more and more our own conflict. Fresh in the minds of the people were the villainous activities of Boy-Ed, Dr. Dumba, Count von Bernstorff, Captain von Papen, and a score of lesser German agents, conspiring against the peace of internal America, inciting riot, encouraging arson, abetting murder. And on the high seas boat after boat went down with Americans on board, American boats, neutral boats, boats of the Allies. Every week saw its long record of notes; notes on the *Frye* case, notes on the *Ancona*, notes on the *Lusitania*, notes on the *Petrolite*, notes on the *Sussex*. The context of these notes was an American education in the principles of democracy. The education came slowly, but it came thoroughly. It was exasperating, but it was effective. The President began to talk about increasing our number of ships, he began to talk about military preparedness, and the war entered the Presidential campaign.

In that campaign, in the rough-and-tumble of the discussion the people gradually began to realize as they never could have realized in any other way than through the education

of a great national campaign what was the meaning of the war; they came to realize that there was something more on the side of the Allies than the cause of the under-dog. In a thousand forums, in hundreds of newspaper articles, in the clash between the Democrats and Republicans, and the great turmoil that always comes with an American Presidential campaign, the people began to see rather definitely that Germany represented force in the world and that the Allies, opposing Germany, represented reasonableness and democracy. The international events of 1916, which emphasized the contrast between the Germans and their allies, came when the German submarine *Deutschland* crossed the Atlantic in July and appeared as an unarmed peaceful merchant ship loaded with dyestuff, and a few days later the German submarine *U-53* entered the harbor of Newport solely to show herself to America, and then for two days ravaged the shipping off the coast of the United States, sinking British, Dutch, Norwegian freighters, and the British passenger liner *Stephano*, carrying a number of American citizens. The appearance of these U-boats was clearly a demonstration of force and threat to America. The German psychology, which believed in force and the power of force to terrorize, clearly was functioning after the fashion of the Germans who tried to put the fear of their pagan god into the hearts of the Belgians in 1914. The gesture of the U-boats in 1916 was the same kind of a gesture which Germany made to the world when she ravaged Belgium in 1914, threatening the use of force in order to gain her point.

When the National Democratic Party decided to make the campaign upon Wilson's neutrality, with the slogan, "He kept us out of war," the challenge was accepted, not by the Republican Party, nor even by the Republican presidential candidate, but by Colonel Roosevelt. He still was the leader who opposed the President, and he went over the country, gathering about him the righteous indignation of the people at the insults which Germany had heaped upon America. And as Roosevelt talked more and more indignantly, the President acted more and more firmly. The President must have felt the rising tide of American wrath. This tide up-



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Strassburg, the Capital of Alsace

Throughout the years of German rule the Alsatians remained loyal to France. During the war Germany did not dare to force them to march against the French, and so Alsatian soldiers were used on the East front instead.



Ullrich (Berlin)

Those American Guns

The Englishman: "I wish I had remained neutral, too, then I could have done a bit of weapon trading."

Maximilian Harden and other German writers ridiculed our neutrality and asserted that we were merely soulless money-getters.

bore him to sail out into the deep and let down his nets! And as the year deepened, even though the Democratic slogan, "He kept us out of war," was winning votes, the President was gradually drawing nearer and nearer to the vortex which led us into the war. His correspondence with the Germans was stiffer and stiffer, and the situation was becoming more and more difficult.

DEMOCRACY AT STAKE

Doubtless the Germans felt that the election of Wilson in 1916 meant a pacifist victory, meant that we would not fight, that we were "too proud to fight." For after the election of Wilson, the German policy also stiffened perceptibly in December and January; so perceptibly, indeed, that it became evident to all America that the situation was intolerant. The war was drawing nearer and nearer, and the meaning of the war was becoming clearer and clearer. It was a long, hard way to go from 1914, where we were engrossed with social and industrial justice, to 1917, where social and industrial justice

was a secondary issue and self-preservation and the preservation of the democratic ideal in the world was of first importance. And there can be no doubt that during the campaign of 1916, whatever may have been indicated by the votes of the American people, in their hearts had grown a definite conviction that democracy was in danger all over the world. It was not hard for the President to take us into war. Colonel Roosevelt's speeches were not needed. Only the German coöperation was required, and the President had that when the Germans sent their note in January, 1917, declaring that beginning February 1st German submarines would sink, without warning, any merchant vessel entering the war zone, or on the coasts of the Allied countries, thus repudiating the pledges made in the German note on May, 1916, on the *Sussex* case.

On February 5th, the British steamship *Eveston*, was sunk without warning and an American negro seaman was killed. Diplomatic relations with Germany had been severed upon the receipt of the German note of warning that the submarine warfare would recommence. After that, war was inevitable.



De Notenkraaker (Amsterdam)

Feeding the Flames

Militarism: "I've fuel enough to last through the New Year."

This Dutch cartoon appeared at the end of 1917, when it was evident that Germany was nearing exhaustion.

And, curiously enough, the sentiment for the war was not so much indignation at America's intolerable treatment from Germany as a mounting desire to save the world to democracy. The education, and the campaign of 1916, Colonel Roosevelt's speeches, the Wilson notes, the landing of the submarine, all had culminated in driving home this great truth, that force and democracy are two eternally conflicting theories of government, based upon two opposing philosophies, the philosophy of the material and the philosophy of the spiritual.

FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUSTICE

America went into the war after a three years' education in philosophy. Not that America needed the education, not that she changed her philosophy. For the philosophy of democracy, the philosophy of reasonableness, the philosophy which says that this is not a material world but part of the great spiritual universe, is the philosophy of Puritanism, the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence, the philosophy of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. All that America ever has stood for

has been based upon the theory of a moral government of the universe, of a force outside ourselves which makes for righteousness. The movement which began back in 1904, the movement which had for its motto, "righteousness exalteth a nation," was indeed part of the movement which found its climax in the armistice of November 11, 1918. In 1914, when the war came, the Liberals and Progressives and Radicals, not merely in the United States, but all over the world, felt that a great check had come to their movement. They feared that the war would divert the heart of civilization from its great desire for the establishment of justice among mankind.

But, in truth, the war only emphasized the movement, only made the world more radical, more liberal, more progressive. It was a mysterious outcome, unexpected, and it had the aid of forces far beyond human knowledge. It was one of those divinely erected things which proves that there is a moral government of the universe; that there is a great purpose slowly directing the world upon a definite course of progress toward some unknown goal.



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"A Course of Sprouts"

Exercises for strengthening the muscles being performed by members of the National Army at Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J., where the New Jersey Draft Army was trained.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

At the Opening of the War and for Some Time Afterward, Public Opinion Was Divided on the Issues at Stake

I

A DIVIDED HOUSE

WHEN in August, 1914, President Wilson gave out his proclamation of neutrality exhorting the people of the United States to remain neutral in thought and deed, public opinion in America had had no time to become unified in any real sense concerning the issues presented by the war. Although the punctilious phrasing of an official document might set forth the correct and single-purposed attitude of a government, a survey of the country's press during those first startled months shows a confusing variety of sentiments whose single discernible tendency was to condemn the Teutonic aggressor, while almost unanimously expressing belief in the necessity for a strict American neutrality. Apparently the war in its commercial reactions upon the United States took up most of the people's thoughts at this time. Thus, in November, a vote taken among 367 newspapers throughout the United States, showed 105 definitely pro-Ally, 20 pro-German, and 242 neutral, while in the large cities, particularly, the dailies were discussing ways and means to safeguard the nation's economic interests in the general upheaval.

"If Europe insists on committing suicide, Europe must furnish the corpse," was the comment of one New York journal, and another, speaking of a possible embargo on gold exports, says:

"There is nothing reasonable in such a war as that for which Europe has been making ready, and it would be folly for the country to sacrifice itself to the frenzy of dynastic policies and the clash of ancient hatreds which is urging the Old World to destruction.

"Could anything be more rational than a refusal by the United States, the government, and the banking and business community, acting together, to permit Europe to draw on this country further for the expense of the mad courses on which it is about to embark? After declaring, through its governmental and business representatives, that it proposes to honor all legiti-

mate drafts upon it after Europe has made its peace, should not the United States now announce to the world that if Europe is going to plunge into the abyss the United States does not intend to go down with it?"

WHERE ROOSEVELT STOOD IN 1914

Those elements of public opinion which were crystallized later into two opposing groups, disagreeing over the duty of America in regard to actively entering the struggle, had not appeared at this time. Even Mr. Roosevelt's pen had far to go before reaching that stern condemnation of Germany which thorough knowledge later justified. Writing in the autumn of 1914, this spokesman of the pro-Ally cause in the United States had this to say:

"As for crushing Germany or crippling her and reducing her to political impotence, such an action would be a disaster to mankind. The Germans are not merely brothers; they are largely ourselves. . . . Every generous heart and every far-seeing mind throughout the world should rejoice in the existence of a stable, united, and powerful Germany, too strong to fear aggression and too just to be a source of fear to its neighbors."—*America and the World War*, p. 72.

THE SALE OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS

Meanwhile the German-language newspapers and the pro-German English language publications were not neglecting to present the Teutonic version of events, to accuse the Allies of falsifying dispatches, and to make much of the bitter German protests against the increasing shipments of munitions to England and France. From Budapest, in the later part of February, 1915, Count Apponyi sent a letter to an American friend, summing up with great frankness the Austro-Hungarian view of America's neutrality:

"We cannot explain to ourselves that a neutral power should suffer the selling of arms and ammunition by its citizens to one of the belligerent parties, when no such selling to the other party is practically feasible; we cannot under-

stand why America should meekly submit to the dictates of England, declaring all foodstuffs and manufacturing materials contraband of war, with not even a show of right and with the clear and openly proclaimed intention of starving Germany and Austria-Hungary; why, on the other hand, America should use an almost threatening language against Germany, and against Germany alone, when the latter country announces reprisals against the English trade, which, under given circumstances, can be considered only as acts of legitimate self-defence against an enemy who chooses to wage war not on our soldiers only, but on our women and children, too.

"With all the respect we feel for the United States, we cannot find this attitude of their government either fair or dignified. I offer these remarks in no spirit of uncalled-for criticism, but because I see how much the moral authority of the United States and their splendid situation as the providential peacemakers of some future—alas! still far-off—day has been impaired by the aforementioned proceedings. We cannot help considering them as so many acts of ill-disguised hostility against ourselves and of compliance with our foes. How can you expect, then, to have your good offices accepted with confidence by both belligerent parties when the times are ripe for them? It seems like the throwing away of a magnificent opportunity, and I think that those who, like yourself, cherish for your country the noble ambition of being some day the restorer of peace, should exert themselves to prevent practices which, if continued, would disable her to play any such part."—*New York Times*, March 28, 1915.

HARDEN RAILS AT OUR PROSPERITY

At this period, when German outrages were beginning to be angrily reflected in hostile American opinion, and Mr. Roosevelt's pronouncements were already urging American participation in the war on the Entente side, Maximilian Harden voiced Germany's view of our attitude toward the war:

"No matter how the dice fall for us, the chief winnings are going to you. The cost of the war (expense without increment, devastation, loss of business) amounts to a hundred thousand million marks or more for old Europa; she will be loaded down with loans and taxes. Even to the gaze of the victor, customers will sink away that were yesterday capable of buying and paying. Extraordinary risks cannot be undertaken for many a year on our soil. But everybody will drift over to you—Ministers of Finance, artists, inventors, and those who scent profits. You will merely have to free yourselves from dross (and from the trust thought that cannot be stifled) and to weed out the tares of demagoguery; then you will be the effective lords

of the world and will travel to Europe like a great Nürnberg that teaches people subsequently to feel how once upon a time it felt to operate in the Narrows.

"The scope of your planning and of your accomplishment, the very rank luxuriance of your life, will be marveled at as a fairy wonder. We, victors and conquered and neutrals, will



Kladderatsch (Berlin)

At the World Opera

The fat English Don Juan sings his celebrated "Pounds-Sterling" Aria, to the Balkan Public, without much success.

The allusion of this German cartoon is to England's efforts to win Bulgaria to the side of the Allies.

alike be confined by duty to austere simplicity of living. Your complaint is unfounded; only gird yourselves for a wee short time in patience. Whether the business deals which you grab in the wartime smell good or bad, we shall not now publicly investigate. If law and custom permit them, what do you care for alien heart-aches? If the statutes of international law prohibit them, the governments must insure the effectiveness thereof. Scolding does not help. Until the battle has been fought out to the finish, until the book of its genesis has been exalted above every doubt, your opinion weighs as heavy as a little chicken's feather to us. Let writer and talker rave till they are exhausted—not a syllable yet in defence.

"We do not feel hurt (haven't spare time for it; indeed, we are glad that you give ten millions each month for Belgium, that you intend to help care for Poland, that you are opening the savings banks of your children.

But, seriously, we beg you not to howl if American ships are damaged by the attack of German submarines. England wishes to shut off our imports of foodstuffs and raw materials, and we wish to shut off England's. You do not attempt to land on our coast; keep away also from that of Britain. You were warned early. What is now to take place is commanded by merciless necessity; must be.

"And let no woeful cries, no threats, crowd into Germany's ears."—*New York Times*, April, 1915, translated from *Die Zukunft* for February, 1915.

BRYAN ON AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

In America, too, criticism grew rampant as to our neutrality, which seemed to many Teutonic partisans to be benevolent to the Allies. To combat this sentiment, Secretary Bryan on January 20, 1915, wrote a long open letter to Senator Stone of Missouri,

taking up and answering in detail the various charges made against the government's neutral attitude, and closing with the following general observation:

"If any American citizens, partisans of Germany and Austria-Hungary, feel that this administration is acting in a way injurious to the cause of those countries this feeling results from the fact that on the high seas the German and Austro-Hungarian naval power is thus far inferior to the British. It is the business of a belligerent operating on the high seas, not the duty of a neutral, to prevent contraband from reaching an enemy.

"Those in this country who sympathize with Germany and Austria-Hungary appear to assume that some obligation rests upon this government, in the performance of its neutral duty, to prevent all trade in contraband, and thus to equalize the difference due to the relative naval strength of the belligerents. No such obligation exists; it would be an unneutral act,



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Belgium Under German Rule

The Senate chamber of the Belgian Parliament at Brussels was used as a church by the officers of the German garrison during their period of occupation. This photo shows the "Ober Hof Prediger" (senior court preacher) Rogge conducting divine service on the evening of February 7, 1915.

an act of partiality on the part of this government to adopt such a policy if the Executive had the power to do so. If Germany and Austria-Hungary cannot import contraband from this country it is not, because of that fact, the duty of the United States to close its markets to the

tion. Late in September, 1914, dispatches from London stated that Great Britain would regard copper and foodstuffs as contraband, and was prepared to seize such cargoes even when carried by neutral ships between neutral



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Belgians Repulsing Uhlans from Behind a Street Barricade

The scene is in Wuillebroeck Station near Malines, where a skirmish took place between 300 Uhlans and 150 Belgians in the fall of 1914, following the advance of the Germans into Belgium.

Allies. The markets of this country are open upon equal terms to all the world, to every nation, belligerent or neutral."

BLOCKADE DIFFICULTIES

This situation was not amended to any degree by an Order in Council which the British government had passed, establishing a cruiser blockade of the Central Powers, the enforcement of which from the very beginning, bore ample controversial fruit. Vessels of neutrals were stopped and searched at sea, cargoes were seized, and enemy subjects taken prisoner or required to give parole. Aside from the diplomatic exchanges between Washington and London which took on at times great firmness, the forces in the United States inimical to the Allies did not fail to make the most of this possible cause of fric-

ports. In regard to exports of "conditional contraband" from America to Holland an agreement was reached in October between Great Britain, Holland, and the United States, as follows:

"(1) That a guaranty is given that consignments will not be reshipped to Germany or any belligerent country, and (2) that a ship will not be permitted to dock in Dutch ports if it has on board a greater cargo of foodstuffs than can be utilized at or in the vicinity of the port to which it is consigned."

BRYAN'S NOTE ON BRITISH SEIZURES

The question refused to be settled by this simple and friendly agreement, however, and continued seizures of cargoes resulted in the dispatch of a note by Mr. Bryan to Am-

bassador Page in London, dated December 26, 1914, in which appeared these observations:

"The present condition of American foreign trade resulting from the frequent seizures and detentions of American cargoes destined to neutral European ports has become so serious as to require a candid statement of the views of this government in order that the British government may be fully informed as to the attitude of the United States toward the policy

this government assumed that the policy adopted by the British government was due to the unexpected outbreak of hostilities and the necessity of immediate action to prevent contraband from reaching the enemy.

NEUTRAL RIGHTS VIOLATED

"For this reason it was not disposed to judge this policy harshly, or protest it vigorously, although it was manifestly very injurious to American trade with the neutral countries of Europe.



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A Bridge over the Meuse Destroyed by the Advancing Germans

which has been pursued by the British authorities during the present war.

"You will therefore communicate the following to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but in doing so you will assure him that it is done in the most friendly spirit and in the belief that frankness will better serve the continuance of cordial relations between the two countries than silence, which may be misconstrued into acquiescence in a course of conduct which this government cannot but consider to be an infringement upon the rights of American citizens.

"The government of the United States has viewed with growing concern the large number of vessels laden with American goods destined to neutral ports in Europe which have been seized on the high seas, taken into British ports, and detained sometimes for weeks by the British authorities. During the early days of the war

This government, relying confidently upon the high regard which Great Britain has so often exhibited in the past for the rights of other nations, confidently awaited amendment of a course of action which denied to neutral commerce the freedom to which it was entitled by the law of nations.

"This expectation seemed to be rendered the more assured by the statement of the Foreign Office early in November that the British government was satisfied with guarantees offered by the Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish governments as to non-exportation of contraband goods when consigned to named persons in the territories of those governments, and that orders had been given to the British fleet and customs authorities to restrict interference with neutral vessels carrying such cargoes so consigned to verification of ship's papers and cargoes.

"It is therefore a matter of deep regret that,

though nearly five months have passed since the war began, the British government has not materially changed its policy and does not treat less rigorously ships and cargoes passing between neutral ports in the peaceful pursuit of lawful commerce, which belligerents should protect rather than interrupt. The greater freedom



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Recruiting in Canada by Gramophone

from detention and seizure which was confidently expected to result from consigning shipments to definite consignees rather than 'to order' is still awaited.

"It is needless to point out to his Majesty's government, usually the champion of the freedom of the seas and the rights of trade, that peace, not war, is the normal relation between nations and that the commerce between countries which are not belligerents should not be interfered with by those at war unless such interference is manifestly an imperative necessity to protect their national safety, and then only to the extent that it is a necessity.

"It is with no lack of appreciation of the momentous nature of the present struggle in which Great Britain is engaged and with no selfish desire to gain undue commercial advantage that this government is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the present policy of his Majesty's government toward neutral ships and cargoes exceeds the manifest necessity of a belligerent and constitutes restrictions upon the rights of American citizens on the high seas which are not justified by the rule of international law or required under the principle of self-preservation."

INTERFERENCE ONLY "WHEN NECESSARY"

The British reply to this, dated January 7, 1915, and phrased in the same friendly tone, said in part:

"His Majesty's government cordially concur in the principle enunciated by the government

of the United States that a belligerent, in dealing with trade between neutrals, should not interfere unless such interference is necessary to protect the belligerent's national safety, and then only to the extent to which this is necessary. We shall endeavor to keep our action within the limits of this principle on the understanding that it admits our right to interfere when such interference is not with 'bona-fide' trade between the United States and another neutral country, but with trade in contraband destined for the enemy's country; and we are ready, whenever our action may unintentionally exceed this principle, to make redress."

GERMANY'S BLOCKADE OF GREAT BRITAIN

The controversy was now complicated by a decree from Germany, dated February 4, 1915, placing a complete blockade on England and Ireland to become effective on February 18th. For the neutrals this decree was far more serious in its implications than the British Order in Council, since the only weapon Germany possessed to enforce it was the submarine, which could not be used without inevitable loss of noncombatant and neutral lives. For the United States it marked the beginning of that long series of submarine depredations and consequent diplomatic exchanges which were destined throughout more than two years gradually to unite American public opinion solidly in favor of war.

GERMAN SABOTAGE

At about the time this far-reaching lawlessness began on the high seas, German



Bradley in the Chicago News

Elected

agents in the United States began a campaign of sabotage, incendiarism, assassination, and fraud, which furnished a most illuminating and irritating background for a protracted diplomatic controversy.

German activities, calculated to influence

American opinion, had begun with the arrival in this country of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly colonial secretary, who on the platform, in the press, and through the mails tried to throw the blame for the war on Great Britain, and generally to create among Americans a sentiment favorable to Germany.

Captain Franz von Rintelen had come to America secretly and had organized so-called "Peace Societies," the object of which was

confessed, and so convincingly implicated von Papen and Captain Boy-Ed, Germany's naval attaché, that the stern and insolent denials of Ambassador von Bernstorff could do nothing to clear their reputation.

REVELATIONS OF PLOTS

Officials of the Hamburg-American steamship line, on December 2, 1915, pleaded guilty



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Field Marshal Lord Roberts

Reviewing a part of Kitchener's Army in London.

to arouse public sentiment against the sale and shipment of munitions to the Entente Allies. Soon after the publication of the German blockade decree, Werner Horn, a lieutenant in the German reserve, attempted to blow up the international railway bridge across the St. Croix river, between Vanceboro, Maine, and New Brunswick. It was later found that under the supervision of von Papen, German military attaché, a regular office was maintained to procure fraudulent passports for German reservists. Stegler, caught red-handed in forging United States passports,

to forging clearance papers in order that the *Karlsruhe* and the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, commerce raiders, might be supplied with coal and food. In various parts of the country German consular officials were discovered in frauds and plots, and in the munition factories explosions grew frequent. Even the assassination of a well-known banker who was lending the Allies money was attempted. Begun only a little before the German decree of blockade, this campaign of frightfulness in the territory of a neutral country kept steady pace with submarine outrages.



"Isolation"

From Punch, Sept. 23, 1918

Peace (attending the Inter-Parliamentary Congress at Berlin): "Everybody seems to be my friend. Why do you stand aloof?"

German Kaiser: "But haven't I always said that I was your friend?"

Peace: "Yes, but can't you do something to prove it?"

At the time of the appearance of this cartoon peace proposals were actively under way. American troops had arrived in force on the Western front, and the fighting was going on from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Further revelations were made of a conspiracy to destroy a factory at Walkerville and an armory at Windsor, Canada. The German consul-general and other consular officials at San Francisco were convicted on January 10, 1917, of conspiring to blow up the railroad tunnels and bridges in Canada and to wreck vessels sailing from Pacific ports with war materials for Russia and Japan. Sensational disclosures of Major von der Goltz, arrested as a German spy in England, showed that von Papen and others organized an expedition, in the early weeks of the war, to destroy the Welland Canal in Canada, and by other means to delay the dispatch of troops from Canada to Europe. Under the direction of von Papen, Boy-Ed, and others, Paul Koenig, head of the secret service of the Hamburg-American line, sent spies to Canada to gather information to be transmitted to Germany by way of the United States regarding

the Welland Canal and the movement of Canadian troops to England.

By direct instructions from the Foreign Office in Berlin, it was learned, the German embassy furnished funds and issued orders to the Indian Independence Committee in the United States. Dr. Chakrabarty, arrested in New York, confessed to having received \$60,000. The committee sent agents to India and carried on revolutionary propaganda. It attempted to ship war materials. With money furnished by German officials the schooner *Annie Larsen* was loaded with cargo of arms and ammunition. An expedition of Indians was formed to meet the schooner on the high seas, take over her cargo, and organize a revolution in India. The plan, directed by von Papen and other official German representatives in the United States, involved sending a German officer to drill Indian recruits.

“STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY”

President Wilson Warns Germany Not to Destroy American Merchant Vessels or Cause the Loss of American Lives

II

THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE

ON February 4, 1915, the German Admiralty issued its blockade decree. Six days later President Wilson sent his famous “strict accountability” note to Berlin, calling attention “with sincere respect and the most friendly sentiments but very candidly and earnestly” to the serious possibilities that might arise:

“The government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and, indeed, its duty, in the circumstances, to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

RIGHT OF VISIT AND SEARCH

“It is, of course, not necessary to remind the German government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible.

“The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

“This government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the

proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German Government very respectfully that the government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German government believes the governments of certain other neutral nations have laid themselves open; that the government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those governments responsible in the proper way for any untoward effects on American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify; and that it, therefore, regards itself as free in the present instance to take with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles the position indicated in this note.

A PLAIN WARNING

"If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights, which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations now happily subsisting between the two governments.

"If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

"The Government of the United States, in view of these considerations, which it urges with the greatest respect and with the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstandings may arise, and no circumstances occur, that might even cloud the intercourse of the two governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

"It is stated for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to his Britannic Majesty's government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships."



"The Knight in Golden Armor"

A typical glorification of Herr Helfferich at the time of his bombastic speeches on German war finance.

On the same date (February 10th) a note was also sent to London, declaring that the United States would expect the British government to "do all in their power to restrain vessels of British nationality in the deceptive use of the United States flag in the sea area defined by the German declaration." The use of neutral flags thus protested against, had been defended by England on the ground of numerous precedents.

BRITAIN RETALIATES; CENTRAL POWERS BLOCKADED

Retaliation for the German submarine blockade decree was inevitable on the part of the Allies, and on March 15, 1915, a new Order in Council was issued establishing an absolute blockade of the Central Powers, applying to European waters and the Mediterranean. On March 30th the United States protested against this new blockade, stating that "the Order in Council of March 15th would constitute, were its provisions to be actually carried into effect as they stand, a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent

The protracted exchange of notes which this protest began, reached into the autumn

THE LOSS OF THE *Lusitania*

"Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles: that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY."

Interesting though this controversy might be, from the first American attention was fixed far more firmly on the increasing threat of submarine warfare. "A practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce" sank rapidly into comparative insignificance beside the sinister threat to American lives. After the receipt in Berlin of the President's "strict accountability" note, the German legation at The Hague, on February 13, 1915, issued a warning to all neutral vessels not to enter the "war zone" about England and Ireland. The American ship, *William P. Frye*, had been sunk on January

Six days later the liner was torpedoed off the Irish coast, with a loss of 1,198 lives, 124 of whom were Americans. This event stirred the United States more deeply than any preceding it during the war, profound



The *Lusitania* Warning

A photographic facsimile (reduced) of the advertisement published in New York newspapers on May, 1915, prior to the sailing of the *Lusitania*. Six days later she was torpedoed.

indignation being voiced by the press throughout the entire country.

On May 13, 1915, the first of the *Lusitania* notes was sent to Berlin, ending with this declaration:

"The Imperial German Government will not expect the government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

"TOO PROUD TO FIGHT"

In the midst of the nation-wide high tension occasioned by so huge a loss of American life, the President delivered an address at Philadelphia on May 10th, in which he said: "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." Although uttered with no apparent reference to the *Lusitania*, and disclaimed by the President in private interviews as having any bearing on the subject, these words were generally accepted in America and Europe as an



General Carranza

To whom Zimmermann, the German Foreign Secretary, in 1917 addressed the proposal for an alliance with Mexico.

indication of the patient judicial attitude which later did, in fact, characterize the diplomatic exchanges with Germany.

ROOSEVELT AND TAFT ON GOING TO WAR

In the newspapers the President's strict accountability note was recalled with a variety of speculations as to what its true interpretation should be, yet even at this time there was scarcely any newspaper opinion favorable to anything more drastic than a severance of diplomatic relations without a declaration of war. According to the *New York Times*, Mr. Roosevelt advised that course of action:

"Without twenty-four hours' delay this country could, and should, take effective action by declaring that in view of Germany's murderous offences against the rights of neutrals, all commerce with Germany shall be forthwith forbidden, and all commerce of every kind permitted and encouraged with France, England, and the rest of the civilized world. This would not be a declaration of war. It would merely prevent munitions of war being sent to a power which by its conduct has shown willingness to use munitions to slaughter American men and women and children. I do not believe the assertion of our rights means war, but we will do well to remember there are things worse than war.

"Let us, as a nation, understand that peace is worthy only when it is the handmaiden of international righteousness and of national self-respect."

And Mr. Taft is reported by the same newspaper as saying:

"We must bear in mind that if we have a war it is the people, the men and women, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, who must pay with lives and money the cost of it, and therefore they should not be hurried into the sacrifices until it is made clear that they wish it and know what they are doing when they wish it."

WILSON ASKS GERMANY FOR ASSURANCES

Before Germany's reply to the first *Lusitania* note had been made public, Italy had declared war and a fresh submarine attack had been made on the American steamer *Nebraskan* (May 25th) in full daylight while flying the American flag. This kept feeling at highest pitch until the German reply was published on May 31st. This note, equivocal and placing on England the guilt for the loss of American life, proved most unsatisfactory both to the government and to public opinion,

and occasioned the speedy dispatch, on June 9th, of the President's reply. Mr. Bryan made this the occasion for his dramatic resignation as Secretary of State, an act which called forth the condemnation of a large majority of the press. In his answer the President struck clearly the note which all along had differentiated the controversy with England from that with Germany, and which had been driving public sentiment steadily further and further toward the Allied side. "The sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy," and having made clear this position, the note closes with another warning:

"The government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by

the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. The government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done."

At this juncture, a certain group in the United States began to center about Mr. Bryan, whose contention was that any question between Germany and the United States should not be considered a cause for war until a year had been spent in investigation, and that American citizens should be formally warned by the government not to travel on ships of belligerent nationality. Also, during the weeks that Germany delayed her reply, revelations concerning conversations which Mr. Bryan was alleged to have held as Secretary of State with Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, were made public, and called forth much indignant comment. When on July 10, 1915, this belated reply was published, it made an even more unfavorable impression than its predecessor. To calm and reassure the public, Mr. Wilson issued a statement that he was giving thorough consideration to the whole grave question, and that the purpose of the government would be announced as soon as possible.

ON THE BRINK OF WAR

On Two Occasions the American Government Threatens to Break Relations with Germany—The *Lusitania* and *Sussex* Notes

III

THE APPROACH OF HOSTILITIES

PRESIDENT WILSON was very patient—all too patient, some Americans thought—with Germany. After writing two courteously expressed notes, asking for redress, and receiving no satisfaction, the President sent the following instructions, on July 21, 1915,

to James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador at Berlin:

"You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"The note of the Imperial German Government, dated the 8th day of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differ-

ences between the two governments, and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the con-



James W. Gerard

American Ambassador in Berlin from 1913 to 1917.

trary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside.

"The government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free, that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of noncombatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination, for a belligerent act of retaliation is *per se* an act beyond the law, and the defence

of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

"The government of the United States is, however, keenly disappointed to find that the Imperial German Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even when neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the government of the United States can not discuss the policy of the government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this government regards as grave and unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders.

"Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be, against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent can not retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offence against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected.

OUR RIGHTS BASED ON PRINCIPLE

"The government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstances and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world can not have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it can not consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstance. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

"The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German

naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offence.

"In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defence of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the government of the United States can not believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the *Lusitania* or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

"The government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, can not accept the suggestion of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which this government contends, and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS IN JEOPARDY

"The government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object, have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost. It invites the practical coöperation of the Imperial German Government at this time, when coöperation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

"The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

"In the meantime the very value which this government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and government of the United States and the people and government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders

of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

"LANISING."

THE *Arabic* INCIDENT

After the dispatch of this note, there followed a few weeks during which ruthlessness in submarine warfare had been abandoned apparently. Warnings were given to ships, and the crews and passengers given some chance to escape. On August 19, 1915, however, the *Arabic* was torpedoed in the former merciless fashion and forty-four lives were lost, including two Americans. Over all the United States the press insisted that this was "an unpardonable offence," a "deliberate unfriendly act," and that the German ambassador must go. Newspapers in every city called for the severance of diplomatic relations, while the German-language press persisted in justifying Germany's actions, contending that all the trouble arose from the refusal of the United States government to place an embargo on the export of munitions.

The German ambassador requested the



Simplicissimus (Berlin)

"Let up, Villa! Wilson is not dangerous as an enemy—it is only when he stays neutral"

The allusion of this German cartoon is to Mr. Wilson as a vigorous protagonist of neutral rights at sea as compared with his more conciliatory attitude towards the Mexican rebels.



Rejected Addresses

From Punch, April 21, 1915

Kaiser (to America): "Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love; but why did you kick me downstairs?"



Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle

The End of the Path

State Department to withhold judgment until all the facts were known, and on August 26th sent this communication to the Secretary of State:

"With reference to our conversation this morning, I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last *Lusitania* note contains the following passage:

"Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

"Although I know that you do not wish to discuss the *Lusitania* question until the *Arabic* incident has been definitely and satisfactorily settled, I desire to inform you of the above because this policy of my government was decided on before the *Arabic* incident occurred."

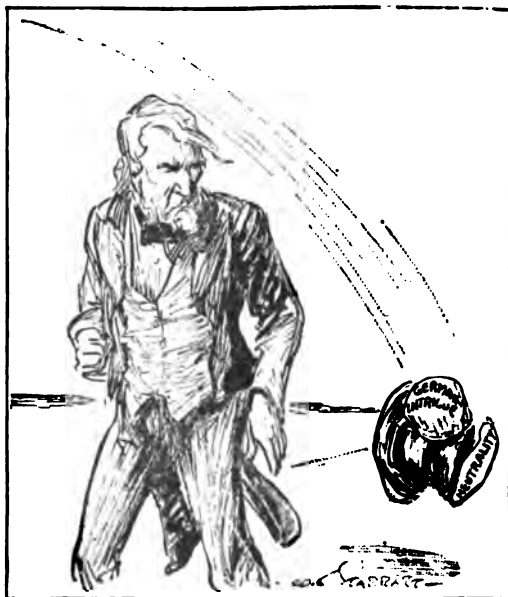
In regard to which, Mr. Lansing stated: "In view of the clearness of the foregoing statement it seems needless to make any comment in regard to it, other than to say that it appears to be a recognition of the fundamental principle for which we have contended." Such, in fact, the entire country took it to be, hailing it as the completest victory for Mr. Wilson's diplomacy. Following close upon this "victory," came the news that on September 4th the liner *Hesperian* had

been torpedoed but not sunk, and no loss of life had occurred. While Washington waited for the facts, a fresh outburst of indignation swept the country at this new act which was felt to be contrary to the promises so recently given.

GERMANY MAKES PROMISES

Later, in a formal note on the *Arabic* Germany refused "to acknowledge any obligation or grant any indemnity in the matter," on the ground that the *Arabic* had intended to ram the submarine, which at the time was holding up another ship. However, on October 5th, von Bernstorff informed the government that Germany had issued such stringent orders that "the recurrence of incidents similar to the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question," and a few weeks later in another note the German government pledged that passenger steamers were "only to be torpedoed after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew."

These pledges, apparently given and accepted in good faith, seemed a complete triumph for the American contention. Yet a fact closely related to the cessation of ruthless submarine warfare in the North Sea was its speedy reappearance in the Mediterranean under the thin disguise of the Austrian flag.



Starrett in N. Y. Tribune

Even Job Got Sick of It!

THE SENTIMENT FOR PREPAREDNESS

During this troubled autumn of 1915 President Wilson made his first public announcement of a plan to increase the military forces of the United States, a proposal that reflected the growing uneasiness of the public throughout the country. This sentiment for preparedness, such leaders as General Leonard Wood and Mr. Roosevelt were doing much to foster. Speaking in New York on November 4, 1915, the President said:

"Within a year we have witnessed what we did not believe possible—a great European conflict involving many of the greatest nations of the world. The influences of a great war are everywhere in the air. All Europe is embattled. Force everywhere speaks out with a loud and imperious voice in a titanic struggle of governments, and from one end of our own dear country to the other men are asking one another what our own force is, how far we are prepared to maintain ourselves against any interference with our national action or development."

Meantime, submarine activities in the Mediterranean were causing a sharp exchange of notes between Washington and Vienna, and the recall of the Austrian ambassador, Dr. Dumba, was being seriously considered because of his criminal attempts against American industries. Later, in December, 1915, however, in a note concerning the sinking of the *Ancona*, Austria granted every demand made by the United States, which included disavowal of the act, reparation, punishment of the submarine commander, and assurances that such acts would not be repeated. The German government agreed to pay indemnity for the *Lusitania*, and gave pledges for the safety of passenger traffic in the Mediterranean and for the punishment of submarine commanders who should violate instructions. Turkey, as well as Austria, was to join in these pledges. This temporarily cleared the situation, while at the same time Washington continued to protest to Great Britain against the seizure of cargoes and censorship of neutral mails. There seemed to be some ground for the hope that Germany would now so conduct her naval campaign as not to infringe further upon the plain rights of American citizens.

ROOSEVELT FOR UNIVERSAL SERVICE

Although he had in specific language voiced a need for increased defensive power, the President's "shadow program" for building a stronger military establishment did not go far enough to satisfy a large group of Americans. In a statement made public November 11, 1915, commenting upon Mr. Wilson's plan, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"There are two immediately vital needs of this nation: 1. That our navy shall at the earliest possible moment be made the second in the world in point of size and efficiency. 2. That our regular army shall be increased to at least a quarter of a million men, with an ample reserve of men who could be at once put in the ranks in the event of a sudden attack upon us; and provision made for many times the present number of officers; and in administration, provision made for a combination of entire efficiency with rigid economy that will begin with the abandonment of the many useless army posts and navy yards.

"Neither of these needs is in any way met by the President's proposals. I am sincerely glad that he has now reversed the attitude taken in his message to Congress a year ago, in which he advocated keeping this nation unprepared and helpless to defend its honor and vital interest against foreign foes. But I no less sincerely regret that he has not thought out the situation and is not prepared to present a real and substantial plan for defence instead of a shadow program.

"The proposed increase in the size of the regular army is utterly inadequate to serve any real purpose. It is one of those half measures which are of service, if at all, only from the political standpoint. Either we need to prepare or we do not. If we do, then we should prepare adequately.

"Drop the undemocratic continental volunteer army which discriminates between employer and employed, which would help the unpatriotic employee who refused to do as his patriotic rival was glad to do, and which would result merely in the establishment of an inefficient rival to the National Guard.

"People speak in praise of volunteers. I also praise the volunteer who volunteers to fight, but I do not praise the volunteer who volunteers to have somebody else fight in his place. Universal service is the only way by which we can secure real democracy, real fairness and justice. Every able-bodied youth in the land should be proud to and should be required to prepare himself thoroughly to protect the nation from armed force."

ATTEMPTS TO COMPROMISE

Diplomatic Efforts to Maintain American Rights Come to Naught with the Torpedoing of the *Sussex*

IV

TRAVELERS ON BELLIGERENT SHIPS

THE comparative quiet which closed the year 1915 did not endure long. Early in 1916 more submarine depredations in the Mediterranean gave rise to new complications with Austria, while Germany reopened discussion in the *Lusitania* case by a new note, agreeing to "recognize" instead of "assume" liability for the sinking. Endeavoring to find some practical formula for the elimination of friction due to the submarine warfare and the British blockade, Secretary of State Lansing, on January 18, 1916, proposed his new code for submarine warfare to all the belligerents, advancing the suggestion that all merchantment should disarm in exchange for pledges that no submarine would sink them without warning and without first making sure of the safety of the passengers and crew. This proposal resulted in no agreement, but rather had the effect of leading Germany to expect from the United States some official action on the subject.

The new Austrian dispute was now interrupted by a threat of the Central Powers to sink all armed merchantmen without warning after March 1, 1916, thereby introducing the armed liner issue. Under pressure of this threat, Sweden warned her nationals not to travel on armed ships, but, resisting a very clamorous faction in America, the President refused to surrender this indisputable right of neutrals.

THE M'LEMORE RESOLUTION

This new threat placed the *Lusitania* controversy, which had seemed on the point of settlement, again in a dangerous diplomatic situation. As relations between the two countries became again very strained, there arose in Congress and the country a sharp division of opinion over the question of warning Americans not to travel on belligerent ships. A resolution advocating that this be done was

introduced in the House by Representative McLemore of Texas. The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Senator Stone, agreed with the attitude of the McLemore resolution, and Senator Gore offered in the Senate a concurrent resolution. Also, Senator Stone wrote a letter to the President on February 24, 1916, in which appeared the following:

"As much and deeply as I would hate to radically disagree with you, I find it difficult from my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers upon the one hand, or, on the other hand, of foolhardiness, amounting to a sort of moral treason against the Republic, of our people recklessly risking their lives on armed belligerent ships. I cannot escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible."

To which, in his reply, the President said:

"For my own part, I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere, and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amidst the turmoil of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this government has attempted, and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations, meaningless and futile.

"It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation, and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world."

THE PRESIDENT SUPPORTED

Reports of the discussions having been accepted abroad as a proof that American sentiment was not solidly behind the President in his insistence on American rights, the President himself demanded a decision from Congress. On March 3, 1916, the Gore reso-

Congress was overwhelmingly with the President in this issue, however serious the consequences might be.

THE SINKING OF THE *Sussex*

Only about a fortnight after this most tangible proof that the American people were



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The French Mission to America

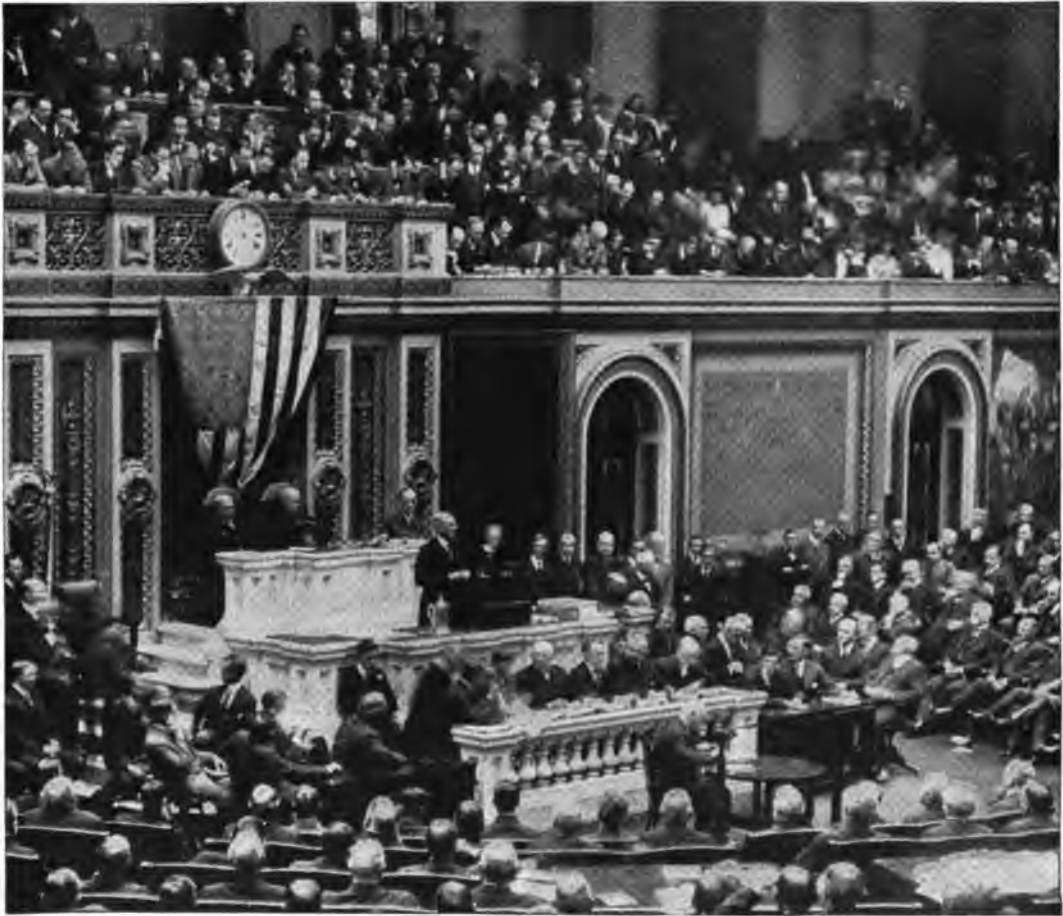
The Mayor of Colmar, Alsace, making an impassioned speech on the occasion of the visit of the French Mission to this country.

lution was tabled in the Senate by a vote of 68 to 14, but only after having been so skillfully amended by its author as to make the significance of its rejection obscure. Heated discussions followed, in which the Republican minority leader, Senator Lodge, emphatically sided with the President, as did also Senator Borah. In the House, on March 7th, the McLemore resolution was defeated by a vote of 276 to 142, making clear that

prepared to go any necessary length to defend their rights on the sea, the British steamer *Sussex*, plying solely as a passenger ship between Folkestone and Dieppe, was torpedoed without warning, (March 24th) and about eighty lives lost; two Americans were injured. The preliminary exchanges regarding this incident brought out an amazing denial by Germany that the *Sussex* had been torpedoed. From statements and sketches by the sub-

marine commander, Germany "thought" that another ship which looked like the *Sussex* had been torpedoed about the same time and place. This statement failed to be taken seriously

that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in your Excellency's note of the 10th inst. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex*, with 325 or more pas-



© Underwood & Underwood

President Wilson Addresses Congress on the Crisis with Germany

On this historic occasion, on April 19, 1916, the President of the United States told both branches of Congress assembled in joint session that he had dispatched to the Imperial German Government a note that was practically an ultimatum, demanding the discontinuance of submarine warfare by methods inconsistent with the laws of nations. This was the note since known as the *Sussex* Ultimatum.

anywhere, and on April 18, 1916, the United States dispatched the following forcible note in which appeared a definite threat to break off diplomatic relations.

THE *Sussex* ULTIMATUM

"Information now in the possession of the government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex*, and the inferences which my government has drawn from

sengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The *Sussex* had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troopships or supply ships. About eighty of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

"A careful, detailed, and scrupulously impar-

tial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender, and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of your Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the government of the United States has based its conclusion is inclosed.

GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION

"The government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the *Sussex*, but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelve-month and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations. If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case the government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had willfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government. But, though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

"On the contrary, the government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

THE SUBMARINE ZONE ORDER

"The Imperial government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat



Crofton in Puck

Next?

of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial government in the circumstances then existing. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon

manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

"The Imperial government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

"In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction, which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial government has given its solemn assurances to the government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed, along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes before their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic*, and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex*, have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew, have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within

the waters which the Imperial government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

THE FINAL WARNINGS TO GERMANY

"The government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial government as, of course, given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

"LANSING."



Metz, the Capital of Lorraine

In this beautiful city the French flag once more supplants the hated German emblem that flew from 1871 until Lorraine became again a part of France, at the end of the World War.

GERMAN REPLY TO THE *Sussex* NOTE

To this note, the German government replied on May 4th with the following apology and promise:

"In view of the general impression of all the facts at hand the German government considers it beyond doubt that the commander of the submarine acted in the *bona fide* belief that he was facing an enemy warship. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, misled by the appearance of the vessel, under the pressure of the circumstances, he formed his judgment too hurriedly in establishing her character and did not therefore act fully in accordance with the strict instruction which called upon him to exercise particular care.

"In view of these circumstances the German government frankly admits that the assurance given to the American government, in accordance with which passenger vessels were not to be attacked without warning, has not been adhered to in the present case. As was intimated by the undersigned in the note of the 4th instant, the German government does not hesitate to draw from this resultant consequences. It therefore expresses to the American government its sincere regret regarding the deplorable incident and declares its readiness to pay an adequate indemnity to the injured American citizens. It also disapproved of the conduct of the commander, who has been appropriately punished.

"Expressing the hope that the American government will consider the case of the *Sussex* as settled by these statements, the undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to the Ambassador the assurance of his highest consideration."

The Germans said in their note of May 4th that they would expect the United States to get the Entente Allies to modify their blockade, so that Secretary Lansing replied:

"The government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations



Alexandre Millerand

French War Minister in 1915

between the United States and any other belligerent government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding the government of the United States notifies the Imperial government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

Here the submarine controversy rested until Germany suddenly reopened it on January 31, 1917, by announcing that she adopted unrestricted submarine warfare.

Andrew Carnegie on Preparedness for War

"War can breed only war. Of course, peace inevitably must follow war, but, truly, no peace ever was born of war. We all revere the memory of him who voiced the warning: 'In time of peace prepare for war'; but, as a matter of fact, we all know that when one nation prepares for war others inevitably must follow its dangerous lead.

"Hence, and hence only, the huge armaments which have oppressed the world, making its most peaceful years a spectacle of sadness—a spectacle of men preparing and prepared to fight with one another. Sooner or later men prepared to fight will fight; huge armaments and armies mean huge battles; huge battles mean huge tragedies. This never has been otherwise, and never can be. Peace can come only when mankind abandons warful preparation."—*Interview in New York Times*, 1914.

THE ELECTION OF 1916

The War Becomes a Political Issue—The President's Peace Efforts— U-Boats off the American Coast

V

DRIFTING INTO WAR

IN the party platforms of the Presidential election of 1916 the growing influence of the European situation on American politics was mirrored clearly. Emphatic in their criticism of the Democratic administration for what they believed to be an inconsistent and humiliating foreign policy in regard to the submarine controversy, the Republicans declared themselves for a more unflinching and vigorous assertion of American rights on land and sea, for straightforward Americanism at home, and for a "world court" to settle peacefully international problems. The Democrats also incorporated in their platform a strong declaration for Americanism and for preparedness. The nationwide campaign on these issues served a valuable purpose in clarifying public opinion, and although the reelection of President Wilson was on the slogan, "he kept us out of war," the relentless discussion of the administration's policies did not fail to have its effect in producing a still stronger sentiment for forceful resentment of all foreign aggression.

THE AMAZING *Deutschland*

During the excitement of the election, the further potentialities of the submarine warfare were brought into prominence by the appearance in American ports of the *Deutschland*, a German "merchant" submarine, and later, of the *U-53*, a naval submarine. The former appeared at Baltimore on July 9, 1916, and the latter rose out of the sea at Newport, R. I., on October 7th, remained only three hours, and next day sank five British and neutral steamers off the Nantucket Shoal Lightship. The 216 lives endangered by this raid were all saved by the prompt action of a flotilla of American destroyers. In regard to the *Deutschland*, the Allies sent a joint note in August to all neutrals, maintaining that

submarines were of necessity warcraft and could not be accorded the recognized privileges of merchantmen in neutral ports. The United States refused to accept this view and reserved complete liberty of action in regard to the matter. The raid of the *U-53* was officially considered not to have violated Germany's pledge to safeguard noncombatants, but, unofficially, opinion among the Allies and in the United States was bitter, becoming more so when the *Providence Journal* produced documents purporting to prove that the whole affair was a test to find out if United States naval vessels would really take upon themselves the habitual task of picking up noncombatants thrown into sea by the German submarines off the American coast. After this episode, Holland gave notice that she would intern all submarines entering her waters.

MORE SINKINGS WITHOUT WARNING

Throughout the spring and summer of 1916, evidence had been accumulating steadily that, in reality, Germany was not living up to her pledges not to sink passenger vessels without warning. On November 15, 1916, the British Admiralty announced that between May 5th and November 8th, thirty-three vessels had been sunk without warning by German submarines, with a loss of 140 lives. Of these ships the British liner *Arabia*, sunk November 6th in the Mediterranean, and the British freighter *Marina*, sunk October 28th off the Irish coast, became the subjects of the most serious controversy. The sole American on board the *Arabia* escaped, but the sinking clearly had been without warning. Six Americans lost their lives on the *Marina*, which also had been sunk contrary to the German pledges. The *Marina* had carried one 4.7 gun which constituted defensive armament as recognized by the United States. Replying to inquiries about these ships, the German notes were again evasive and unsatisfactory, maintaining that the boats had been "mistaken" for auxiliary warships



Bronstap in the San Francisco Chronicle

Look Before Leaping

The pacifists in the United States protested vigorously against preparedness, predicting that the evils of militarism would follow in its wake.

and insisting that no new orders had been issued contrary to the pledges in the *Sussex* controversy. These fresh controversies involved issues so serious that the United States government was willing to proceed only after the fullest investigation of the facts, which kept the whole question open until 1917.

SEIZURE OF MAILS

While relations with Germany occupied first place in public interest, the dispute with England over the seizure of neutral mails, and certain commercial restrictions seemed as far as ever from permanent settlement. The first protest of the United States against seizure of neutral mails on the high seas was dispatched January 4, 1916, to which France and England jointly replied on February 15th, promising not to hold up "genuine correspondence" on the high seas. However, on May 24th, the United States sent another note to London and Paris, protesting that, whereas neutral mails were no longer being seized at sea, the ships carrying them were forced into Entente ports and the mails censored there, so that one illegal practice had merely been

given up for another even worse. "Only a radical change" in the British and French policy would be adequate, the United States insisted. On October 12th, the Entente replied to this protest in friendly fashion, but conceded nothing of importance.

THE BRITISH TRADE BLACKLIST

Closely related to the mail controversy was the "blacklist" question, raised by the British act against trading with the enemy, under which, on July 18, 1916, a list of 83 enemy and neutral firms in neutral countries were named. British subjects were warned not to trade with them, and steamship lines which carried their products would be denied British coal. The United States immediately protested and, on October 10th, the British government replied in defence of its action, asserting that they had "an indisputable right" to prohibit their citizens from trading with firms who were aiding the enemy, and that military necessity justified the action in this case, particularly as many enemy plots were in progress in the United States. At this stage the affair remained until the United States entered the war.



Tuthill in the St. Louis Star

As Others See Us

Beset with difficulties on either hand, neutrality in thought and deed became increasingly embarrassing to maintain, and, though feeling against the Entente's strict supervision of mails and commerce undoubtedly ran high

WILSON'S FIRST PEACE EFFORT

It was this moment which Germany chose to send out peace feelers in the form of general vague proposals which President Wilson



A Bird's-eye View of Liège

Showing the center of the town and the river, with a view of the bridge that was destroyed. The heroic defence by the Belgians of this fortified city in August, 1914, was one of the most thrilling episodes of the war.

in the autumn of 1916, when the American public talked of war it was always on the Entente side, so overwhelming had the evidence now become of Teutonic aggressive intentions throughout the world. The leading German propagandists had been asked to leave the country, many German agents had been discovered and discredited or jailed, and the true significance of the conflict abroad was being more and more clearly appreciated.

passed on to the Entente governments without comment. A little later, however, on December 18, 1916, the President dispatched a note of his own, disclaiming any connection whatever with the German proposals and suggesting in frank style that both groups of belligerents make unequivocal statements of their war aims. This note was made public on December 20th, and created much agitation in the United States, being accompanied

by a sharp break in the stock market which was intensified by this explanatory statement from Secretary Lansing:

"It isn't our material interest we had in mind when the note was sent, but more and more our own rights are becoming involved by the belligerents on both sides, so that the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

"I mean by that that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves, and therefore we are entitled to know exactly what each belligerent seeks, in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future.

"No nation has been sounded. No consideration of the German overtures or of the speech of Lloyd George was taken into account in the formulation of the document. The only thing the overtures did was to delay it a few days. It was not decided to send it until Monday. Of course, the difficulty that faced the President was that it might be construed as a movement toward peace and in aid of the German overtures. He specifically denies that that was the fact in the document itself.

"The sending of this note will indicate the possibility of our being forced into the war. That possibility ought to serve as a restraining and sobering force, safeguarding American rights. It may also serve to force an earlier conclusion of the war. Neither the President nor myself regards this note as a peace note; it is merely an effort to get the belligerents to define the end for which they are fighting."

ROOSEVELT ATTACKS THE PRESIDENT

Later in the day, this statement was modified by a supplementary explanation that war was not imminent, but in spite of this, the situation was viewed pessimistically throughout the country.

The President's note drew out much criticism in America, as well as commendation. One clause in it to the effect that the objects of the two groups of belligerents, as stated by their leaders, seemed to be identical, profoundly hurt the sensibilities of the Allies and led Mr. Roosevelt to voice intense opposition as follows:

"If the note was designed merely to promote an early conclusion of peace it was untimely, irritating, and dangerous. If, on the other hand, as Mr. Lansing first interpreted it, it was a threat of war and foreshadowed the end of American neutrality, it was not only dangerous but profoundly mischievous." The positions it took were "so profoundly immoral and misleading" that all right-thinking Americans should protest.

Abroad it resulted in much bitter criticism on the part of Allied writers, and praise from the Central Powers, because, in spite of the President's definite denial, it was understood as supporting the German peace proposals. The net result of these proposals was that the Allies refused to accept an exchange of views until Germany should state clearly her war aims, and denied, in their joint reply, two statements made by the Germans, namely, that Germany had not provoked the war and that she was now victorious. To the President's note, Germany and Austria replied on December 26, 1916, suggesting again a direct exchange of views with the enemy and again neglecting to state their war aims. On January 12, 1917, the joint reply of the Entente was made public. It stated plainly certain war aims among which were "the restoration of Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and indemnities due them, the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, Russia, and Rumania, with just reparation," and the reorganization of Europe along the lines of justice and peace.

At the same time the German government gave out a note to neutrals in answer to the Allies' reply to their first peace overtures. This note added nothing new to the situation, its conclusion being that now it was incumbent upon the Allies to decide whether or not they would follow the course to peace that Germany had opened to them. The Allied reply to President Wilson's proposal was supplemented by a note from King Albert of Belgium who called attention to the fact, unless it should go unnoticed, that occurrences in his own country furnished a good index to the sincerity of German good intentions. England also sent a supplementary note, pointing out salient facts in Germany's behavior which indicated that their war objects were not, after all, identical with those of the Allies.

WILSON'S "PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY" SPEECH

With these replies at hand, in the middle of January, 1917, President Wilson went before Congress and made the famous address in which he advocated that the United States declare itself ready to join a league of nations consisting of all the powers, which would ap-



American Doughboys in Training for Overseas

While the Allied Armies in Europe were awaiting American reinforcements, the man-power of this country was being mobilized and trained at thirty-two camps and cantonments. Eight hundred French and British officers came over to give American officers and men the benefit of their experience in actual warfare.

ply a sort of Monroe Doctrine to the entire world. In order to accomplish this, he said, there must be a "peace without victory" since only by such a peace could the world be kept free from oppression and so remain tranquil. He intimated that in this view he felt he was speaking the innermost desires of the masses in all countries. The speech stirred up intensest indignation and admiration at home and in all the belligerent countries. In the Senate, Republican opposition to the proposal that the United States should entangle itself in a league of nations was bitter, and a resolution to set aside a day for the free discussion of the President's words was introduced, only to be tabled on January 30th.

UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE BEGINS

One day later Germany presented her note revoking her pledges to the United States and announcing unrestricted submarine warfare against all enemy and neutral shipping within the prescribed area around the British Isles. America was to be allowed one passenger liner a week sailing from New York to Falmouth, on a schedule designated by the German government, distinguished according to German instructions, and carrying only such freight as the German contraband list permitted. This suggestion on the part of the German government to a powerful neutral was received over the world as unprecedentedly arrogant and foolish to the point of childishness.

AMERICA TURNS TOWARD ALLIES

Two Years of Patient Neutrality Convince the United States that "the Hun is at the Gate"

VI

THE FAILURE OF NEUTRALITY

THE United States government tried to remain neutral for over two years, in spite of the continually growing dislike of the average citizen for the German cause. Under the circumstances, the maintenance of neutrality was a serious problem. On June 3, 1915, in a speech at Watertown, N. Y., Secretary Lansing thus explained our difficulties:

"The Great War has caused so many conditions which are entirely new and presented so many questions which were never before raised or even thought of that it has been no easy task to meet and answer them. The relations between neutrals and belligerents were never more difficult of adjustment. It was never harder to preserve neutral rights from invasion by the desperate opponents in the titanic conflict in which the power, if not the life, of the great empires of the earth is at stake.

"The peoples and governments at war are blinded by passion; their opinions are unavoidably biased; their conduct frequently influenced by hysterical impulses which approach to madness. Patience and forbearance are essential to a neutral in dealing with such nations, Acts

which, under normal conditions, would be most offensive, must be considered calmly and without temper.

"In a nutshell, the situation of our relations with Great Britain and Germany, the two powers with which we have had our principal controversies, is this:

"Germany, having developed the submarine as an offensive engine of destruction, asserts that she cannot, on account of the resulting conditions, conform to the established rules of naval warfare, and we should not, therefore, insist on strict compliance. Great Britain has no sympathy with the German point of view, and demands that the submarines observe the rules of visit and search without exception.

"On the other hand, Great Britain declares that, on account of the new conditions resulting from submarine activity and the use of mines and from the geographical position of Germany, she can not conform to the established rules of blockade and contraband, and we should not therefore hold her to strict compliance with those rules. Germany insists, nevertheless, that Great Britain be made to follow the existing law.

"Both governments have adopted the same arguments, based primarily on military necessity, and offer the same excuses for their illegal acts, but neither will admit that the other is in any way justified for its conduct. Now, what is the United States to do in these circumstances?

"The only alternative is for this government

to hold firmly to those neutral rights which international law has clearly defined and to insist vigorously on their observance by all belligerents.

"This has been the position of the United States from the beginning of the war. It has twice sought to obtain mutual consent from the belligerents to certain changes in the rules, but in both cases it failed and the suggestions were withdrawn.

which can never be restored or adequately indemnified.

"This mental attitude makes one wonder if the sensibilities of the American people have become so blunted by materialism that they think as much of the loss of their property as they do of the loss of the lives of their fellow-countrymen.

"Such an idea is repugnant to a liberty-loving



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Belgian Soldiers Guarding the Ruins of Termonde

The German troops in September, 1914, bombarded, then sacked and pillaged Termonde to avenge the deaths of six German soldiers who, they alleged, had been shot by Belgians.

LIFE VERSUS PROPERTY

"A government which places life and property on an equality would be generally condemned and justly condemned. This seems to be axiomatic, and yet, I regret to say, there are some Americans who do not recognize this difference. How many take this view it is impossible to say, but the number is large, judging by the letters and telegrams received in Washington. Indeed, it is held by some who sit in the halls of Congress. These people openly complain that the government does not exert as much pressure to protect American property as it does to protect American lives—property which can be restored to the owners or an indemnity paid; lives

American; it is utterly wanting in the nobler impulses of a great people; it is hostile to the spirit of true Americanism. Yet it exists and is widespread, and must be reckoned with. The great heart of the Republic is threatened with fatty degeneracy through those who have lost their patriotic vigor; many Americans have become lovers of ease rather than lovers of national honor.

"When you disapprove of some course of action taken by this government be lenient in your judgment, for often the action is the result of conditions which can not be made public and which may never be made public. It is always my wish, and I know that it is the wish of the President, to take the people into our confidence,

to tell them frankly what the situation is; but you must realize that it can not be done in every case. They must try to be patient and to trust the government to do the very best it can in upholding the national honor and dignity.

"Let me add just a word: When the foreign policies of the government are criticised by honest critics—I mean by 'honest' critics those who are not influenced solely by political considerations or personal ambitions—I often wonder what

its independence and the liberties of its people will induce him to speak the fateful words which may bring death to thousands of his fellow-countrymen and change the destinies of the Republic."

OUR REASON FOR FIGHTING

Mr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick made this review of the wrongs we sustained from Ger-



Interior of a Church at Termonde After Bombardment by the Germans

Along with many other Belgian towns, Termonde was wantonly attacked and virtually destroyed; even its hospital was not spared, being first drenched with petroleum and then set on fire.

the critics would do if they had the responsibility.

"Would they be so bellicose? Would they make demands when it was questionable whether they would compel compliance? Would they count the full cost of their action? I wonder whether they would be radical or conservative. Responsibility makes a world of difference in a man's point of view. When a few words may plunge this country into war, the man who has the power to utter those words will think a long, long time before he exercises that power. He will submit to a deal of criticism and endure abuse and ridicule rather than see the young men of America sent forth to die on the battlefield.

"Only the supreme necessity of maintaining the honor of the United States or of defending

man hands before we at last decided to go to war:

WHY WE ARE AT WAR

"We are a peaceable people. After the Civil War there was a universal hope that we should never go to war again; but Cuba lay at our doors, exploited, ill-treated, making her pathetic appeal to American chivalry and American justice, and we regarded war as a lesser evil than a heart hardened to the suffering of others. Against that war neither Pacifists nor German-Americans made objection; they had no Spanish sympathies.

GROWTH OF GERMANY

"The Spanish war was soon ended, and once more we hoped that America would never go to

war again. But our hopes were too sanguine. . . . By peaceful means Germany was rapidly acquiring a very great, even a guiding, influence in the world's affairs. The German government, however, remained a government of the warrior caste, bred upon the Prussian tradition that might makes right; at its head was an Emperor who declared that he ruled by divine right, and that *his* Army was the rock on which *his* Empire was built. This great nation, and especially its intellectual leaders, became drunk with success and self-love; boastful and truculent, it pressed upon its neighbors until the peace of Europe gave way at its weakest point. Germany thought she saw her way clear to dominate Europe, and, dragging Austria with her, dashed over Belgium, in order to deal knock-out blows first to France and then to Russia.

GERMAN METHODS OF WARFARE

"We were astounded. We admired Germany, her music, her science, her scholarship, her universities and schools, her municipalities, her industry, skill, and success. We could not believe that Germany was so utterly in the wrong as her enemies said. But little by little we were forced to believe it. First the Allies published the story of their diplomatic efforts to prevent the war, but Germany never published her correspondence with Austria; then came report after report of murders, devastation, and pillage in Belgium and France; then followed, one after the other, lawless sinkings of American vessels, the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, the drowning of American women and children, the intrigues and plots in this country, the insulting order that American ships should keep off a great part of the high seas, and finally the plan to involve us in war with Japan and Mexico.

"If we can not overthrow the Prussian military aristocracy and its Emperor now, not only England, France, Italy, and Russia, but the United States also must keep armed to the teeth; and with national military preparedness molding our national life, reshaping our honored institutions, breaking down our old ideas, our democracy, as we hoped to see it, will be impossible. We shall be obliged to economize and scrimp on schools, hospitals, asylums, playgrounds, institutions of research, to refrain from all activities which, sprung from a sense of human brotherhood, make the lives of the mass of men more worth while to themselves and to others. Armories and arsenals will be the schoolhouses for young men; ammunition plants will be their laboratories; rifle and bayonet drill will take the place of ball and boating.

"For the sake of our children we must stop all that wickedness and folly now. We must fight till the German government has passed out of the hands of the feudal aristocracy and their supporters, into the hands of the German people.

"It was a clear understanding of the matters at issue and of the immense consequence to our

future and to the future of the world, that has ranged us at last side by side with England, France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia. May God defend the right."

Another way of approaching the same subject is found in the extract from a speech of Hon. Elihu Root, January 25, 1917:

"This nation has publicly pledged itself and all its resources to the maintenance of certain doctrines and principles, designed not only for its own welfare and protection, but which are also in the nature of specific guarantees to other peoples of the world. The honor, integrity, and future well-being of the United States, as well as of the many smaller nations over which it has extended the wing of its voluntary protection, inevitably require that this country shall at all times be prepared to sustain its principles and enforce its demands or decrees.

"Either we are sincere or insincere. If we are to interpret the high standards of humanity and international law that are to guide other nations, at war or at peace; if we are to say how other nations may expand, and where they may colonize and where they may not; if we are to preserve at all times the integrity and the neutrality of the Americas; if we are to guarantee liberty and independence to other peoples and preserve the rights of all—then we must do it honestly and fearlessly, and in doing it realize that by the very principles and doctrines we expound we are likely to create the motives for war against us.

"There is but one way for the United States to prove the honest courage of its convictions, and that is by being prepared to answer decisively and victoriously any challenge of those principles which it has pledged to the world upon its honor as a nation."

A PROPHECY BY PROFESSOR FISHER

Writing in 1914, Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, said:

"It may well be that among the economic consequences of the war there will be some national bankruptcies, and that among the political consequences will be revolutions. High prices, high taxes, low wages, and unemployment make an ominous combination. We may be sure that discontent will be profound and widespread. This discontent is pretty sure to lead, especially in the defeated nations where there is no compensating 'glory,' to strong revolutionary movements just as was the case in Russia after her defeat by Japan. Whether or to what extent these movements, in which 'Socialism' in the various meanings of that word is sure to play a part, will succeed, depends on the relative strength of opposing tendencies which cannot yet be measured. One possible if not probable result may be some international device to secure disarmament and to safeguard peace."



The Wreck of a Church

Desolation and destruction alone remain where once were the beauties of an old French Church. All movable objects were pillaged, all immovable ones were ruined.

GERMANY STAKES EVERYTHING

She Decides at Last on Unrestricted Submarine Warfare as "The Best and Sharpest Weapon"

VII

GERMANY STAKES EVERYTHING

JANUARY 31, 1917, Germany notified the world that she would begin unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1st. On the same day the German Chancellor addressed the Reichstag in a speech the keynote of which was "We stake everything." In his speech is the following:

"I have always proceeded from the standpoint of whether U-boat war would bring us nearer victorious peace or not. Every means, I said in March, that was calculated to shorten the war constituted the most humane policy to follow. When the most ruthless methods are considered best calculated to lead us to victory, and swift victory, I said, then they must be employed.

"This moment has now arrived. Last autumn the time was not yet ripe, but to-day the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake the enterprise. We must, therefore, not wait any longer.

"Where has there been any change in the situation? . . . In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has been very considerably increased as compared with last spring, and thereby a firm basis for success has been established.

"The second co-decisive reason is the bad cereal harvest of the world. This fact already confronts England, France, and Italy with serious difficulties, which by means of unrestricted U-boat war will be brought to a point of unbearableness.

"The coal question, too, is a vital question in war. Already it is critical in Italy and France, as you know. Our submarines will make it still more critical.

"To this must be added, especially as regards England, the supply of ore for the production of munitions, in the widest sense, and of timber for coal mines. The enemy's difficulties are rendered still more acute by the increasing lack of enemy cargo space. In this respect time and U-boat and cruiser warfare have prepared the ground for the decisive blow.

"The Entente suffers owing to lack of cargo space. The lack makes itself felt in Italy and France, no less than in England. If we may now venture to estimate the positive advantages of unrestricted U-boat war at a very much higher value than last spring, the dangers which arise for us from U-boat war have correspondingly decreased since that time."

READY TO ACCEPT ALL CONSEQUENCES

The Chancellor next discussed in detail the political situation, and then referred to military affairs as follows:

"A few days ago Field Marshal von Hindenburg described the situation to me thus: Our front stands firm on all sides. We have everywhere the requisite reserves. The spirit of our troops is good, and confident. The military situation as a whole permits us to accept all the consequences which unrestricted U-boat war may bring, and as this U-boat war is the means of injuring our enemies the most grievously, it must be begun.

"The Admiralty Staff and the High Seas Fleet entertain the firm conviction (which has practical support in the experience gained in U-boat cruiser warfare) that Great Britain will be brought to peace by arms. . . .

"No one among us will close his eyes to the seriousness of the step we are taking. That our existence is at stake every one has known since August 4, 1914, and this has been brutally emphasized by the rejection of our peace offer. When, in 1914, we had to seize and have recourse to the sword against Russia's general mobilization, we did so with the deepest sense of responsibility toward our people and conscious of resolute strength, which says: 'We must and, therefore, we can.' Endless streams of blood have since been shed, but they have not washed away the 'must' and the 'can.'"

"BEST AND SHARPEST WEAPON"

"In now deciding to employ our best and sharpest weapon, we are guided solely by sober consideration of all the circumstances that come into the question and by the firm determination to help our people out of the distress and disgrace which our enemies contemplate for them.

"Success lies in a higher hand, but as regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the Fatherland, be assured, gentlemen, that nothing has been neglected. Everything in this respect will be done."

THE REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES

The first step of President Wilson in reply to this proclamation of the German government was to hand passports to the German Ambassador and to recall Ambassador Gerard from Berlin. On February 3rd, he addressed Congress. Recalling the progress of the sub-

marine controversy and the assurances in the German note of May 4, 1916, he came to relate the breaking of that promise in the notice given on January 31st. He closed as follows:

"Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German government, this sudden and deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

"If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded: if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defence of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the government of Germany!"

THE DEPARTURE OF THE AMBASSADORS

The German Ambassador sailed from New York on February 4th. Every courtesy was extended to him by the government to make

his departure as agreeable as circumstances allowed. "On sailing," said the *New York Times*, "the Ambassador expressed his regret over the severance of relations, his warm thanks to the American people for the cordiality of their treatment, and his hope that war might yet be averted."

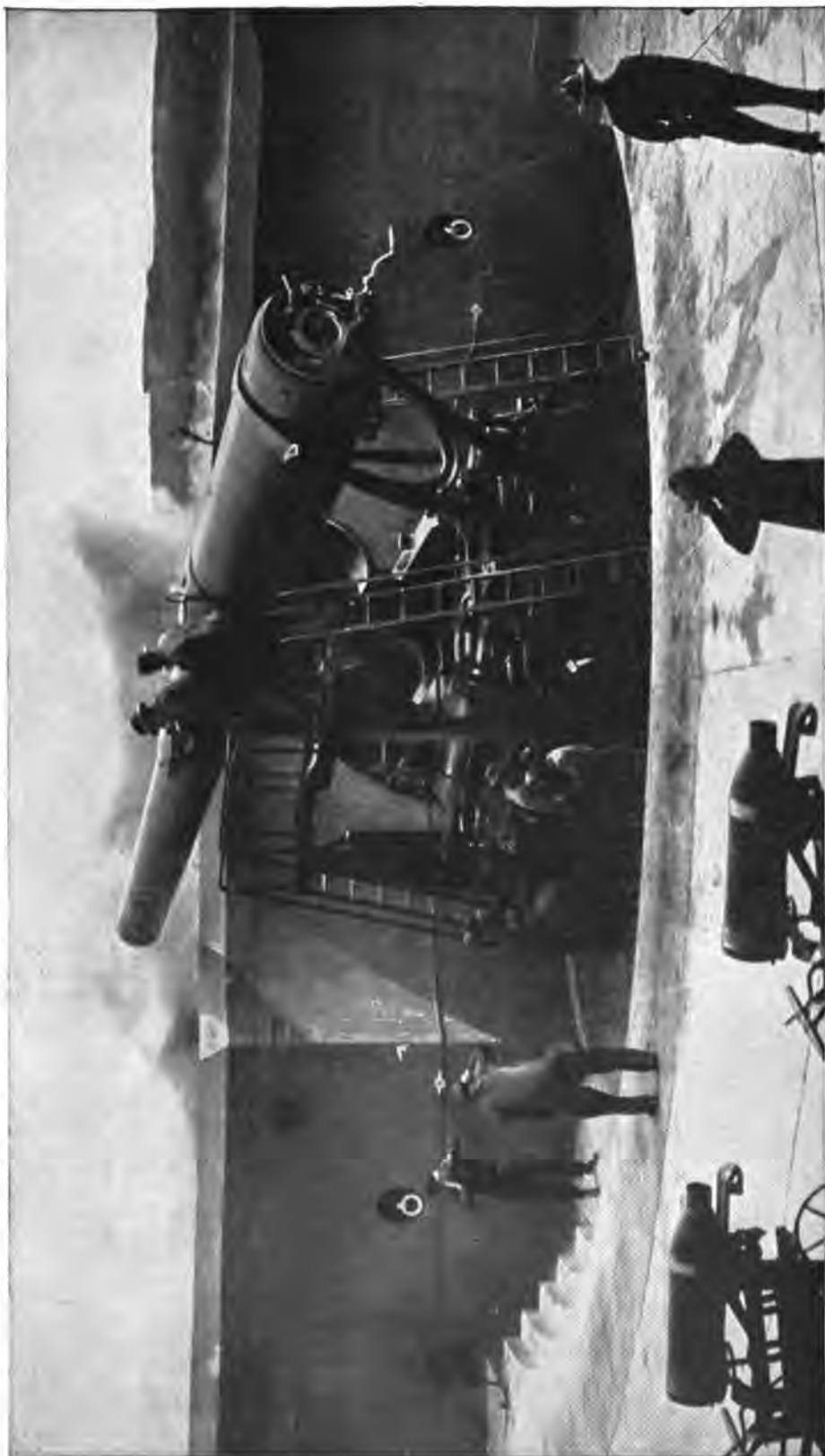
The departure of the American Ambassador from Berlin was far otherwise. He was detained several days in the city, his telephone was cut off, and he was given the scantiest courtesy by the government. All this was done, it seems, to induce him to sign certain treaties pledging the United States not to take over the property of Germans in this country. A Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* described the situation as follows:

"Officials of the Foreign Office and the War Office made more or less open efforts to cajole or induce American newspaper correspondents to remain in Berlin after Mr. Gerard had gone. There was an extraordinarily interesting session with Herr Zimmermann, the Foreign Secretary, at the Foreign Office on the Sunday evening when news of the rupture in relations was first received. Emphasis was then laid by him upon the German interpretation of the old treaty of 1799 between Prussia and the United States, and the vigor of his expression of hope that Germany would be able to negotiate with Mr. Gerard for reaffirmation of that treaty and its specific application to existing conditions gives a clear line on the motive for what was to occur so promptly to Mr. Gerard. Again on Tuesday evening, when the correspondents met Colonel Hafeton of the Military Staff, at military press headquarters, they received a renewed and emphasized impression of the importance with which Germans regarded their efforts to procure extended application of that old treaty to pending relations with the United States.

INTERVIEW WITH MONTGELAS

"It was while the correspondents were receiving their lecture from the military staff that evening that Mr. Gerard received a call from Count Montgelas, Chief of the American Affairs Division of the Foreign Office. It was at that interview that Count Montgelas submitted to Mr. Gerard a draft of the protocol proposed by Germany by way of reaffirmation and emendation of the old Prussian treaty.

"It was at that meeting that Mr. Gerard denounced the way in which he had been treated by the German government, and received in explanation a statement of Count Montgelas that the German government was as yet in ignorance of what had happened to Count von Bernstorff in America. But it was only the censorship of the German government which was preventing



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A Monster Disappearing Gun for Coast Defence

When the shell is in place and the breech-block locked, the gun is raised by motors above the embankment, fired, and immediately returned to concealment. The loading and aiming are done while the piece is entirely concealed; at the instant of firing, only the muzzle appears above the wall.

the receipt of full authentic news from the United States, and it was inconceivable that Washington was preventing von Bernstorff from communicating with his government if he desired to do so.

"It was in response to Count Montgelas's presentation of the proposed protocol that Mr. Gerard stated that he could not be 'sandbagged' into signing such a document. It was in reply to a further suggestion by Count Montgelas that favorable action by Mr. Gerard upon the German proposal would facilitate the withdrawal of newspaper correspondents and other Americans from Germany that Mr. Gerard vigorously declared he would sit right where he was until Christmas if his compatriots were not permitted to withdraw along with him.

"Moreover, the American Ambassador pointed out that it was in practical fact an act of war for Germany to refuse to permit Americans to withdraw from the country under the circumstances. There had been no declaration of war by the United States, only a rupture of diplomatic relations. Under every consideration and any interpretation of legal or moral right, Germany had no ground whatever for interference in such withdrawal. It was at this interview also that Mr. Gerard referred to efforts of the German government to get his consent to the proposed protocol as an attempt to blackmail him.

GARBLED NEWS FROM AMERICA

"Berlin was without authoritative news from the United States. Nothing was coming through but criminally false stuff, carried by a news association which seemed bent on doing everything in its power to accentuate the trouble between the United States and Germany. These dispatches purported to describe the confiscation of the German ships in American waters by the American government.

"I had filed several dispatches for the New York *Times* reporting these events and describing the mischievous character of these dispatches. Whether any of them got through or not I do not yet know, but I do know that on Thursday morning, when the tension in Berlin had become acute, I received a message from the managing editor of the *Times* giving explicitly the situation in the United States and setting forth exactly the status of the German ships in American waters and their crews. I showed this message immediately to Ambassador Gerard, who said it was most important and urged that the widest possible publicity be given it. Thereupon I went at once to the Foreign Office and showed the message to one of the Under Secretaries.

"The effect was instantaneous. The message was taken at once to Secretary Zimmermann and sent by the Foreign Office to a German news agency, with the result that it was published that afternoon in all newspapers, and again the next morning.

"There was noticeable immediately a decided rise in the German official temperature. The

attitude toward Americans and their departure from Germany was markedly friendly.

"It was not until Friday afternoon that the first passports were delivered, and those did not include Gerard's. His came Saturday morning. Some of the party who left Berlin on the train with him that evening did not receive their passports until 5 o'clock that afternoon. Despite the modification of the attitude following the receipt of the New York *Times* dispatch, the decision to permit Americans to leave was not made until some time Friday afternoon. On Thursday evening, however, Gerard received a call from another member of the Foreign Office staff, the apparent purpose being to endeavor to smooth out the unpleasant impressions, also to see if something could not be done, even at that late date, on the important matter of that old Prussian treaty, with its astounding joker, about the safe conduct for German ships to be furnished by the American government in case of war between the two countries."

GERMAN INTRIGUES IN MEXICO

The Senate approved the President's course by a large majority; but when he asked for authority to arm merchant ships in self-defence a small group of Senators created a filibuster and prevented the Senate from acting. Despite this move he ordered guns placed on the ships. While the matter was in debate the Secretary of State made public the following note from the German Foreign Secretary to the German Ambassador in Mexico:

Berlin, January 19, 1917.

On February 1st we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

ZIMMERMANN.

Secretary Zimmermann admitted the authenticity of the note, and Japan denied indignantly any knowledge of it. It has not been revealed how the administration obtained it, but report said it was taken by an American patrol from a German messenger of Count

von Bernstorff's on the Rio Grande, where he was trying to cross the boundary into Mexico. Many things have been unearthed to show that Germany at this time sought to arouse the Mexican government against the United States.

CONGRESS DECLARES WAR

Germans Sink Three American Vessels Without Warning and on April 6, 1917, the United States Joins the Allies

VIII

GERMANY IN DEFIANCE

IN his address to Congress on February 3rd, the President said he would wait for an "overt act" by a submarine before he would believe that Germany meant to war openly on the United States. As weeks passed and no such violation of cruiser warfare occurred some people began to think that Germany was intentionally sparing American ships and American lives.

But on March 15th, news came that the American steamship *Algonquin* had been sunk without warning on March 2nd. On March 19th, it was announced that during the past day, three American ships had been sunk without warning off the English coast. It was apparent that Germany was determined to defy America, and was already waging war against her. At last, on March 21, 1917, President Wilson summoned Congress to meet on April 2nd, "to receive a communication on grave questions of national policy." Nearly everybody realized that this was a definite step toward war. Pacifists protested in vain; and the vast majority accepted the decision with mingled joy and sorrow.

THE OFFICIAL ACCEPTANCE OF WAR

On April 2, 1917, at the special session of Congress, the President made the following address, which is reproduced in full:

"Gentlemen of the Congress:

"I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor con-

stitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

"On the 3rd of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its promise, then given to us, that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

"The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

"I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set

up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

RUTHLESS DESTRUCTION OF LIFE

"This minimum of right the German government has swept aside, under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the wind all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

"I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German sub-

marine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

"It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination.

"The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

"When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws, when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against



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German Infantry on Their Way to Ostend

The Kaiser's Infantry, deflected from Ghent and Bruges, are passing through Blankenberghe, just outside the city of Ostend.

their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

"The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defence of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

STATE OF WAR RECOGNIZED

"With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defence, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

"What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs.

"It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

"It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects, but particularly in

supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.

"It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

"It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

"I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits, which will now be necessary, entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

"In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

"I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon whom the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

"While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22nd of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3rd of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles,



"Murder and Other Outrages"

That was the finding of the British Committee on the Atrocities in Belgium during the German Occupation. The picture is from *The Invader*, by H. M. Brett.

THE MENACE OF AUTOCRACY

"Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that

are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

"We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools.

"Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be

"Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew her best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct,



Soldier Equipment

Showing what each American soldier carried when in actual service.

worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

THE ONLY BASIS FOR PEACE

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naïve majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

GERMAN SPIES AND INTRIGUES

"One of the things that have served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our in-



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At a Field Headquarters Telegraph Station

A telegraph battalion is here shown busily at work behind the lines sending and receiving messages.

dustries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country, have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial government accredited to the government of the United States.

"Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us, (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were,) but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

"We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

A WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

"Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the

principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

"I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare, adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

"It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not with enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

FRIENDS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

"We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with the present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

"We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

"It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peace-



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine

When the Germans Invaded Belgium

A typical scene on the country roads when the whole population of ruined villages had to flee, taking such of their property as they could hastily get together.

ful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

"To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

"God helping her, she can do no other."

Four days later, Congress passed this resolution:

TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR Joint Resolution Passed by the United States Senate and House of Representatives

[Effective April 6, 1917, at 1:18 P.M.]

"Whereas, The Imperial German government has committed repeated acts of war against the government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

"That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the Imperial German government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine

Through Saddened Belgium

Only grandfather may ride; all the space possible must be given to the household goods.

SUBMARINE DIFFICULTIES

Official List of German Torpedo Attacks on American and Foreign Ships with Loss of American Lives.

IX

AMERICAN LOSSES WHILE NEUTRAL

FROM August, 1914, until the United States entered the war, our government was engaged in a constant interchange of notes with the main belligerent powers regarding German submarine warfare. Not until the spring of 1915 was an American ship attacked, or an American life lost at sea. From the end of March, 1915, however, there was an ever-lengthening list of American ships attacked, and of foreign ships sunk with loss of American lives. Congressman John J. Rogers prepared for presentation to Congress the following list of such casualties:

AMERICAN SHIPS ATTACKED

Name of Vessel	Date	Particulars
<i>Gulfight</i> ...	May 2, 1915.	Torpedoed
<i>Nebraskan</i> ..	May 25, 1915.	Torpedoed
<i>Leelanaw</i> ..	July 25, 1915.	Torpedoed and shelled
<i>Seaconnet</i> ..	June 16, 1916.	Damaged by mine or torpedo
<i>Oswego</i> ...	Aug. 14, 1916.	Fired on 10 times by submarine
<i>Lano</i> (Philippine)	Oct. 28, 1916.	Sunk by submarine
<i>Columbian</i> ..	Nov. 7, 1916.	Sunk by submarine
<i>Colena</i>	Nov. 26, 1916.	Fired on
<i>St. Helene's</i>	Dec. 10, 1916.	Attacked by submarine
<i>Rebecca</i> <i>Palmer</i> ...	Dec. 14, 1916.	Fired on; slight damage
<i>Sacramento</i>	Jan. 9, 1917.	Fired on
<i>Housatonic</i>	Feb. 3, 1917.	Sunk
<i>Lyman M.</i> <i>Law</i>	Feb. 13, 1917.	Burned by submarine



The German Submarine Blockade

The British import more than two-thirds of their food-supply. Within the inclosed area surrounding the British Isles, Germany, by ruthless destruction of merchant-ships by submarines, hoped to starve the British into submission; 6,635,059 tons of British shipping was sunk and 1,124,031 tons from other causes. The above chart shows where the more important merchant-ships and war-vessels were torpedoed, including American, French, Japanese, Dutch, and Norwegian.

Name of Vessel	Date	Particulars
<i>Vigilancia</i> ..	Mar. 16, 1917..	Torpedoed
City of <i>Memphis</i> ..	Mar. 17, 1917..	Sunk by gunfire
<i>Illinois</i>	Mar. 17, 1917..	Torpedoed
<i>Aztec</i>	Apr. 1, 1917..	Torpedoed

SHIPS SUNK WITH LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES

British ship *Falaba*, torpedoed March 28, 1915 (warned); 1 American lost.

American ship *Gulflight*, torpedoed May 2, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Lusitania*, torpedoed May 7, 1915 (no warning); 124 Americans lost.*

British ship *Iberian*, sunk July 31, 1915 (tried to escape; stopped by shell-fire); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Armenian*, torpedoed June 28, 1915 (ordered to stop; tried to escape); 23 Americans lost.

British ship *Anglo-California*, sunk July 4, 1915; 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Arabic*, torpedoed August 19, 1915 (no warning); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Hesperian*, torpedoed September 4, 1915 (no warning); 1 American lost.

Italian ship *Ancona*, torpedoed November 9, 1915 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.

British ship *Persia*, believed to have been torpedoed; sunk December 30, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Englishman*, torpedoed March 27, 1916; 6 Americans lost (1 more whose nationality is doubtful).

British ship *Sabota*, sunk by gunfire October 20, 1916; 1 American lost.

British ship *Marina*, sunk by gunfire October 28, 1916 (warned); 8 Americans lost.

British ship *Russian*, torpedoed December 14, 1916 (no warning); 17 Americans lost.

British ship *Eveston*, sunk by shellfire February 5, 1917; 1 American lost (1 other whose nationality is doubtful).

British ship *Vedamore*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 10 Americans lost.

British ship *Torino*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 1 American () lost.

French ship *Athos*, torpedoed February 22, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.

British ship *Laconia*, torpedoed February 26, 1917 (no warning); 8 Americans lost.

Norwegian ship *Sjöstad*, believed torpedoed March 2, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.

American ship *Vigilancia*, torpedoed March 16, 1917 (no warning); 5 Americans lost.

American ship *Healdton*, torpedoed March 21, 1917 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.

British ship *Crispin*, torpedoed March 29, 1917 (no warning); 68 Americans on board, 1 killed, 18 missing.

Total, 226 American lives lost.

* On the *Lusitania* there were also 24 children born of foreign parents on American soil.



The "Freedom of the Seas"

A Norwegian interpretation of Germany's claim to the right to destroy neutral shipping without visit and search as required by international law.

SUMMARY OF CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING SUBMARINES

August, 1914, to April, 1916

Professor Albert B. Hart, in *America at War*, summed up the official American correspondence in regard to the submarines in the following handy form:

August 6—Note of United States as to the Declaration of London.

August 22, 1914—The German government undertakes to apply the Declaration of London as it stands. The British government undertakes to apply it "subject to certain modifications and additions."

MILITARY AREAS AND WAR ZONES

November 2, 1914—Announcement by the British Admiralty that the "whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds . . . will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines it has been necessary to lay, and from warships searching diligently . . . for suspicious craft".

November 23, 1914—German note protesting at the Allied modification of the Declaration of London which therefore will not be observed by Germany.

February 4, 1915—German declaration that "the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared to be war zone. . . . Every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers. . . . It can not always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships."

January 26, 1915—German order for control of the supply of corn, wheat, and flour in Germany, by the German government.

February 9, 1915—Capture by Great Britain of the American steamer *Wilhelmina* bound from New York to Hamburg with foodstuffs.

February 10, 1915—Note by Secretary Bryan declaring that "if the commanders of German vessels of war . . . should destroy on the high seas, an American vessel or the lives of American citizens . . . the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities."

ATTEMPT AT A GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH NEUTRALS

February 16, 1915—Germany's protest against the munitions trade and complaint that "neutrals in safeguarding their rights in legitimate commerce with Germany according to international law, have, up to the present, achieved no, or only insignificant results, while they are making unlimited use of their right by carrying on contraband traffic with Great Britain and our enemies." ("Neutral vessels which, despite this ample notice, which greatly affects the achievement of our aims in our war against Great Britain, enter these closed waters, will themselves bear the responsibility for any unfortunate accidents that may occur. Germany disclaims all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences.")

British memorandum to the effect that if "His Majesty's government should hereafter feel constrained to declare foodstuffs absolute contraband, or to take other measures for interfering with German trade, by way of reprisals, they confidently expect that such action will not be challenged on the part of neutral States by appeals to laws and usages of war whose validity rests on their forming an integral part of that system of international doctrine which as a whole their enemy frankly boasts the liberty and intention to disregard."

February 20, 1915—Proposal of the United States that the belligerents agree not to make breadstuffs contraband and not "to use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right to visit and search."

February 28, 1915—German note accepting the American proposals if the British government will not prevent "legitimate importations of food into Germany."

March 1, 1915—British and French notice that

those powers will use "retaliatory measures in order in their turn to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany." "They will, therefore, hold themselves free to detain and carry into port ships of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin."

March 5, 1915—Protest of the United States against the proposed Allied methods as contrary to international law.

March 11, 1915—British order in Council forbidding any merchant vessel to sail to or from a German port or to sail to or from a neutral "carrying goods of enemy ownership or destination."

March 18, 1915—British order that "the British fleet has instituted a blockade, effectively controlling by cruiser 'cordon' all passages to and from Germany by sea."

Falaba AND *Gulfight* CASES

March 28, 1915—Sinking of the British merchantman *Falaba* by a German submarine with a loss of one American life. (First case.)

March 30, 1915—American note protesting against the British communications as containing "matters of grave importance to neutral nations. . . . A practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area, and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace."

April 4, 1915—German demand that the United States cease to allow shipments of munitions to the Allies.

April 6, 1915—German note defending the sinking of the *Falaba* on the ground that "the German government regrets sacrifices of human lives, but both British ships and neutral passengers on board such ships were warned urgently and in time not to cross the war zone. Responsibility rests, therefore, with the British government, which, contrary to international law, inaugurated commercial war against Germany, and, contrary to international law, has caused merchant ships to offer armed resistance."

April 21, 1915—Note of Secretary Bryan insisting on the right to ship munitions.

May 2, 1915—Sinking of the American vessel *Gulfight* by a German submarine. (Second case.)

Lusitania CORRESPONDENCE

May 7, 1915—Sinking of the British merchant steamer *Lusitania* by a German submarine, with a loss of 124 lives of Americans. (Third case.)

May 13, 1915—Protest of Secretary Bryan against the sinking of the *Lusitania*, urging "the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity, which all modern opinion regards as imperative"; adding that "no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or pallia-



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The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, and Assistant Secretary
Franklin D. Roosevelt

Photograph taken on the steps of the United States Treasury.

tion for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission."

May 28, 1915—First German note, justifying the capture of the *Lusitania* on the following grounds: (a) That the *Lusitania* was listed as a British auxiliary cruiser and "undoubtedly had guns on board, which were mounted under decks and mast." (b) British merchant vessels were instructed to ram and destroy submarines and

which the government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence." "The government of the United States deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done."



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Building a Wood-Lined Trench

hence could not be considered "any longer as 'undefended territory' in the zone of maritime war." (c) That the ship was carrying Canadian troops and munitions. (d) That American citizens on board were not entitled to protection because the company violated American law as to passengers on ships which had explosives on board. "The company thereby wantonly caused the death of so many passengers." (e) The sinking of the *Lusitania* was not due to the torpedo, but to the explosion of the ammunition on board.

June 1, 1915—German note apologizing for the sinking of the *Gulflight*.

June 8, 1915—Resignation of Secretary Bryan from the State Department because of the President's note, "in which I cannot join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country."

June 9, 1915—Second American note on the *Lusitania* calling "the attention of the Imperial German government to the grave responsibility

June 17, 1915—British memorandum defending their interference with the neutral commerce of the United States with Germany, and with other neutral powers.

June 28, 1915—Sinking of British merchantman *Armenian* by a German submarine. (Fourth case, 11 Americans killed.)

July 8, 1915—Second German note, defending the sinking of the *Lusitania*, on the grounds: (a) That "we have been obliged to adopt a submarine warfare to meet the declared intentions of our enemies and the method of warfare adopted by them and the contravention of international law." (b) The British have obliterated all distinctions between merchantmen and war vessels. (c) If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the *Lusitania* had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing the torpedo, this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. (d) If the *Lusitania* had been spared, thousands of cases of munitions would have been sent to

Germany's enemies. (e) The German government proposes that passengers from the United States to Europe shall travel only on certain designated vessels which shall have a safe-conduct from Germany.

July 17, 1915—Attack on the British merchantman *Orduna* by a German submarine. (Fifth case, ship escaped.)

July 21, 1915—Third American note, reasserting the freedom of the seas to American vessels and citizens, and declaring that "If a belligerent can not retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offence against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected."

July 24, 1915—British defence of and insistence upon its system of so-called "blockade," including the stoppage of cargoes bound from the United States to neutral ports.

August 19, 1915—Sinking of the British merchantman *Arabic* by a German submarine. (Sixth case, 2 Americans killed.)

GERMAN ARGUMENT AS TO SUBMARINES

August 24, 1915—Communication by the German Ambassador Von Bernstorff: "If Americans should actually have lost their lives, this would naturally be contrary to our intentions. The German government would deeply regret the fact and begs to tender its sincerest sympathies to the American government."

September 1, 1915—Memorandum by German ambassador: "My instructions concerning our answer to your last *Lusitania* note contains the following passage: 'Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.'"

September 7, 1915—German note on the *Arabic* in which it "most deeply regrets that lives were lost through the action of the commander. It particularly expresses this regret to the government of the United States on account of the death of American citizens. The German government is unable, however, to acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the *Arabic*."

October 5, 1915—Apology of the German government for the *Arabic*, including the phrase: "The attack of the submarine, therefore, was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial government regrets and disavows this act and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly."

"Under these circumstances my government is prepared to pay an indemnity for the American lives which to its deep regret have been lost on

the *Arabic*. I am authorized to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity."

Ancona CASE

November 7, 1915—Sinking of the Italian merchantman *Ancona* by an Austrian submarine. (Seventh case, 9 American lives lost.)

December 6, 1915—American note protesting the sinking of the *Ancona* and demanding an indemnity. "The government of the United States expects that the Austro-Hungarian government, appreciating the gravity of the case, will accede to its demand promptly; and it rests this expectation on the belief that the Austro-Hungarian government will not sanction or defend an act which is condemned by the world as inhumane and barbarous, which is abhorrent to all civilized nations and which has caused the death of innocent American citizens."

December 15, 1915—Austro-Hungarian note denying that it had any official information that the United States had protested against the sinking of submarines.

December 29, 1915—Austro-Hungarian note announcing that the officer of the submarine had been punished "for exceeding his instructions," and intimating the willingness to pay an indemnity.

December 30, 1916—Sinking of the British merchantman *Persia* in the Mediterranean, probably by a submarine. (Eighth case, loss of an American Consul.)

Sussex CASE

March 24, 1916—Sinking of the British merchantman *Sussex* in the British Channel by a German submarine. (Ninth case, several Americans injured.)

April 18, 1916—Note of Secretary Lansing protesting against the sinking of the *Sussex*, which the United States government considered "only an instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended."

"The use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants."

"Unless the Imperial government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

THE LOSS OF THE *LUSITANIA*

The Official Report of the Inquiry into the Destruction of the Cunarder by a German Submarine

X

LORD MERSEY'S REPORT OF THE SINKING

THE story of the *Lusitania's* loss is best told in the official report of Lord Mersey, the Wreck Commissioner of Great Britain:

OFFICIAL REPORT ON THE LOSS OF THE *Lusitania* (May 7, 1915)

"The Court, having carefully inquired into the circumstances of the above-mentioned disaster, finds, for the reasons appearing in the annex hereto, that the loss of the said ship and lives was due to damage caused to the said ship by torpedoes fired by a submarine of German nationality whereby the ship sank.

"In the opinion of the Court the act was done not merely with the intention of sinking the ship, but also with the intention of destroying the lives of the people on board. . . .

THE SHIP

"The *Lusitania* was a turbine steamship, built by John Brown & Co., of Clydebank, in 1907, for the Cunard Steamship Company. She was built under Admiralty survey and in accordance with Admiralty requirements, and was classed 100 A 1 at Lloyd's. Her length was 755 feet, her beam 88 feet, and her depth 60 feet 4 in. Her tonnage was 30,395 gross and 12,611 net. Her engines were of 68,000 h.p. and her speed 24½ to 25 knots. She had 23 double-ended and two single-ended boilers situated in four boiler rooms. . . .

THE CAPTAIN, THE OFFICERS, AND THE CREW

"The captain of the ship, Mr. William Thomas Turner, had been in the service of the Cunard Company since 1883. He had occupied the position of commander since 1903, and had held an extra master's certificate since 1907. He was called before me and gave his evidence truthfully and well. The *Lusitania* carried an additional captain named Anderson. . . . The two captains and the officers were competent men, and . . . they did their duty. Captain Turner remained on the bridge till he was swept into the sea and Captain Anderson was working on the deck until he went overboard and was drowned. . . .

"Mr. Arthur Jones, the first officer, described

the crew on this voyage as well able to handle the boats, and testified to their carrying out the orders given to them in a capable manner. One of the crew, Leslie N. Morton, who, at the time the ship was torpedoed, was an extra look-out on the starboard side of the fore-castle head, deserves a special word of commendation. . . . He and Parry rowed the lifeboat some miles to a fishing smack, and, having put the rescued passengers on board the smack, they reëntered the lifeboat and succeeded in rescuing twenty or thirty more people. This boy, with his mate, Parry, was instrumental in saving nearly one hundred lives. . . .

"No doubt there were mishaps in handling the ropes of the boats and in other such matters, but there was, in my opinion, no incompetence or neglect, and I am satisfied that the crew behaved well throughout, and worked with skill and judgment. Many more than half their number lost their lives.

"The total crew consisted of 702. . . . Of the males, 397 were lost, and of the females, sixteen, making the total number lost 413. . . . The total number saved 289.

"I find that the conduct of the masters, the officers, and the crew was satisfactory. They did their best in difficult and perilous circumstances and their best was good.

THE PASSENGERS

"The number of passengers on board the *Lusitania* when she sailed was 1,257, consisting of 290 saloon, 600 second-cabin, and 367 third-cabin passengers.

"Of these, 944 were British and Canadian, 159 were American, and the remainder were of seventeen other nationalities. Of the British and Canadian, 584 perished. Of the American, 124 perished, and of the remainder, 77 perished. The total number was 785, and the total number saved was 472.

"The 1,257 passengers were made up of 688 adult males, 440 adult females, 51 male children, 39 female children, and 39 infants. Of the 688 adult males, 421 were lost and 267 saved. Of the 440 adult females, 270 were lost and 170 were saved. Of the 51 male children, 33 were lost and 18 were saved. Of the 39 female children, 26 were lost and 13 were saved. Of the 39 infants, 35 were lost and four were saved.

"Many of the women and children among those lost died from exhaustion after immersion in the water.

"I can speak very well of the conduct of the passengers after the striking of the ship. There was little or no panic at first, although later

on, when the steerage passengers came on to the boat deck in what one witness described as 'a swarm,' there appears to have been something approaching a panic.

"Some of the passengers attempted to assist in launching the boats and, in my opinion, did

sons who make use of them. The steamer carried no masked guns nor trained gunners, or special ammunition, nor was she transporting troops, or violating any laws of the United States. . . .

THE TORPEDOING OF THE SHIP

"By the 7th of May the *Lusitania* had entered what is called the 'Danger Zone,' that is to say, she had reached the waters in which enemy submarines might be expected. The captain had therefore taken precautions. He had ordered all the lifeboats under davits to be swung out. He had ordered all bulkhead doors to be closed except such as were required to be kept open in order to work the ship. These orders had been carried out. The portholes were also closed. The lookout on the ship was doubled—two men being sent to the crow's-nest and two men to the eyes of the ship. Two officers were on the bridge and a quartermaster was on either side with instructions to look out for submarines. Orders were also sent to the engine room between noon and 2 P.M. of the 7th to keep the steam pressure very high in case of emergency and to give the vessel all possible speed if the telephone from the bridge should ring. . . .

"At 2:15 P.M., when ten to fifteen miles off the Old Head of Kinsale, the weather being then clear and the sea smooth, the captain, who was on the port side of the lower bridge, heard the call, 'There is a torpedo coming, sir,' given by the second officer. He looked to starboard and then saw a streak of foam in the wake of a torpedo traveling toward his ship. Immediately afterward the *Lusitania* was struck on the starboard side somewhere between the third and fourth funnels. The blow broke number 5 lifeboat to splinters. A second torpedo was fired immediately afterward, which also struck the ship on the starboard side. The two torpedoes struck the ship almost simultaneously.

"Both these torpedoes were discharged by a German submarine from a distance variously estimated at from two to five hundred yards. No warning of any kind was given. It is also in evidence that shortly afterward a torpedo from another submarine was fired on the port side of the *Lusitania*. This torpedo did not strike the ship; and the circumstance is only mentioned for the purpose of showing that perhaps more than one submarine was taking part in the attack.

"The *Lusitania* on being struck took a heavy list to starboard, and in less than twenty minutes she sank in deep water. Eleven hundred and ninety-eight men, women, and children were drowned.

"Sir Edward Carson, when opening the case, described the course adopted by the German government in directing this attack as 'contrary to international law and the usages of war,' and as constituting, according to the law of all civilized countries, 'a deliberate attempt to murder the passengers on board the ship.' This state-



© Land and Water

Husbands and Fathers

Cartoon by Louis Raemakers, showing Belgian workmen being forcibly deported to Germany.

more harm than good. It is, however, quite impossible to impute any blame to them. They were all working for the best.

THE CARGO

"The cargo was a general cargo of the ordinary kind, but part of it consisted of a number of cases of cartridges (about 5,000). This ammunition was entered in the manifest. It was stowed well forward in the ship on the orlop and lower decks, and about 50 yards away from where the torpedoes struck the ship. There was no other explosive on board.

THE SHIP UNARMED

"It has been said by the German government that the *Lusitania* was equipped with masked guns, that she was supplied with trained gunners, with special ammunition, that she was transporting Canadian troops, and that she was violating the laws of the United States. These statements are untrue: they are nothing but baseless inventions, and they serve only to condemn the per-

ment is, in my opinion, true, and it is made in language not a whit too strong for the occasion. The defenceless creatures on board, made up of harmless men and women, and of helpless children, were done to death by the crew of the German submarine acting under the directions of the officials of the German government. In the questions submitted to me by the Board of Trade I am asked, 'What was the cause of the loss of life?' The answer is plain. The effective cause of the loss of life was the attack made against the ship by those on board the submarine. It was a murderous attack because made with a deliberate and wholly unjustifiable intention of killing the people on board. German authorities on the laws of war at sea themselves establish beyond all doubt that though in some cases the destruction of an enemy trader may be permissible there is always an obligation first to secure the safety of the lives of those on board. The guilt of the persons concerned in the present case is confirmed by the vain excuses which have been put forward on their behalf by the German government as before mentioned. . . .

"It may be worth while noting that Leith, the Marconi operator, was also in the second-class dining-saloon at the time of the explosion. He speaks of but one explosion. In my opinion there was no explosion of any part of the cargo.

ORDERS GIVEN AND WORK DONE AFTER THE TORPEDOING

"The captain was on the bridge at the time his ship was struck, and he remained there, giving orders until his ship foundered. His first order was to lower all boats to the rail. This order was obeyed as far as it possibly could be. He then called out, 'Women and children first.' The order was then given to hard-a-starboard the helm with a view to heading toward the land, and orders were telegraphed to the engine room. The orders given to the engine room are difficult to follow, and there is obvious confusion about them. It is not, however, important to consider them, for the engines were put out of commission almost at once by the inrush of water and ceased working, and the lights in the engine room were blown out.

"Leith, the Marconi operator, immediately sent out an S. O. S. signal, and, later on, another message, 'Come at once, big list, 10 miles south Head Old Kinsale.' These messages were repeated continuously and were acknowledged. At first the messages were sent out by the power supplied from the ship's dynamo; but in three or four minutes this power gave out and the messages were sent out by means of the emergency apparatus in the wireless cabin.

"All the collapsible boats were loosened from their lashings and freed so that they could float when the ship sank.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE LIFEBOATS

"Complaints were made by some of the witnesses about the manner in which the boats were



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Making War Material for the German Forces

A view of the great smelters and coke ovens of the Hochhoffen Co., of Lübeck, Germany, where a thousand men were employed day and night smelting Swedish iron ore which was used in making swords and bayonets for the Germany army.

launched and about their leaky condition when in the water. I do not question the good faith of these witnesses, but I think their complaints were ill-founded. . . .

"The conclusion at which I arrive is that the boats were in good order at the moment of the explosion and that the launching was carried out as well as the short time, the moving ship, and the serious list would allow.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE SHIP

"At the request of the Attorney-General part of the evidence in the inquiry was taken in camera. This course was adopted in the public interest. The evidence in question dealt, firstly, with certain advice given by the Admiralty to navigators generally with reference to precautions to be taken for the purpose of avoiding submarine attacks; and secondly, with information furnished by the Admiralty to Captain Turner individually of submarine dangers likely to be encountered by him in the voyage of the *Lusitania*. It would defeat the object which the Attorney-General had in view if I were to discuss these matters in detail in my report; and I do not propose to do so. But it was made abundantly plain to me that the Admiralty had devoted the most anxious care and thought to the questions arising out of the submarine peril, and that they had diligently collected all available information likely to affect the voyage of the *Lusitania* in this connection. . . .

"It is certain that in some respects Captain Turner did not follow the advice given to him. It may be (though I seriously doubt it) that had he done so his ship would have reached Liverpool in safety. But the question remains, was his conduct the conduct of a negligent or of an incompetent man. On this question I have

sought the guidance of my assessors, who have rendered me invaluable assistance, and the conclusion at which I have arrived is that blame ought not to be imputed to the captain. The advice given to him, although meant for his most serious and careful consideration, was not intended to deprive him of the right to exercise his skilled judgment in the difficult questions that might arise from time to time in the navigation of his ship. His omission to follow the advice in all respects can not fairly be attributed either to negligence or incompetence.

"He exercised his judgment for the best. It was the judgment of a skilled and experienced man, and although others might have acted differently and perhaps more successfully he ought not, in my opinion, to be blamed.

THE WHOLE BLAME

"The whole blame for the cruel destruction of life in this catastrophe must rest solely with those who plotted and with those who committed the crime."

In the *Metropolitan Magazine*, August, 1915, Colonel Roosevelt published Mrs. Wharton's translation of the following German poem, which illustrates the manner in which the Germans gloried in their wickedness:

THE HYMN OF THE "LUSITANIA"

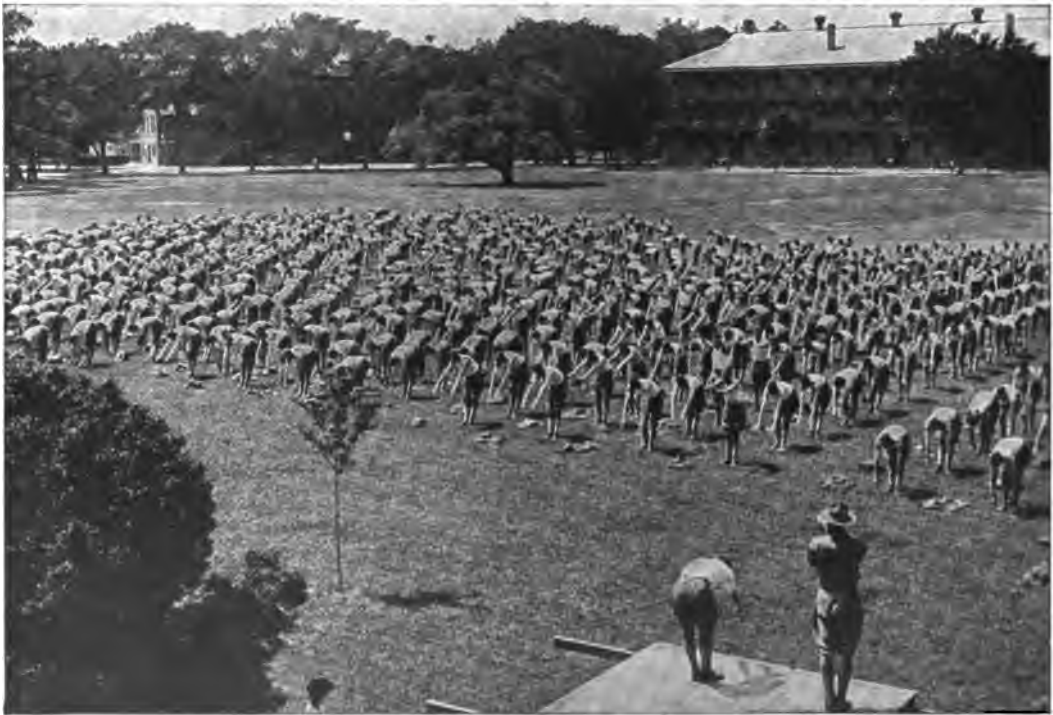
"The swift sea sucks her death-shriek under
As the great ship reels and leaps asunder.
Crammed taffrail-high with her murderous
freight,
Like a straw on the tide she whirls to her fate.

"A warship she, though she lacked its coat,
And lustful for lives as none afloat,
A warship, and one of the foe's best workers,
Not penned with her rusting harbor-shirkers.

"Now the Flanders guns lack their daily bread,
And shipper and buyer are sick with dread,
For neutral as Uncle Sam may be,
Your surest neutral's the deep green sea.

"Just one ship sunk, with lives and shell,
And thousands of German gray-coats well!
And of each of her gray-coats, German hate
Would have sunk ten ships with all their freight.

"Yea, ten such ships are a paltry fine
For one good life in our fighting line.
Let England ponder the crimson text:
TORPEDO, STRIKE! AND HURRAH FOR
THE NEXT!"



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Setting-up Exercises at an Officers' Training Camp Near Washington.

THE MEANING OF THE WAR TO AMERICA

How American Ideals Stood the Test of War and Resulted in a New Conscious Objective

By FRANKLIN K. LANE, Secretary of the Interior

AMERICA entered the war deliberately, soberly, almost dispassionately.

We had suffered long and been kind. I doubt if ever before the efficacy of Christian virtues had been given such a test in the affairs of nations. The President manifestly held himself in the strongest control lest he should give way to some passionate expression or be hurried into an act that would make war between Germany and the United States inevitable. Had he chosen his Cabinet with pre-knowledge of the troubles that his administration was to endure, he probably could not have been more successful in finding a group less disposed to engage the country in a foreign war.

The American people as a whole wished to keep out of Europe if that were possible. They distrusted the news that came from there, believing it to be charged with propaganda for one side or the other. They could not believe that a people so reasonable and self-contained as the Germans, whom we knew, were guilty of the evil designs upon the world or could be guilty of such atrocities upon their neighbors as were charged. Innocent of all intriguing and malevolent policies ourselves, we discredited the very thought that a foreign power felt itself so strong in America that it could intimidate Congress or the Administration into a policy of non-resentment. The war was not of our making. We did not trouble Europe and we did not expect Europe to trouble us.

Our *caveat* had been served in the Monroe Doctrine. This set a great gulf between the old world with its selfish rivalries and the new with its young hopes. We were a mixed people. We were being fused into a nation with new and distinctive purposes, and to forget Europe as having compelling attachments was essential to this process. Other peoples might express their need for adventure or their inward urge for a widening life through the

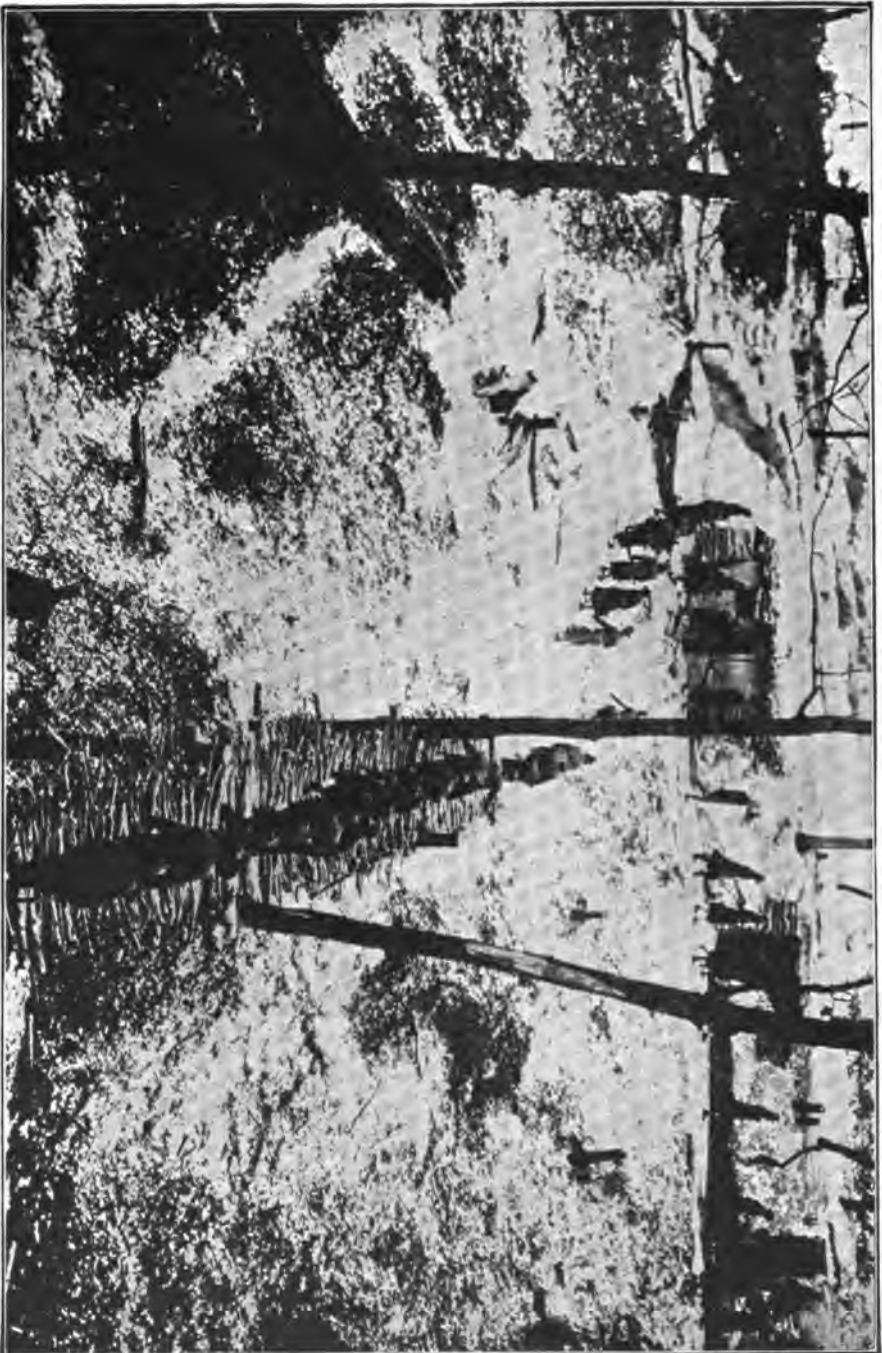
age-old conventional form of war, but no such compulsion was felt in this land where we were hardly yet across a continent that was challenging us each day to prove its value and to test its ability to make an abundant home for the millions here and the others that were sure to succeed.

OUR AVERSION TO WAR

There were reasons therefore of many kinds for the American aversion to committing itself to join the Allies in France. Politically, such a policy would hazard the fortunes of those proposing it.* Industrially, it was far better for us to sell to the Allies the many products they demanded than to divert the whole stream of our industrial life and to convert our whole national establishment into a war factory. Financially, we had long looked abroad for development money, and our stocks and bonds held abroad were making constant and heavy demands upon the reservoir of our resources. The war had changed this balance. America was quickly becoming the chief, if not the sole, creditor nation, with a treasury upon which there was no more than the call of normal times. Socially, we were growing together, unifying, solidifying as Americans, untorn by race contentions. Traditionally, we were true to the teachings of the Fathers and safe upon the solid ground of a century of experience, so long as we did not step into European affairs. To gather the meaning of the war to America, these things must be known and appreciated.

Furthermore, we were but little more than a generation removed from our own great war. Millions still lived who had known

*This thought may have been hidden in the minds of some. But it is with pride that I can say that it was mentioned only once as a retardant in the cabinet, and then was given short shrift.



American Student Officers Returning from Skirmish Duty

In the American Army there is one officer for each 20 men, and 200,000 officers were required for the army of 4,000,000 men. In the old Regular Army there were but 6,000 officers. Besides officers from National Guard divisions it was necessary to secure 180,000 officers elsewhere. Candidates from civil life, with or without previous experience, were instructed at officers' training camps, and 80,568 commissions were issued, 48,968 for the infantry and 20,291 for the artillery. There were 62,445 second lieutenants, 12,297 first lieutenants, and 5,429 captains. In France, 11,985 officers were commissioned from the ranks.

what war was. They knew the cruelty, the sorrow, the suffering, and the misery that it brought men who still lived in memory. There was, moreover, the haunting feeling that civilization itself had been gravely checked by the cutting off of many of the most energetic and brilliant minds of the nation. War, then, if it came, would take its toll for all succeeding generations. Who

it. But two things happened in Europe in the latter days of 1916 and the opening of 1917 that touched the primary instincts of the American nature. These were the declaration by Berlin that it would carry on ruthless warfare by submarine and the declaration of a Republic in Petrograd. Broadly stated, out of these two declarations America was brought into the war. One played upon our sense of



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Preparing for the Great Test

Many of the American troops who fought in France began their preliminary training while serving in Pershing's army on the Mexican border in 1913.

knew how many inventions of a parity in usefulness with those of Edison, Bell, and Wright had been lost in the Civil War by the death of their inventors? The world could not afford such waste.

THE DECIDING FACTOR

Therefore, I believe it to be true that there never was a nation that went to war after more serious thought as to the wisdom of the step. Germany knew how strong this retardant pull was and could not believe that there was a progressive force that could overcome

national dignity; the other aroused our chivalry. One brought the American people clearly to see that Germany was a menace to the United States; that her people worshiped the State as a thing superior to honor, conscience, or law; that she could not make a good neighbor. The other, the Russian revolution, challenged all our higher hopes that the world would turn, in fact, was irrevocably turning, from absolutism to free institutions, from Czardom to democracy. To insure, therefore, our own life and to clear the way for the peaceful rise of man, an end had to be put to the great danger—the sole

surviving evidence of the black days of man's subjection to a system which involved tyranny, caste, the supreme class, and the supreme state.

We saw in Germany a personal danger to America and an impersonal danger to our ideals for the world.

AMERICAN IDEALISM

By entering the war with a sense of self-protection and with chivalrous altruism, we gratified both sides of our nature, the realistic and the idealistic. The American is an unusual blend. He has a sound love for fact and a dreamer's faith. He knows the worth of a dollar and will sacrifice greatly to get it. But he is also aware that there are things much more worth while. For these he will sacrifice almost unthinkingly. Not to know these two qualities in the American is to be unable to understand why we entered the war, our course in it, its effect upon us, its meaning to us, and our later policy.

We came to be convinced that realism and idealism were one after all, that our dream of a materialistic paradise could be realized only through the full vent of our idealistic tendencies, that if peace was to be had, it was to be had by fighting for others as well as for ourselves; that successful democracy must have a broader and surer foundation than a temporary or relative isolation or a tendency to peacefulness. Our interests and our ideals were at bottom the same thing. We fought to live, and the only life we cared for was that which we had been living, a life of self-respect and creative usefulness among fellow nations which could understand this attitude without attributing it to cowardice or to greed.

For America to live by sufferance was unthinkable. And for America to live as a partner with German militarism, dividing the world between us, was equally unthinkable. The war came to mean just these two alternatives to America, and then our mind machine clicked like a clock and the judgment was for war. It was as I have said a sober, deliberate, almost dispassionate judgment.

WITH THE SPIRIT OF CRUSADERS

The passion entered after the judgment was rendered. Then this calm Benjamin Frank-

lin of a nation was lit with the burning flame of a Savonarola and we saw ourselves as crusaders, practical, solemn crusaders. It was more precious that this America should live than that we Americans should live—this America born in travail, grown in the rough school of bitter experience, a living spirit which has purpose and pride and conscience, knows why it wishes to live and to what end, knows how it comes to be respected of the world and hopes to retain that respect by living on in the light of Lincoln's love for man as its old and new testament. It was better, far better, that this America should live than that we Americans should live.

This was not the thought in the doughboy's mind. To him the war was a job, a most disagreeable job, which must be "put over" just as quickly as possible so that he might return home. London was amazed at the serious faces which our lads wore when they first marched through Trafalgar Square. They were used to a cheering, singing, devil-may-care lot who went about chanting:

"The bells of hell go ting-a-ling-ling
For you but not for me."

They found these wild men from the West steady-eyed and strong-footed, neither out for a picnic nor a spree, but asking quite directly:

"Where am I needed? I may not be as well trained as I should be but I ask my chance to show what I can do. I am to be treated as one who represents America; a rescuer, who must be given the consideration that is due one of my status. I am a drafted man because conscription is the way of democracy. We equally owe and therefore equally pay. Others will follow me. How many? Enough to do the trick! America made up its mind that this thing had gone far enough and I am here to stop it. I would have been here earlier if I had known how hard put you were and that Kaiser Bill was such a nut as to think he could run the earth."

It needed this self-confident attitude and this purposefulness to lift the fighting in France out of the trenches, to bring it into the open, and to put the burden of the defensive upon the enemy. Not that the Americans alone had this spirit, for they did not. It was the large number of them, all imbued

with the same spirit, that counted, the steady stream that swept across the Atlantic—"enough to do the trick."

Their assurance was the compliment they paid to their own land. They felt no hesitation in prophesying success because they knew that behind the long veil of seeming indifference, which hid the feelings of the American, there was a pride that would not suffer anything less than victory, no matter what the sacrifice. It was the pride of a young nation, a tender, delicate thing! The product of a peculiar civilization wherein men are measured by natural rather than artificial standards and of institutions which are largely of our own invention, the American feels a responsibility that justifiably gives him distinction. Germany did not realize in the blindness of her arrogance how often and how seriously that pride was hurt by her. If she had, for policy's sake, she would have desisted. So all the accumulated indignation over injury to these sensibilities of this rising people came out once we were in the fight. The doughboy knew that behind his steady step there was the grand army of a Republic, farmer, miner, financier, machinist and engineer, the women and the girls—a nation which, when set in its purpose, had a pride that would permit no faltering.

There is no reason why we should not admit it—we were proving ourselves to ourselves as well as before the world, and the boy in France thought back across the ocean in his pride of a father who would not be humiliated by any power on earth, while that father worked and sacrificed as never before that that boy's faith might be justified.

It was proving time for every one. The government, true to its pledge of neutrality, met the war materially unprepared. Men, officers, training force, camps, guns great and small, shell, horses, motors, roads, railroads, food for men, horses and motors, machinery, designs, aeroplane linen, struts, engines, trained aviators, flying fields, docks, ships, seamen, officers—all were needed, hundreds of thousands of different things and the men to make and marshal them. Some things we knew where to place our hands on. The needs of the Allies had mobilized these. But the task of the nation was made the greater because many nations, five large ones at first

and many small ones, were coming to the same mine, warehouse, machine shop, and railroad. We had vainly imagined our resources to be without limit, our organizing genius equal to any task, our adaptability and inventiveness of a supreme order, and we were compelled to be disappointed.

OUR LESSON IN EFFICIENCY

There was a certain degree of national humiliation. The draft was perhaps the most notable non-military achievement of the war. It was regarded as the test of the nation's *morale*. No other nation had tried it with complete satisfaction. There was fear that it might be blocked by dissent, both passive and active. But the strength of the nation showed itself as it had never done; the draft of the nation was honored. What was the shock, however, to discover that out of the first gathering of a million and a half, a full twenty per cent. could not read the English language and many could not speak it. It was, indeed, a time for proving ourselves and we had proved by a sad demonstration that in this Republic some one was leaving his duty undone. A fifth of this army had to go to school—men of twenty-one years and more—that they might read their orders and the signs on the streets, sign their names to their pay checks, and understand the commands of their officers. Our boys, willing to fight for America whose language they did not know!

Concretely, the war had taught that we were living with our eyes shut and our ears closed. We were deceiving ourselves. When the facts were made known a picture of health conditions among the men drafted was revealed that was alarming. These conditions threatened the health of the race and reduced, by an inestimable degree, the efficiency of our people. In the pell-mell of our rush forward, we had been going too fast to observe clearly. We now see that if this land is to be a model for the nations of the world it must be content to go slower at present so that it can go faster in the future. It is the equipment of our people that must be looked to. As integral parts of the political, social and industrial machine, they must work with an understanding and a capacity that will bring the best results to themselves and the country.

Never again will America find herself with so few schools, so many illiterates, so few scientists, so few laboratories, so many men of impaired power, so large an indifference as to what is taught in universities and in newspapers, or what is said in the club or on the corner. There must be found a democratic way of protecting the welfare of the nation

table determining whose will should govern the islands of the seven seas and what the boundaries of the nations should be, giving a new birth to nations that had been lost from all maps for centuries, and instituting, it is to be sincerely hoped, a new order of world affairs.

We are what we were not.



An American Mountain-Gun Unit

This unique gun, slung over a mule's back, can be utilized in places where heavy artillery is out of the question.

against a policy of neglect. The war has been self-revealing.

THE STRONG WINE OF VICTORY

America emerged from the war as a victor nation! This country, which but half a century ago had to decide whether or not it would be a nation, heard itself acclaimed as the greatest of the world's Powers—a more valuable friend than any other, a more undesirable enemy. When President Wilson took office, the most imaginative of fiction writers would not have presumed to prophesy that within six years this scholar-philosopher would be sitting in Paris at the head of a council

We have done things believed to be impossible and gained world acclaim for them. Glory has followed Power. It would be hypocrisy to say that the American people are unconscious of or indifferent to their fortune and their place. But shall we drink of this wine until we are drunk? There is our first temptation—to seek glory because of our discovered power. But let it be said in favor of the American, that he has not yielded to this temptation. We can go forth as soldiers and yet return as civilians, who are untouched by the madness of a desire for world power and in revolt at heart against the ways of the militaristic world. Now this is not a little thing. It means much—for the tendency of

men is to swagger and bully and take on power. A uniform is an engaging thing. It is a hallmark of manly strength and courage. It means many virtues and always some power. For a youth to discard it, is to lose an open testimonial that has been carried with pride. For a nation to discard it, voluntarily, cheerily, is to give over the very symbol of its prowess as a Power. But it was not a wrench for us because ours was an adventure into militarism, not a habit of life or the expression of a wish. Democracy has taught us that there was a life so much better worth while than that of marshaling men for war that we have turned our eyes to the doing of the day's work without a thought that we were wasting good chances. The wine of military glory has not gone to our heads—so much is history.

THE TASK THE WAR HAS LEFT US

Our task is to make America and to prove therein the possibilities, as yet unrealized, of Democracy. What has the war done to give us direction? Coöperation is the word which it has left us.

War may be defined as organized manpower consciously coöperating toward a common objective, which is the destruction of the enemy. Democracy, on the other hand, is in its fullest expression organized manpower consciously coöperating toward a common objective,—the creation of a happier society. The child-like mind of Russia felt this contrast and in its impatience sought a quick change through revolution. The working classes of all countries have realized that there was something in war which made its appeal

to them, and have not known how to formulate it.

If we can so coöperate to destroy, why may we not equally coöperate to create? This is the thought which flashes through many a mind. Passing through the brutal mind, it



Student Officers at a Wigwagging Training Station

The Signal Corps of the A. E. F. reached a high degree of efficiency, and rendered notable military service in the conduct of the war.

takes a brutal form; passing through the more sophisticated mind, it takes on a more philosophic aspect. But in both there is the imperious question, "Where are we going?" "What is our definite concrete objective?" When the war ended, all felt that there was a conscious lack in the world. The newspapers were empty. Work was a drag. Talk was idle. Something had gone out of the consciousness of every one which had made things real. And that something was not the daily story of horror; it was the knowledge that

in war there had been an end aimed at, a definite target. The people in twenty-four nations, large and small, were united on one thing—the achievement of victory over the enemy. To this object men sowed and reaped, mined and manufactured, drove trains and steered ships. There was no boy in farthest Alaska who was not alive with the sense that he was in a great drive across France against a courageous, wily, treacherous, brutal enemy. The day's work had a motif. There was purpose in everything.

A conscious objective—is there no way to gain this energy and enthusiasm and devotion

in time of peace? Must we be challenged by destructive forces before we can cooperate? War is a game with a goal. Cannot peace be so converted? War is quick, its results are sudden. Peace is slow, steady, undramatic. Human nature, however, is impatient! There is the difficulty. War aims at the destruction of the enemy. Democracy aims at the creation of a happier society. The destruction of an enemy is a matter of months or years. The creation of a happier society—ah, there is an objective that must be gained slowly. It is this that those of passionate but uninformed minds cannot see.

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FLOWER-BEDS IN THE TUILERIES

By GRACE ELLERY CHANNING

France is planting her gardens,
France is preparing her spring;
Seeds in their long rows slumbering,
Bulbs in their ranks outnumbering,
For the brown beds' bordering;
France is planting her gardens,
France is preparing her spring,
France—of the ermined lilies,
France—of the Fleur-de-Lys;
And royal still her will is,
Say the stately Tuileries.

Her crippled and maimed and broken
Walk, smiling, in her sun;
These are they who have spoken
Her word by the lips of Verdun;
Their little, gay children go leaping—
Laugh loud from the merry-go-round;
France has sown, for their reaping,
The flowers of France that are sleeping
Near by, in the warm, brown ground.

France has planted her Garden,
France has prepared her a Spring,
All mankind for its warden,
Love for its singing bird;
Never the frost shall harden
Earth that has in its keeping
Seed sown there at her word,
Never the bird take wing;
Where the flower of France is sleeping
That earth shall have her spring!
—From *New York Tribune*.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD WAR

From June 28, 1914, to the end of 1918

1914

June 28.—Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and his wife are murdered at Serajevo, capital of Bosnia, by Gavrilo Princep.

July 23.—Austria delivers an ultimatum to Serbia, incorporating therein demands with which Serbia could not comply without infringement upon her sovereignty.

July 28.—Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia.

July 31.—A general mobilization in Russia was met in Germany by a declaration of a "state of war."

August 1.—Germany declares war against Russia on the ground that Russian mobilization is a menace to Germany.

August 2.—Germany hands an ultimatum to Belgium demanding a free passage for German troops through that country.

August 3.—Germany declares war on France. Her troops cross the frontier at Longwy and in the Vosges mountains. Belgium rejects Germany's demands and states that she will defend her neutrality by force of arms.

August 4.—Germany rejects Great Britain's ultimatum that she respect Belgium's neutrality. Great Britain declares war on Germany. Germany declares war on Belgium. Great Britain begins mobilization of her Army. President Wilson issues proclamation of neutrality.

August 5.—Russian troops begin the invasion of East Prussia near Lyck. Germany begins invasion of Belgium. British home troops are mobilized for embarkation to Europe.

August 6.—Austria-Hungary declares war on Russia. Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia checked by the latter.

August 7.—Montenegro declares war on Austria-Hungary. Germans enter Liège. French troops begin the invasion of Alsace-Lorraine.

August 8.—Seaport in Togoland seized by British.

August 9.—Serbia declares war against Germany. French invasion of Germany checked in Alsace-Lorraine. German warships, *Goeben* and *Breslau*, enter Turkish waters and are taken over by the Turks.

August 10.—France declares war on Austria-Hungary. Montenegrins seize Scutari. Montenegro declares war on Germany. Austrians begin invasion of Russia.

August 12.—German invasion of Belgium continues. Serbians and Montenegrins invade Bosnia. Great Britain declares war on Austria-Hungary.

August 14.—General Ruzsky invades Galicia and advances in direction of Lemberg.

August 15.—Austria begins second invasion of Serbia. Japan sends ultimatum to Germany de-

manding surrender of Kiau-chau by September 15.

August 16.—Mülhausen and Thann, in Alsace-Lorraine, captured by French. British Expeditionary Forces landed in France.

August 17.—French occupy Saarburg. Austrians defeated by Serbs near Shabatz. Antwerp becomes Belgian capital.

August 18.—Austrians are driven out of Serbia.

August 19.—Louvain falls into hands of the Germans. Brussels is abandoned and Belgians retire on Antwerp. French relinquish some of their newly-won gains in the Vosges.

August 20.—Russians continue advance in the direction of Lemberg.

August 21-23.—Battle of Mons-Charleroi. French and British retire before German invasion in force. Germans take Lunéville, Charleroi, Namur, and Mons. Serbians defeat Austrians on the Drina. Germans defeated at Gumbinnen by Russians under Rennenkampf.

August 24.—Cattaro bombarded by French and British. Japanese bombard Tsingtau.

August 26.—Germans destroy Louvain. British holding strong positions at Laon and La Fère, are forced to retire after four days' fighting with superior German forces. Russians are badly defeated near Allenstein and in battle of Tannenberg; lose 90,000 prisoners and suffer 30,000 casualties. The German colony of Togoland surrenders to French and British forces.

August 27.—Allied line on the Meuse gives way. Montmédy and Mézières fall into German hands.

August 28.—First naval battle of the war results in a victory for the British under Sir David Beatty in the Bight of Heligoland. Russians are again defeated at Passenheim. Austria declares war on Belgium. Reims, Châlons, Longwy, and Lille are abandoned by the Allies.

August 29.—Laon and La Fère fall.

September 1.—The three days' battle of Lemberg begins.

September 3.—Lemberg is occupied by the Russians. Allied forces in the west reach the line of the Marne, thus ending the long retreat. French Government moves to Bordeaux.

September 5.—Russia, France, and Great Britain sign agreement not to make a separate treaty of peace.

September 6-10.—The Battle of the Marne. The Germans reach the high tide of their invasion of France. Due largely to a brilliant move by Foch, the Germans are compelled to retreat to the Aisne. Trench warfare from the sea to Switzerland, extending almost 300 miles, sets in on the Western front.

September 11.—French take Lunéville and Châlons and drive the Germans almost to Reims.

September 12.—Germans reach line of the Aisne.

- Austrians in precipitous retreat before the Russians. Cracow is threatened.
- September 13.—British and French begin a vain attempt to drive the Germans from strongly fortified positions on the Aisne.
- September 14.—Germans evacuate Amiens, and French enter Souain.
- September 15.—French occupy Reims.
- September 16.—Przemysl menaced by the Russians.
- September 17.—Allies practically give up attempt to force the German positions on the Aisne.
- September 18-19-20.—Germans in great force make vain attempt to capture fortress of Verdun. General Sarrail makes heroic defense.
- September 21.—Russians seize fortress of Jaroslav.
- September 22.—British cruisers, *Hogue*, *Aboukir* and *Cressy*, are sunk in North Sea by German submarine.
- September 24.—Péronne is occupied by the British and French.
- September 25.—King William's Land, German New Guinea, is captured by Australian forces.
- September 26.—St. Mihiel is occupied by the Germans.
- September 29-30.—Germans begin attack on Antwerp.
- October 1.—Japan lands troops in China preliminary to attack on Kiau-chau.
- October 5.—Belgium moves seat of government to Ostend.
- October 6-7-8.—Bombardment of Antwerp continues, resulting in the fall of the city on October 8th.
- October 12.—Siege of Przemysl is lifted as result of Austrian advance.
- October 13.—Belgian Government temporarily moves to Havre; Ostend is occupied by the Germans; British cruiser *Hawke* sunk by German submarine in North Sea.
- October 18.—The great German drive to reach the Channel ports and thereby isolate France from England is begun.
- October 20-21.—Severe artillery fire characterizes battle of the Yser.
- October 22.—Lille is bombarded; many buildings of historic interest are destroyed.
- October 23.—Fierce fighting in neighborhood of La Bassée.
- October 24.—Germans take Nieuport. They are heavily bombarded by British warships off the coast.
- October 25.—After sustaining heavy losses the Germans cross the Yser.
- October 27.—British battleship *Audacious* is sunk off coast of Ireland. French advance in upper Alsace. Germans invade Portuguese West Africa.
- October 28.—Germans lose southern bank of the Yser. Although almost surrounded the city of Ypres makes heroic resistance. Turkish warships bombard Russian Black Sea ports. German stronghold at Kiau-chau is bombarded by Japanese and British warships.
- October 30.—Russia declares war against Turkey.
- October 31.—Severe fighting around Ypres.
- November 1.—British retire to Ypres after heavy fighting. Naval battle off Coronel (Chile). *Monmouth* and *Good Hope* are sunk by German squadron under von Spee with loss of 1,600 men.
- November 3.—British and French bombard Turkish forts at entrance of the Dardanelles. Akabah is occupied by a British cruiser.
- November 5.—Great Britain and France declare war on Turkey. Jaroslav is recaptured by the Russians.
- November 7.—After ten weeks' investment, the Japanese, with the aid of a few British, capture Tsingtau (Kiau-chau).
- November 9.—*Emden*, German cruiser, is sunk by Australian cruiser *Sydney* near Cocos Islands, in the Indian Ocean.
- November 10.—Dixmude is occupied by the Germans. Serbs defeat a superior Austrian force in vicinity of Belgrade.
- November 12.—Russians again invest Przemysl, crossing the Carpathians. They also advance in East Prussia.
- November 15.—Austrian army is successful against the Serbs at Valjevo.
- November 16.—Belgians cut dykes between Dixmude and the sea.
- November 17.—A Holy War is declared at Constantinople against the Entente Allies.
- November 18.—Great Britain assumes a protectorate over Egypt. British move north and Russians move south in Asiatic Turkey.
- November 21.—Basra on Persian Gulf is occupied by British. British aviators bombard Friedrichshaven.
- November 23.—British fleet bombards Zeebrugge, which Germans are turning into a submarine base.
- November 25.—Russians seize part of the forts protecting Przemysl.
- November 26.—British battleship *Bulwark* is blown up at mouth of the Thames.
- November 27.—Russians break up German invasion of Poland.
- November 29.—Czernowitz falls into hands of Russians.
- December 2.—Austria captures Belgrade, capital of Serbia.
- December 5.—Germans evacuate Vermelles, in Belgium.
- December 6.—Three weeks' battle around Lodz, Russian Poland, ends with Germany claiming the victory, inasmuch as Russians abandon the city.
- December 8.—Battle of the Falklands. German cruisers *Gneisenau*, *Scharnhorst*, *Nürnberg*, and *Leipzig* are sunk by British. *Dresden* escapes. Serbs check Austrian invasion and Valjevo again falls into Serbian hands.
- December 9.—Kurnah, and with it control of the mouth of the Tigris-Euphrates, falls to the British. French government returns to Paris.
- December 10.—End of the rebellion in South Africa.
- December 13.—Turkish cruiser *Messudieh* is torpedoed by British submarine.
- December 14.—Belgrade again in Serbian hands. Russians defeat Teutons at Mlawa.
- December 16.—Hartlepool, Whitby, and Scarborough, on east coast of England, are bombarded by German cruisers. Over 100 men, women, and children are killed.
- December 17.—Westende on the Belgian coast is bombarded by Allied Fleet.
- December 18.—Lowicz in Russian Poland is occupied by von Hindenburg's troops.
- December 20.—Germans evacuate Dixmude. Serbs and Montenegrins again invade Bosnia.
- December 23.—Russians raise siege of Cracow.
- December 24.—Russians are defeated at Mlawa.



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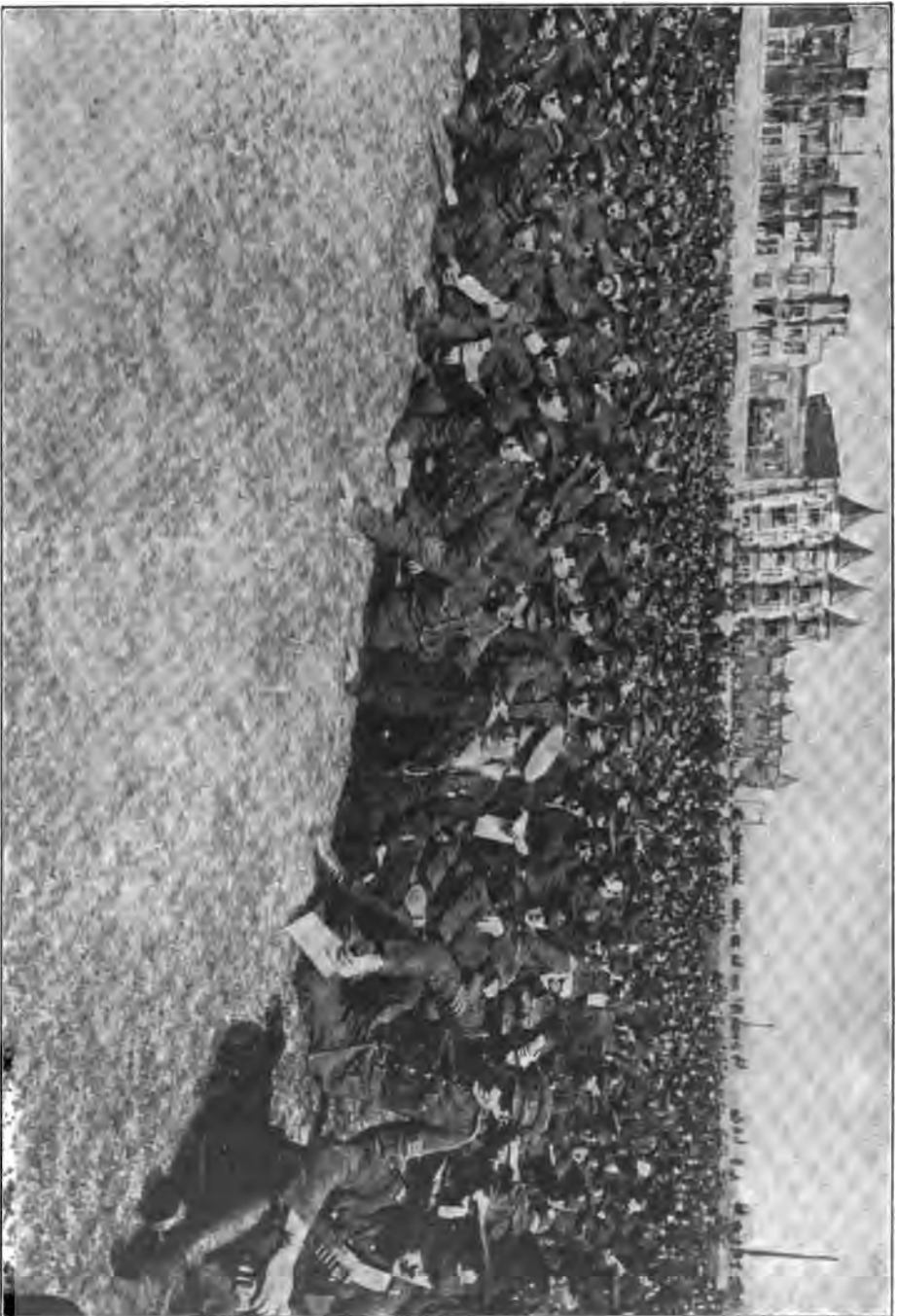
General von Kluck

He was commander of the right wing of the German Armies in Northern France in 1914. At the Battle of the Marne, in endeavoring to close a gap between himself and the army under General von Bülow, he left his right flank completely exposed, with the result that the French and British forces under General Joffre and General Sir John French drove the Germans back across the Marne after a four-days' battle.

December 25.—Cuxhaven is bombed from the air by British.
 December 29.—French advance in Alsace and Russians advance against Austrians in Galicia.

1915

- January 1.—*Formidable*, British battleship, is sunk by a German submarine in English Channel, with a loss of 500 men.
 January 3-4.—Turks suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of Russians at Ardahan and Sari Kamysh.
 January 4.—French occupy Steinbach in Upper Alsace.
 January 6.—German advance in Poland reaches the Soucha river.
 January 7.—Sale of absinthe in France is forbidden.
 January 13.—Germans begin important offensive northeast of Soissons, the French retiring to south bank of the Aisne. Turks occupy Tabriz in Persia.
 January 16.—Russians seize Kirlibaba Pass in the Carpathians and on the same day defeat Turks at Karaugan.
 January 17-18.—Boiselles, northeast of Amiens, changes hands several times, finally remaining in possession of the French.
 January 19.—German airships bombard Norfolk coast of England.
 January 23.—La Bassée is captured by British.
 January 24.—Battle of Dogger Bank is fought in North Sea, British victorious; German armored cruiser *Blücher* is sunk.
 January 28.—*William P. Frye*, American merchant vessel, is sunk by German cruiser.
 January 29.—Germans advance in the Argonne forest.
 January 30.—Russians drive Turks from Tabriz and occupy the city. Germans begin submarine warfare on merchant vessels by sinking three British ships in Irish Sea.
 January 31.—Germans raid English Channel with submarines and sink several merchantmen.
 February 3.—Large forces of Turks attempt unsuccessfully to force Suez Canal.
 February 4.—A "war zone" is declared around British Isles by Germans, to take effect from February 18th.
 February 5.—Russians and Germans engaged in a titanic struggle west of Warsaw.
 February 6.—Russians evacuate a large part of the Bukowina. Russian port of Valta, on Black Sea, is bombarded by Turks. Russians bombard Trebizond. Russian army disastrously defeated by Hindenburg near Interburg, and driven back on Masurian Lakes region.
 February 10.—Russians evacuate East Prussia, fleeing in disorder. Russians in Masurian Lakes region are routed and flee in general direction of Grodno.
 February 16.—Germany in a note to the United States offers to recall the "war zone" decree if Great Britain will not interfere with German trade with neutral countries. Germans reoccupy Bielsk and Plock in Poland.
 February 17.—Great Britain, in a note to the United States, agrees not to go beyond her rights in dealing with neutral shipping.
 February 18.—German "war zone" decree goes into effect. Germany claims immunity from any "accident" that might happen to neutral vessels in these waters.
 February 19.—Great Britain, in a note to the United States, states that her use of the American flag on her own vessels was in accordance with international law; but that she did not intend to continue this as a general practice. British and French fleets bombard Turkish forts at entrance to the Dardanelles.
 February 20.—Russians stop German pursuit from East Prussia at Ossewitz.
 February 24.—Germans seize Przasnysz, important strategic point in Russian Poland, north of Warsaw.
 February 25.—British and French fleets continue to bombard Dardanelles forts.
 February 27.—Germans advance in the Vosges mountains. Russians recapture Przasnysz.
 March 1.—Great Britain and France announce that they will prevent commodities of any sort from reaching or leaving Germany.
 March 2.—Germany notifies United States that she will modify her "war zone" decree if England will make changes in her economic blockade.
 March 4.—Russians capture Stanislaw, Galicia.
 March 9-10.—British capture Neuve Chapelle after heavy artillery attack, taking 2,000 prisoners.
 March 10.—Commerce-destroying German cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* puts into Hampton Roads for repairs.
 March 14.—German cruiser *Dresden* is sunk by British off coast of Chile.
 March 18.—French battleship *Bouvet* and British battleships *Ocean* and *Irresistible* are sunk by mines in the Dardanelles; French cruiser *Suffren* is damaged.
 March 19.—Memel in East Prussia is captured by Russians.
 March 21.—Memel is evacuated by Russians.
 March 23.—Przemysl, strong Austrian fortress in Galicia, is taken by Russians; 120,000 Austrians are captured.
 March 25.—French capture Hartmannsweilerkopf in Upper Alsace. Lupkow Pass in Carpathians falls to Russians. Russians defeat Turks in Persia.
 March 27.—*Falaba*, British passenger steamer, is sunk off the coast of Wales, with loss of 111 lives, of which one was an American citizen.
 March 28.—The Bosphorus is bombarded by Russian warships.
 March 30.—United States protests against Great Britain's and France's determination to cut off German trade with neutrals.
 April 5.—French begin offensive against St. Mihiel salient.
 April 7.—*Prinz Eitel Friedrich* is interned by United States Government.
 April 11.—American State Department makes public a note from Germany which criticises treatment of neutral trade by Great Britain and hints that our selling munitions to one belligerent and not to another was unneutral. *Kronprinz Wilhelm* puts into Newport News for supplies and repairs.
 April 17.—Second battle of Ypres begins. British capture Hill 60 after the explosion of several mines.
 April 18-22.—Germans make costly but vain efforts to regain Hill 60.



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Veterans of the Second Battle of Ypres

On April 22, 1915, favored by a light breeze in the direction of the Allied trenches, the Germans sent over clouds of chlorine gas, which chokes and asphyxiates with terrible pain. The French troops between Steenstrate and Langemarck broke and fled. The day was saved by the gallant assistance of the Canadians, on the right of the French lines, who were less affected by the gas, although two infantry divisions were almost destroyed.

- April 25—Poison gas, used extensively for the first time, creates havoc in British lines.
- April 26—French cruiser *Leon Gambetta* is torpedoed and sunk in Straits of Otranto, with loss of more than 500 lives. *Kronprinz Wilhelm* is interned.
- April 28-29—Daring raids by British submarines in Sea of Marmora.
- April 29-30—Battle of Ypres continues, with Allies barely able to hold their own.
- April 30—French seaport, Dunkirk, is bombarded by Germans.
- April 30-May 1—British and French land forces on Gallipoli peninsula.
- May 1—American steamer *Gulflight* sunk by a German submarine.
- May 1-2—Turks fiercely assault British positions on Gallipoli.
- May 2—British advance about 500 yards on the Gallipoli front. In Ypres sector British retire to prepared lines. Gas attacks are now met by the Allies with gas masks. On the Eastern front Ciezkowice and Golice are captured and von Mackensen, German commander, is everywhere successful.
- May 5—Germans capture Hill 60. Russians lose 100,000 prisoners after an ineffectual stand on the Wistoka river.
- May 7—*Lusitania* is sunk without warning by a German submarine; 1,198 lives are lost, including 124 Americans.
- May 8-9—In Ypres sector Germans crush British center, inflicting appalling damage on the handful of British defenders. Libau on the Baltic is occupied by Germans. Russians on the Wistoka are badly cut up by Germans.
- May 9—French begin an offensive in Arras region, advance through first three German trench-line systems over a front of five miles and take more than 3,000 prisoners.
- May 10—French continue offensive in Arras region. Message of sympathy is sent by Germany to United States for loss of life on *Lusitania*.
- May 11-12—French attack Carey.
- May 12—Report of Bryce Commission on German atrocities in Belgium made public. Union of South African forces captures Windhoek, capital of German Southwest Africa.
- May 13—Bitter fighting continues in Ypres sector. United States sends note to Germany protesting against her submarine methods and emphasizing her determination to protect her rights as a neutral. French offensive at Arras continues. British battleship *Goliath* is sunk in the Dardanelles with loss of over 500.
- May 15—Russians make successful surprise attack in Galicia against Austrians. Nadworna falls to Russians. Austro-Hungarian forces suffer extremely heavy casualties.
- May 16-17—British gain a mile east of Festubert but suffer heavy losses.
- May 17—Germans retire across the Yser Canal.
- May 18—Austro-Hungarian army forces the San river.
- May 23—Italy declares war against Austria.
- May 23-24—Austrians raid Italian coast on Adriatic.
- May 24—Russians lose 21,000 prisoners north of Przemyśl. General Cadorna, Commander-in-Chief of Italian army, begins campaign against Austria, the ultimate object of which is to capture Trieste.
- May 25—*Triumph*, British battleship, is sunk by a German submarine in the Dardanelles. *Nebraskan*, American merchant vessel, is badly damaged by a torpedo off coast of Ireland.
- May 27—*Majestic*, British battleship, is sunk by a submarine in the Dardanelles. Italians advance on Trentino and Isonzo fronts.
- May 28—Germany replies to United States note concerning submarine warfare, and asks that a common basis of fact concerning *Lusitania* be established. British make successful raids against Turks at Gallipoli.
- May 31—German government takes the blame for the sinking of American steamer *Gulflight*. Italians continue their invasion on Trentino front.
- June 1-2—Przemyśl is recaptured by Austro-Germans. Within a month Russians had lost more than 300,000 as prisoners.
- June 6—German airships raid northeast coast of England, killing 24 people.
- June 8—Retreating Russian army turns and drives Austrians and Germans back across Dniester river. William J. Bryan resigns as Secretary of State.
- June 9—United States replying to Germany contends that the sinking of passenger ships without warning is illegal and inhumane, and also asks that American passengers and American ships be safeguarded. On Eastern front Russian retreat continues and Austrian army captures Stanislaw.
- June 10—Italians capture Plava, thereby threatening railroad communications from Gorizia to Vienna.
- June 11—Garua in German colony of Kamerun is taken by a combined British and French force.
- June 15—Zeppelins again raid northeast coast of England. In reprisal, British and French bombard Karlsruhe, doing considerable damage.
- June 16—French gain important ground near Souchez and in neighborhood of Arras.
- June 16-17—At Gallipoli British lose their front-line trenches but win them back again.
- June 18-19—Russians begin to evacuate Lemberg. Austrian army is across the border of Russian Poland. Russians are retreating on all fronts.
- June 20—Austro-German army captures Ravaruska and Zolkiev.
- June 22—Lemberg, capital of Galicia, again falls into Austrian hands. French capture the "Labyrinth" in Arras region. Dunkirk is again bombarded.
- June 24—The United States urges that Germany settle case of the *William P. Frye* through diplomatic channels rather than by a prize court.
- June 25—Italians begin important advance on Carso plateau.
- June 27—Russian troops are forced to retire from Halicz in Galicia.
- June 29—Austro-Hungarian government protests against United States supplying munitions to one group of belligerents and not to the other. French and British forces make important gains in Kamerun.
- June 30—Bitter fighting at Gallipoli, in which Turks are usually successful.
- July 1—More heavy fighting at Gallipoli, Turks suffering heavily.
- July 2—Naval engagement between Russian and German ships in the Baltic.
- July 2-3—Italians begin a direct drive at Gorizia.

- German Crown Prince makes futile attack in Argonne forest.
- July 3-4—Italians make slow but determined progress along Carso plateau.
- July 4-5—Italian advance reaches to within twenty miles of Trieste.
- July 5—Austro-German offensive in Galicia comes practically to a standstill.
- July 7—*Amalfi*, Italian cruiser, is sunk by Austrian submarine in the Adriatic.
- July 8—Germany promises safety of United States vessels if they carry special identification marks. Secretary of Navy Daniels takes over wireless station at Sayville, Long Island.
- July 9—German Southwest Africa surrenders to General Botha.
- July 11—German cruiser *Königsberg* is destroyed in Rufiji river, German East Africa.
- July 12—Allies gain 400 yards at Gallipoli.
- July 13—Germans gain half a mile on three-mile front in Argonne.
- July 14—French regain ground lost on 13th. Germans occupy Przasnysz in Poland, Russians falling back toward Narew river. Russian General Staff decides to abandon Warsaw and all Russian Poland. Germany admits guilt in damaging *Nebraskan* by German submarine.
- July 16—A huge drive against Warsaw is begun by von Hindenburg.
- July 18—*Giuseppe Garibaldi* is sunk by Austrian submarine in Adriatic.
- July 19-20—Warsaw is approached from north, south and west by German armies.
- July 21—United States notifies Germany that further acts of submarine warfare, similar to those already committed, would be considered "deliberately unfriendly."
- July 22—Italian advance is held up at San Michele.
- July 24—French advance in the Vosges mountains.
- July 24-25—Turkish force in Mesopotamia is driven back toward Kut-el-Amara. British occupy Nasiriyeh.
- July 25—British defeat the Germans in East Africa and capture all their artillery. *Leelanaw*, American steamship, is sunk by German submarine off coast of Scotland.
- July 28—French and British forces make slight gains at Gallipoli.
- July 30—Germany in note to United States justifies sinking of *William P. Frye*, but offers to indemnify the owners, or to refer the matter to Hague Arbitration Court. Germans gain in Belgium largely through use of liquid fire, now used for first time. Austrians occupy Lublin.
- August 2—Germans capture Mitau, capital of Courland.
- August 3—Great Britain informs United States that she is following out the principles of international law as far as the new type of warfare will permit.
- August 6—Austro-German troops under command of Prince Leopold of Bavaria enter Warsaw, the advance guard having entered the night before. Turkish position at Achi Baba, Gallipoli, is assaulted by Allied forces. Their failure is somewhat offset by successful attack on Koja Chemen.
- August 7—Allied forces land at Suvla Bay.
- August 9—Turkish battleship *Kheyr-ed-Din-Barbarossa* is sunk in Sea of Marmora by British submarine. German Zeppelins raid east coast of England; one Zeppelin is shot down in flames.
- August 12—Russian counter-attacks temporarily check German advance on Western front.
- August 13—Replying to Austria's protest about the sale of munitions, United States contends that for its own safety it must uphold right of belligerents to buy munitions from neutrals. *Royal Edward*, British transport, is sunk in Ægean Sea and about 1,000 men are drowned.
- August 16—West coast of England is bombarded by German submarine.
- August 17—Kovno, important strategic point in Poland, is captured by Germans. In reply to Germany, the United States accepts her offer of indemnity in *Frye* case, and suggests that the Hague Tribunal be used to settle controversial points. London is again bombarded by Zeppelins.
- August 19—British liner *Arabic* is torpedoed and sunk with loss of several American lives.
- August 19-20—Naval engagement in Gulf of Riga between Russian and German forces results in destruction of eight German destroyers, two cruisers and a submarine. An attempt to land German troops at port of Pernau is frustrated by Russians.
- August 20—Russian fortress of Novogeorgievsk and more than 20,000 prisoners are captured by Germans.
- August 21—Italy declares war on Turkey. A German dreadnought is sunk by British submarine in Baltic.
- August 22—French make an important gain in the Vosges.
- August 23—Germans capture Ossowiecz, northeast of Warsaw. Zeebrugge is bombarded by the British fleet.
- August 25—Brest-Litovsk, strongest fortress left in hands of Russians, is seized by Austro-German forces.
- August 28—German air raid on Paris is checked.
- September 1—German Ambassador at Washington announces that hereafter passenger liners will not be sunk without warning. Lutsk is captured by Austro-German troops. Germans in an official statement say that 300,000 Russians have been killed or wounded and 1,000,000 captured since May 1st.
- September 2—The last fort in Russian Poland, Grodno, falls into hands of advancing Teutons.
- September 4—Canadian liner *Hesperian* is sunk by a mine.
- September 5—Czar of Russia becomes Commander-in-Chief of all Russian armies. Grand Duke Nicholas is sent to Caucasus.
- September 7—German government notifies American government that the reason the *Arabic* was sunk was because it attempted to ram the German submarine. Therefore, the German government was not liable for damages.
- September 8—Zeppelins again bombard London, over 30 civilians being killed.
- September 8-9—German Crown Prince makes an unsuccessful attack against French lines in Argonne.
- September 9—The United States requests the recall of Dr. Dumba, Austrian Ambassador. It is disclosed that he was implicated in an attempt to cripple American manufacturing plants, and that he had employed an American citizen to carry diplomatic dispatches.
- September 10—A commission from England and France arrives in the United States to make financial arrangements with American bankers.

- September 13—Trevés is bombarded by French aviators.
- September 16—In the eastern theatre the Germans capture Vidzy. The Entente Allies demand that Bulgaria state her attitude in the war.
- September 18-19—Germans capture Vilna from Russians, who fall back upon Minsk.
- September 20—Bulgarian army is mobilized. Russians recapture Vidzy.
- September 22—Stuttgart, capital of Württemberg, bombarded by French aviators.
- September 23—An offensive movement on a grand scale is begun by Allies in the Champagne, and from La Bassée to Arras. German government states that from now on it will destroy only vessels carrying absolute contraband. Russians recapture Dubno and Lutsk.
- September 25—Allied advance in France begins; between 4,000 and 5,000 yards are gained but objective fails. Germans are driven out of Souchez, and French advance against Givenchy-en-Gobelle.
- September 26—Allied offensive in Champagne and Artois continues. Two salients are driven into German lines north and south of Lens.
- September 27—Germans recapture Lutsk. To relieve pressure in the Artois and Champagne, the Crown Prince begins an attack against French in the Argonne.
- September 28—British severely defeat Turks in Mesopotamia near Kut-el-Amara.
- September 28-29—French capture Vimy heights.
- September 29—British forces enter Kut-el-Amara.
- October 4—British and French forces land at Salonika.
- October 5—Zeebrugge is again bombarded by Allied airplanes.
- October 6—French successfully attack in the Champagne. Austrians cross the Save river and enter Belgrade.
- October 7—French take Tahure. Russians begin counter-attack along the Volhynian, Bessarabian, and Galician fronts.
- October 8—Austrians again capture Belgrade. Germans seize Garbunovka, northwest of Dvinsk. Loos is heavily assaulted by Germans.
- October 10—French strengthen positions in the Champagne.
- October 11—Serbs abandon Semendria. Bulgarians begin an attack on Serbians.
- October 12—British make important gains in the neighborhood of Hohenzollern redoubt. Edith Cavell is executed.
- October 13—55 people killed in Zeppelin raid on London.
- October 14—Bulgaria declares war on Serbia. Italians advance in Tyrol.
- October 15—Great Britain declares war on Bulgaria. Hartmannsweilerkopf is taken by French in the Vosges.
- October 16—France declares war on Bulgaria. Allied forces advance up the Vardar in order to succor Serbia.
- October 18—Austrians take Obrenovatz.
- October 19—Italy and Russia declare war on Bulgaria. Serbians are losing ground on all fronts.
- October 21—Shabatz occupied by Austrians.
- October 22—Italians begin an offensive in Isonzo sector.
- October 25—French continue to gain in the Champagne. Austrians bombard Venice. Uskub captured by Bulgarians.
- October 26—Negotin and Prahovo taken by Germans.
- October 28—Bulgarians occupy Zaichar, Kniahevatz and Pirot.
- October 29—Serbians are again forced out of Velea. Serbian capital is moved to Kralievo. Varna, on Black Sea, is bombarded by Russian fleet.
- October 30—Germans make slight gain in the Champagne. French capture Esika in Kamerun. Bulgarians defeated by French at Krivolak.
- November 2—Kragujevatz taken by Austro-German forces.
- November 3—Heavy attacks made by Germans in Champagne region.
- November 4—Rashka becomes seat of government for Serbia.
- November 5—Nish is captured by Bulgarians and Kralievo taken by Germans.
- November 6—British advance in Kamerun.
- November 7—German cruisers *Undine* and *Frauenlob* are torpedoed by British submarines in Baltic.
- November 9—Italian steamer *Ancona* is sunk in Mediterranean by Austrian submarine.
- November 13—Austrians capture Rashka, temporary capital of Serbia.
- November 14—Verona is bombarded by Austrian airplanes.
- November 15—Serbians are forced to retire to Prilep and Prisrend.
- November 17—Bulgarians capture Prilep.
- November 19—Essen is bombed by Belgian aviators. Grado, Venice, Vicenza and Udine are bombed by Austrian aviators.
- November 20—Italians advance at Monte San Michele.
- November 21—Serbians retire to Mitrovitzka.
- November 23—Germans take Mitrovitzka and Pristina. Italians make a slight advance on the Isonzo front.
- November 24—Serbian government retires to Albania.
- November 25—British abandon advance toward Bagdad and return to Kut-el-Amara.
- November 30—Belgian coast is bombarded by British fleet. Prisrend is evacuated by Serbians.
- December 3—Monastir is given up by Serbs. Allied demands on Greece partially are complied with. United States demands recall of Captain Boy-ed and Captain von Papen.
- December 8—United States demands that Austria disavow sinking of *Ancona*.
- December 10—Allies withdraw from Serbia to Salonika.
- December 13—Italians make slight gain near Gorizia.
- December 15—Austrian government replies unsatisfactorily to the American *Ancona* note. Sir John French is succeeded by Sir Douglas Haig as British Commander-in-Chief.
- December 18—German cruiser *Bremen* is sunk by British submarine in Baltic.
- December 19—British begin to evacuate Anzac and Suvla Bay at Gallipoli. United States sends to Austria a second note concerning *Ancona*.
- December 21—British positions near Armentières are unsuccessfully attacked.
- December 22-23—French make slight gains on Hartmannsweilerkopf in the Vosges.
- December 24—Russians start offensive in Galicia and Bessarabia.



Cape Town Prepares for War

Shortly after the outbreak of the World War, the people of the Union of South Africa, under the leadership of General Botha, saw the danger to themselves if Germany won, and the parliament of the country was induced to declare war against German Southwest Africa. General Botha was placed in command of the forces, and he at once called for 7,000 volunteers.

- December 25—Austrians make unsuccessful attacks on Italians.
 December 29—Austria sends satisfactory reply to *Ancona* note.
 December 30—British steamer *Persia* is torpedoed in Mediterranean; American Consul at Arden lost. Italian squadron defeats an Austrian squadron in Adriatic.

1916

- January 1—British capture Yaunde, capital of Kamerun. Russians are defeated in Kurdistan.
 January 2—British under General Townshend severely defeated at Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia.
 January 5—Czernowitz is abandoned by Russians. Heavy artillery duels on Western front.
 January 6—Austrians continue invasion of northern Montenegro.
 January 8—Nancy is bombarded by long-range guns. General Aylmer attacks Turks while attempting to relieve General Townshend.
 January 9—Gallipoli peninsula is abandoned by the Allies. French suffer severe losses in the Vosges.
 January 10—*King Edward VII* strikes mine in North Sea and founders.
 January 11—Russians begin offensive in the Caucasus.
 January 12—Austria and Montenegro begin armistice negotiations.
 January 13—Germans' surprise attack on Western front fails. Cettinje is captured by Austrians.
 January 18—British and French gain in Kamerun. Russians renew offensive along Bessarabian front. British relief force is within 22 miles of Kut-el-Amara.
 January 20—Turks suffer losses in Caucasus. Bulgarian ports are bombarded by Allied warships. Montenegrin forts at Antivari and Dulcigno are surrendered to Austrians.
 January 23—Germans make slight gains north of Arras. Bulgarians capture Burat.
 January 24—Mafub, Kamerun, captured by British.
 January 25-26—Germans are active in the Nieuport sector.
 January 29-30—Paris is attacked by Zeppelins.
 January 31—Zeppelins raid the northeastern counties of England.
 February 3—Heavy artillery fire on the Franco-Belgian border.
 February 4—Russian troops in Persia are defeated by Turks. Krovno, in Albania, is occupied by Austrians.
 February 8—Germans renew offensive on Eastern front.
 February 9—Germans begin offensive north of Arras.
 February 10—Intense fighting in Vimy section.
 February 12—British make gains in German East Africa.
 February 13—Russians capture part of the defenses of Erzerum. Germans attack along the Western front from Switzerland to the sea. *Admiral Charner*, French cruiser, is torpedoed in Mediterranean.
 February 14—British cruiser *Arethusa* is sunk by a mine in the North Sea. Austrian aviators bombard Milan.
 February 15—German province of Kamerun is completely in Allies' hands. Russians capture Erzerum.
 February 16—Heavy local fighting in the Champagne.
 February 17—Allied artillery bombards German lines in Belgium.
 February 18—Russians capture Mush in the Caucasus.
 February 20—Russians capture Bitlis. German attempt to cross Yser canal is frustrated. German seaplane raids two English counties.
 February 21—Germans begin drive on Verdun.
 February 22—Germans make gain in Artois and on the Meuse, seizing front-line trenches.
 February 23—Russians advance in Caucasus and in Persia.
 February 24—Crown Prince of Germany continues drive on Verdun.
 February 25—German attacks on Champneuve are unsuccessful. Kermanshah, Persia, is captured by Russians.
 February 26—Fort Douaumont is captured by Germans. Durazzo is entered by Austrians. Italians make a successful surprise attack on Gorizia front.
 February 27—Germans repulse several French attempts to recapture Douaumont. Germans capture Champneuve.
 February 28—German attacks on Verdun are repulsed. Trebizond is evacuated by Turks.
 February 29—Germans make small gains on Verdun front.
 March 1—Zeppelins raid southeast coast of England.
 March 2—Germans attack at Verdun near Malancourt, around Le Mort Homme and the Côte de l'Oise.
 March 3—Germans capture Douaumont village but fail to take Vaux. French attempts to recover Douaumont fail.
 March 5—Day and night raids by Zeppelins over England. Two German attacks on Verdun front are unsuccessful.
 March 6—Germans capture Bethincourt northwest of Verdun.
 March 7—Germans capture village of Fresne but fail elsewhere on flanks of Verdun.
 March 8—Germans capture Hadraumont, between Dead Man's Hill and Goose Hill.
 March 11—Germans occupy part of the town of Vaux.
 March 13—Verdun sector is alive with artillery duels. British take Mushi in German East Africa.
 March 15—*Moewe*, German commerce raider, returns to Germany after destroying 60,000 tons of shipping.
 March 16—Extremely heavy fighting in Verdun sector, particularly at Dead Man's Hill.
 March 18—Austrians seize Italian position in Tolmino sector.
 March 19—Zeppelins kill nine persons during raid on southern coast of England; one machine is destroyed by British airplane. Russian attack east of Vilna fails.
 March 20—Zeebrugge is raided by large force of Allied planes. Germans renew offensive on Verdun front between Malancourt and Avocourt.
 March 21—French retire from Avocourt Wood.
 March 24—Germans bombard Hill 304. Steamer *Sussex* is torpedoed and many lives lost; several Americans injured.

- March 28—Germans repulsed with heavy losses on Verdun front. Russians drive Germans back north of Pinsk.
- March 29—Italian forces capture Selz.
- March 30—French repulse German attacks at Douaumont and Avocourt Wood.
- March 31—A Zeppelin is destroyed in a raid over Germany. French evacuate Malancourt on Verdun front.
- April 1—Germans drive French from village of Vaux.
- April 2—Zeppelins raid the coast of England.
- April 3—Zeppelins again raid English coast.
- April 4—German effort to pierce Verdun line is repulsed with heavy losses.
- April 5—Germans attack west of the Meuse. Haucourt is taken. An attack on British trenches at St. Eloi fails.
- April 6—Russians make small gain in Galicia.
- April 7—Germans seize trenches in neighborhood of St. Eloi.
- April 8—British relief force in Mesopotamia suffers severe check.
- April 10—Germany informs United States that the *Sussex* was not sunk by a German submarine. Germans assault Dead Man's Hill and Hill 304 at Verdun.
- April 11—Violent German attacks on Verdun front.
- April 13—Russians defeat Austrians along the Strypa and Dniester rivers.
- April 15—French counter-offensive west of the Meuse.
- April 17—Trebizond is captured by Russians.
- April 18—Secretary Lansing threatens Germany with a diplomatic break.
- April 20—Germans enter front-line French trenches in Verdun sector, but are driven out again at night.
- April 21—French check several attacks in Verdun sector.
- April 22—Allied forces gain important ground in German East Africa.
- April 24—Unsuccessful Zeppelin raid on England.
- April 25—Yarmouth and Lowestoft are attacked by German battle cruisers.
- April 26—Third consecutive night raid on England fails.
- April 27—24-hour attack is made against British positions on Western front. British battleship *Russell* is sunk in Mediterranean.
- April 28—General Townshend with 8,900 men and 514 officers surrenders to Turks at Kut-el-Amara after 142 days' siege.
- April 29—Three major attacks on Verdun front are severely checked by French.
- April 30—Four German attacks at Verdun are repulsed by French.
- May 1—French attack east of Douaumont.
- May 2—French gain ground at Dead Man's Hill. Italians make important gains against Austrians. 36 people killed in air raid over Scotland and England.
- May 3—Certain leaders of the Irish revolt are executed for treason.
- May 4—French make advances on Dead Man's Hill.
- May 5—Germans heavily bombard Verdun front east and west of the Meuse.
- May 7—Germans gain on Hill 304. French fail in attack at Thiaumont.
- May 8—German attack on the Belgian coast checked.
- May 9-10—French frustrate powerful German attacks on Hill 304.
- May 12—French make successful advances on Verdun front.
- May 15—Austrians seize important positions from Italians. French capture some German trenches in Verdun section.
- May 16—Austrians continue offensive in Trentino.
- May 18—French gain ground near Hill 327 but fail at Hill 304.
- May 19—Austrians drive Italians back across their border.
- May 20—Coast of England is bombed.
- May 21—Germans make slight advance near Givenchy-en-Gobelle.
- May 22—French regain positions around Dead Man's Hill and Douaumont.
- May 23—Austrians make further gains on Monte Veina.
- May 24—Italians are driven back in Sugana and Suabolo valleys. Cumières is captured by Germans, who also gain slightly around Loos.
- May 25—Fort Douaumont is again in German hands; they also advance on both sides of Meuse. Italians give up the Sugana and Astico valleys.
- May 27—French recapture Cumières. Neutral Greek territory is occupied by Bulgarian troops.
- May 28—Italians lose at Arsiero and Asiago.
- May 31—British and German fleets meet in naval action known as Battle of Jutland. Dead Man's Hill is surrounded by the Germans. Italians retire in the Arsiero and Asiago regions.
- June 1—Italians check Austrian forward movement. French win and lose trenches on Verdun front.
- June 2—Allies make important advances in German East Africa.
- June 4—Control of Salonika is taken over by the Allies.
- June 5—Russians start offensive on the whole Eastern front. Austrians continue to advance along the Arsiero. British cruiser *Hampshire* is sunk off the Orkney Islands; Lord Kitchener and staff are drowned.
- June 6—German attacks east of Ypres are repulsed by British. Russian offensive continues. Austrian offensive is checked by Russians.
- June 7—Fort Vaux is taken by Germans; British lose village of Hooge.
- June 8—Russians capture Lutsk.
- June 9—Russians advance fifteen miles against Austrians.
- June 10—Buczacz captured by Russians. Italians take the offensive.
- June 11—Russians capture Dubno.
- June 12—Germans counter-attack near Jacobstadt. Turks gain a victory in Mesopotamia.
- June 13—British make important gains in German East Africa. Italian army advances against Austrians.
- June 14—Germans seize British position near Zillebeke in Ypres sector.
- June 15—Italians recapture positions on Isonzo front.
- June 16—German attacks in Verdun region are repulsed with heavy losses. Italians gain on Asiago plateau.
- June 17—Italians seize Austrian positions between Marcesina and the Frenzela valley.
- June 18—Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina, is captured by Russians.

- June 20—Russians cross the Sereth river.
 June 21—Greek government accedes to all the Allied demands.
 June 22—Germans halt Russian advance on northern part of Eastern front.
 June 23—Russians occupy almost all of Bukowina. Germans seize Thiaumont, but fail to take Fleury.
 June 24—French gain in counter-attack on Verdun front.
 June 26—British attack on Western front penetrates German trenches in several places.
 June 27—Russian offensive begins to slow up. Austrian army is in rapid retreat, the Italians retaking Arsiero and Posina.
 June 28—Italians advance on Trentino front.
 June 29—Italians launch offensive on Isonzo front.
 June 30—Thiaumont recaptured by French. German line is broken near Neuve Chapelle.
 July 1—After intense artillery preparation French and British begin offensive on the Somme river.
 July 2—British capture Theicourt and Curlu.
 July 3—British and French offensive continues on both sides of the Somme, making important gains.
 July 4—French advance toward Péronne.
 July 5—Allied offensive on Western front progresses as does the Italian.
 July 6—German counter-offensive in Somme region fails to check Allied advance.
 July 7—Austrians retreat before Russians on Zlota Lipa river.
 July 8—French and British advance a half mile astride the Somme.
 July 9—*Deutschland*, German merchant submarine, arrives in United States. French advance to within a half a mile of Péronne.
 July 11—British and French capture Trones Wood.
 July 12—Russian offensive stopped on the Stokhod river. Italians advance in the Adige valley.
 July 14—Decisive battle fought on the Stokhod river. British continue to advance along the Somme.
 July 15—Mecca is captured by Arabs who revolted from the Turks.
 July 16—French make slight gains near Verdun and north of Aisne.
 July 17—Somme drive continues slowly. German army recrosses Zlota Lipa river.
 July 18—Heavy fighting in Somme district usually successful to Allies. Allied troops advance in German East Africa.
 July 19—Russian army crosses Carpathian passes into Hungary. Germans lose ground they gained from British in Somme sector.
 July 20—French advance on ten-mile front in Somme sector.
 July 21—Russians cross the Styr river.
 July 22—Suez Canal is menaced by advancing Turks.
 July 23—Defenses of Pozières in Somme district are captured by British. Russians are successful in the Carpathians.
 July 24—Russians advance on Riga front.
 July 25—Erzingan is captured by the Russians. Mount Cimone is captured by Italians.
 July 26—Allies completely occupy Pozières.
 July 27—Captain Charles Fryatt is executed by the Germans.
 July 28—Russians take Brody.
 July 29—England is again raided from the air.
 July 31—Austrians fail to recapture Mount Cimone. British continue to gain in Somme region.
 August 2—East coast of England is again raided. French gain on Verdun front. *Leonardo da Vinci*, Italian dreadnought, blows up in Taranto harbor. Austrian attacks on Italian line fail.
 August 3—Roger Casement is hanged for high treason. French capture Fleury on Verdun front.
 August 5—British severely defeat Turks near Suez Canal. Second-line German trenches north of Pozières broken by British.
 August 7—Austrian airplanes bomb Venice. New British lines in Somme district hold.
 August 8—British and French advance near Guillemont. Russians evacuate Bitlis and Mush.
 August 9—Italians occupy Gorizia. Zeppelins kill 23 people on east coast of England.
 August 10—Austrians evacuate Stanislau on Russian front and important positions on Isonzo and Carso fronts.
 August 11—Russians occupy Stanislau. British and French continue advance in Somme region.
 August 12—French occupy part of Maurepas. Russians take Nadvorno.
 August 14—Russians cross the Zlota Lipa river.
 August 15—Russians take Jablonitza and Zborov. Italians advance to within thirteen miles of Trieste.
 August 19—British advance on twelve-mile front along the Somme. *Nottingham* and *Falmouth*, British cruisers, are sunk in North Sea.
 August 21—Russians advance along the Stokhod river. Allies move forward against Bulgarians on Balkan front.
 August 22—Outskirts of Cléry in Somme region are reached by French.
 August 23—Bulgarian attacks are repulsed. Zeppelins raid England.
 August 24—Russians recapture Mush. Zeppelins again raid England.
 August 26—Russians recapture Bitlis.
 August 27—Italy declares war on Germany and Rumania declares war on Austria-Hungary. Bulgarian port of Kavala is bombarded by British warships.
 August 28—Germany declares war on Rumania.
 August 29—Turkey declares war on Rumania.
 August 30—Rumanians capture passes in the Carpathians.
 August 31—Rumanians force Austrians to withdraw.
 September 1—Italians begin offensive in Albania. Bulgaria declares war on Rumania. Petroseny is captured by Rumanians.
 September 2—Orsova and Hermannstadt are captured by Rumanians. East coast of England is bombarded by thirteen Zeppelins, of which one is brought down. New demands made upon Greece are acceded to.
 September 3—Bulgarian and German troops invade the Dobrudja. British land and sea forces capture Dar-es-Salaam, capital of German East Africa. In Somme region Guillemont and Cléry are taken by Allies.
 September 4—Chilly and Soyecourt in Somme region are taken by French. Borszek taken by Rumanians.
 September 5—Allies continue to advance in Somme region.
 September 7—Orsova captured by Rumanians.
 September 8—British gain on three-mile front in

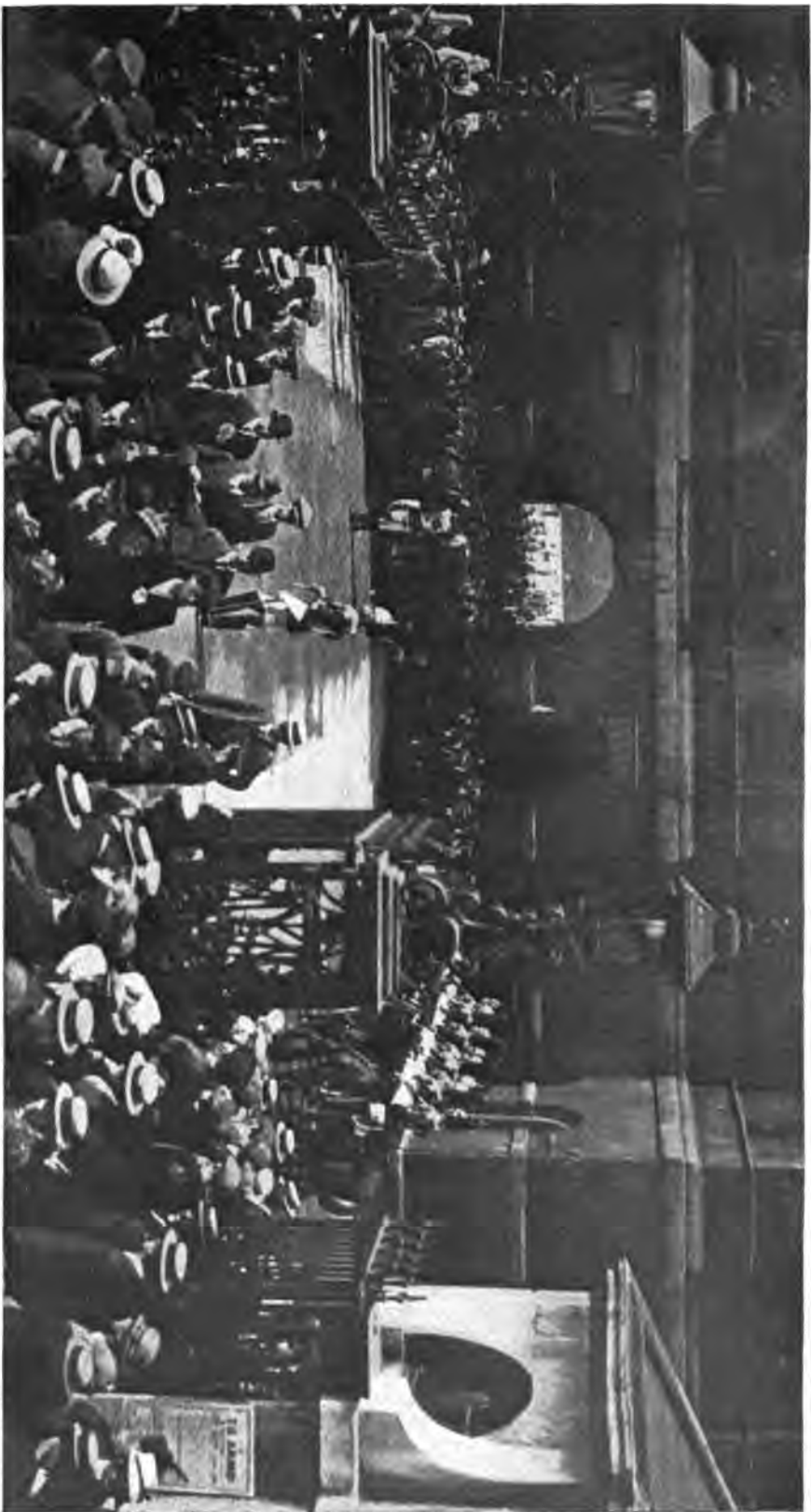


Photo by Hore.

London Recruits Passing the Horse Guards at Whitehall

The British government called volunteers to the colors as to a Holy War. The Army was placed under the command of Lord Kitchener, and a huge effort was made to raise a million troops by voluntary enlistment. Later the prosecution of the war on a voluntary basis was seen to be impossible, and conscription was resorted to.

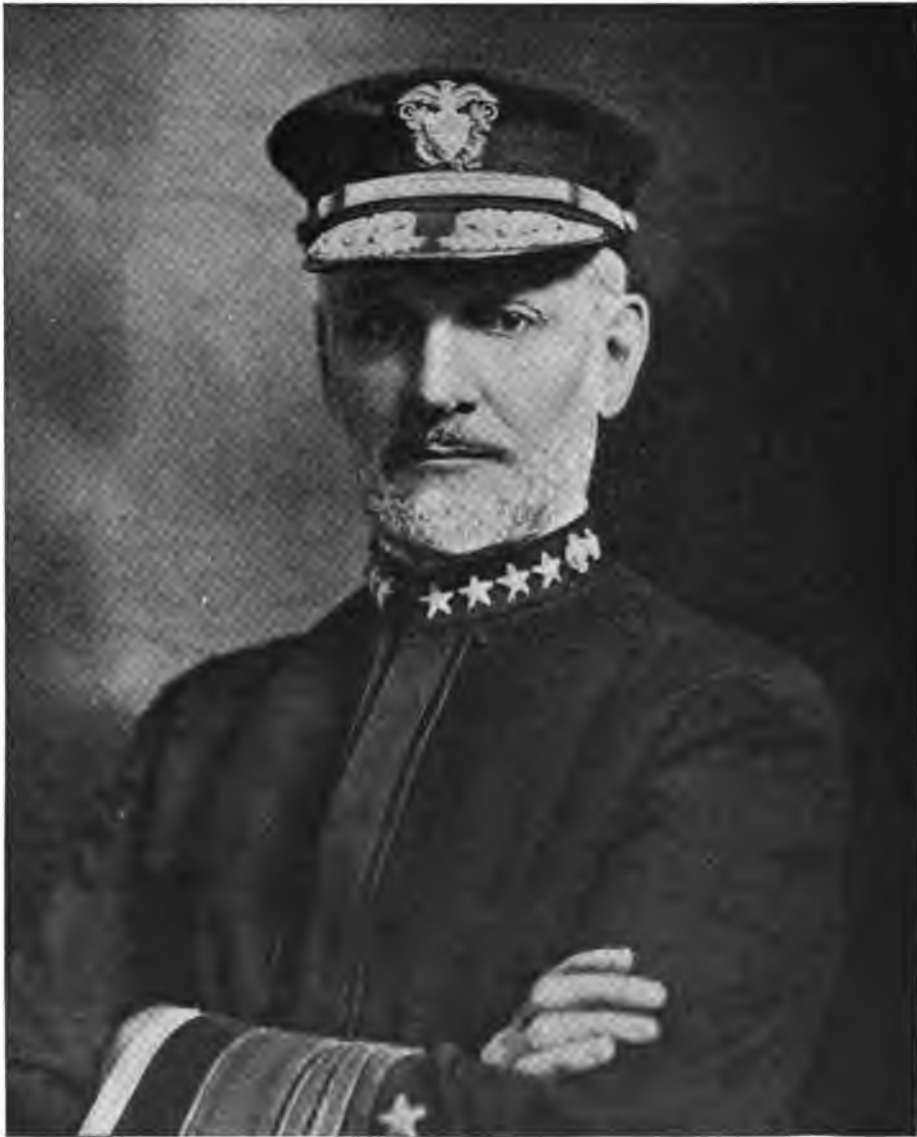
- Somme region. French gain in Verdun sector. Rumanians gain in Transylvania.
- September 9—British in Somme region seize over four square miles of territory.
- September 10—Allies gain in the Balkans.
- September 11—French gain north of the Somme.
- September 13—Trieste is bombed by Italian aviators. British and French seize more territory on Somme front.
- September 14—Tanks appear for first time on the Western front.
- September 15—Italians strike along Carso plateau. Rumanians continue to advance in Transylvania. British and French break through German lines on Somme front and take Flers, Martinpuich, and Courcellette. French advance east of Combles. French and British forces capture positions from Bulgarians east and west of the Vardar. German forces compel Rumanians to retreat in the Dobrudja.
- September 16—Russians renew offensive in Galicia. Italians make important advances on the Carso.
- September 17—French capture Vermandovillers and Berny. British capture Mouquet Farm. Bulgarians are defeated by Serbians.
- September 18—British and French make further advances in Somme region. Florina in Macedonia is occupied by Franco-Russian troops.
- September 19—Krushegrad and Neokazi are captured by Serbs.
- September 20—Viglista is evacuated by Bulgarians.
- September 21—Germans begin strong counter-attacks against Russians in Volhynia. Rumanians again take offensive in the Dobrudja.
- September 22—Russians are successful in Carpathians but defeated on the Stokhod.
- September 23—Twelve Zeppelins kill 38 people and wound 125 in air raid over England. Two Zeppelins are brought down.
- September 24—Jerimita on the Struma taken by British.
- September 25—36 killed and 27 wounded in another air raid over England.
- September 26—Combles, Thiepval and Goudecourt are taken by Allies in Somme region. Rumanians enjoy slight success near the Vulcan Pass.
- September 28—German attacks on Verdun front are repulsed.
- September 29-30—Rumanians suffer severe defeat at Hermannstadt and are driven back into the Carpathians.
- October 1—Zeppelins again raid England. Bulgarian lines on Struma broken by British.
- October 2—An attempt by Rumania to invade Bulgaria is severely checked by Austro-Bulgarian forces.
- October 3—Germans begin new offensive south of Dvinsk.
- October 4—British make further advance north of the Somme. Serbs reach Monastir railway. *Franconia*, Cunarder, is sunk by submarine in Mediterranean.
- October 5—Russians again on offensive in Caucasus. Allies make further gains in Balkans. Rumanians capture Parajd in Transylvania.
- October 7—Russian troops make slight gains in the Dobrudja. Allies advance slightly on ten-mile front in Somme sector.
- October 8—Six vessels are sunk off coast of the United States by *U-53*. Teutons retake Kronstadt from Rumanians.
- October 10—Italians begin to advance in Albania. British win territory from Bulgarians on Struma front.
- October 11—Rumanians are again defeated by Austro-German forces, who begin an invasion of Rumania proper. Italians continue their advance in Trentino.
- October 12—Slight advance made by British in Somme sector.
- October 18—Germans start offensive against Russian line from Pinsk Marshes to Rumania. Sailly in Somme district captured by French. Monte Pasubio stormed by Italians.
- October 20—Russian dreadnought *Imperatritsa Maria* burns up and sinks in Black Sea.
- October 22—Russians defeated near Lemberg. Rumanians driven back in the Dobrudja. German aviator bombs Margate, England.
- October 23—Teutonic army takes Constanza, Rumania.
- October 24—French make big gain on Verdun front, seizing Douaumont, Thiaumont, Haudromont Quarries, and Caillette Wood. Rumanians are defeated in Transylvania and the Dobrudja.
- October 25—General von Mackensen captures Cernavoda at one of the bridges of the Danube. Rumanians lose the Vulcan Pass. Allied line is in complete junction from Adriatic to the Aegean.
- October 27—Teutons make further advance in the Dobrudja.
- October 28—British steamer *Marina* is sunk off Irish coast; six Americans lost. Australia defeats conscription by national referendum.
- October 31—Russia gains several successes in Persia.
- November 1—*Deutschland* arrives in New London. Italian offensive along Carso plateau penetrates the Austrian positions at several places.
- November 2—Germans evacuate Fort Vaux.
- November 3—French reoccupy Fort Vaux. Austro-Germans driven back into Hungary.
- November 5—Part of Saillisel and St. Pierre Wood in Somme sector captured by French.
- November 7—American steamer *Columbia* is sunk by German submarine off coast of Spain.
- November 8—Hungary is again invaded by a Russo-Rumanian army.
- November 9—Russians lose trenches in Volhynia.
- November 11—Constanza is bombarded by Russian fleet.
- November 12—All of Saillisel is now in the hands of the French.
- November 13—Russians and Rumanians are driven back in Transylvania. Battle on the Somme shifts to valley of the Ancre.
- November 14—Beaucourt in Ancre valley is captured by British.
- November 15—Germans make slight gains against French in the old Somme district.
- November 16—Allied forces make a 6-mile gain toward Monastir.
- November 16-17—British take offensive on Struma front and gain ground.
- November 18—British capture further territory in Macedonia; in the Ancre sector they reach Grandcourt. Italians gain on the Carso.
- November 19—Allied troops reënter Monastir. Western Rumania is invaded by the Germans.
- November 20—British lose part of Grandcourt to the Germans.
- November 21—Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary dies and is succeeded by his nephew

Charles Francis. British hospital ship *Britannic* is sunk by a mine in Ægean Sea.
 November 23—Ten thousand square miles of Rumania fall into hands of Central Powers.
 November 24—Danube river is crossed by German-Bulgarian troops. Rumanians lose Orsova. Italians advance west of Monastir.
 November 25—Ramsgate, England, is bombarded by German destroyers. Greek provisional government under Venizelos declares war on Germany and Bulgaria.
 November 26—German army makes rapid advance in Rumania. French effort against St. Mihiel is repulsed. Steamship *Chemung*, of American registry, is torpedoed and sunk.
 November 27—City of Alexandria is captured by Central Powers, and Rumanians withdraw from the Alt valley.
 November 28—Rumanian government moves to Jassy. English coast is raided by German destroyers and England bombed by German airships.
 November 29—United States sends note to Germany protesting against deportation of Belgian citizens.
 November 30—Teutonic forces are 16 miles from Bucharest.
 December 4—British attack on German positions near Ypres fails. Germans begin to bombard Bucharest.
 December 5-6—Prime Minister Herbert H. Asquith resigns and is succeeded by David Lloyd George.
 December 12—General Joffre is succeeded as French Commander-in-Chief by General Nivelle.
 December 19—Lloyd George states the only peace terms acceptable to his country include complete reparation and restitution, and guarantees against future aggression.
 December 23—Russians are practically driven out of the Dobrudja.
 December 26—Germany proposes meeting of all belligerent countries at some neutral point. This was in reply to President Wilson's request of December 21st to know what each belligerent was seeking.
 December 27—Three Scandinavian countries send notes to warring powers supporting President Wilson.

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January 2—The Dobrudja district completely cleared of Russians and Rumanians.
 January 5—Russians take offensive on Riga front.
 January 8—Focsani, Rumania, falls to Germans.
 January 9—British battleship *Cornwallis* is sunk in Mediterranean.
 January 20—Germany replies to United States, defending her action in deportation of Belgian citizens.
 January 22—President Wilson appears before the Senate and announces his stand for a League of Nations, the chief purpose of which would be to prevent future wars.
 January 24—Russian offensive in Riga section breaks down; Germans recapture all the land they had lost.
 January 31—Germany announces to the world that beginning the next day she will carry out her policy of unrestricted warfare.
 February 3—President Wilson addresses the House of Representatives and Senate in joint session and announces the severance of diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government. He sums up the history of broken German promises during the course of America's neutrality.
 February 4—President Wilson invites all neutrals to protest against Germany's ruthless submarine warfare.
 February 12—President Wilson refuses to discuss any points at issue with Germany unless the latter abandon her new policy of submarine warfare.
 February 13—Scandinavian countries deny legality of the new German submarine warfare.
 February 25—British passenger steamer *Laconia* is sunk without warning off Irish coast; two Americans lose their lives. Kut-el-Amara is captured by the British under General Maude.
 February 26—President Wilson again appears before Congress and asks authority to protect American rights on the High Seas.
 February 28—The Zimmermann note is made public by Secretary Lansing.
 March 4—Bill to permit arming of American merchant ships fails to pass Senate owing to filibustering.
 March 9—President Wilson calls extra session of Congress for April 16th, two weeks in advance.
 March 11—Bagdad is captured by General Maude.
 March 12—President Wilson orders arming of American merchantmen despite failure of the bill to pass Congress.
 March 14—China severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
 March 15—Russian revolution breaks out in Petrograd, the Czar abdicates, and a revolutionary cabinet is formed.
 March 17—Briand's cabinet in France resigns.
 March 18—Ribot heads new French cabinet. Paul Miliukov, head of new cabinet in Petrograd, states that the new Government of Russia assumes all the old obligations of the Czar's Government.
 March 21—Extraordinary session of Congress is called for April 2nd.
 March 22—New Russian Government is recognized by the United States.
 March 24—General Alexeieff becomes Commander-in-Chief of Russian forces.
 April 2—President Wilson asks Congress to declare war on the Imperial German Government.
 April 4—Senate passes resolution declaring war on Germany by vote of 82 to 6.
 April 6—House of Representatives by vote of 373 to 50 passes the Senate resolution. President signs it on the same day.
 April 7—Cuba and Panama declare war on Germany.
 April 8—Diplomatic relations between United States and Austria-Hungary are severed by the latter.
 April 9—Canadian troops capture Vimy Ridge in the Lens sector.
 April 11—Brazil severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
 April 13—Bolivia severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
 April 14—Committee on Public Information is established. House authorizes a \$7,000,000,000 bond issue, of which \$3,000,000,000 is a loan to Allies.

- April 17—Senate passes the House Loan Bill.
 April 20—Diplomatic relations between United States and Turkey are severed by the latter.
 April 28—Conscription Act passed by Congress. Guatemala severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
 May 4—Espionage Bill is passed by the House.
 May 8—A bill increasing the personnel of the Navy and the Marine Corps is passed by the House.
 May 10—Offensive is begun in Macedonia by the British.
 May 12—Zeebrugge is bombarded by the British.
 May 14—Espionage Bill is passed.
 May 15—General Nivelle is superseded as French Commander-in-Chief by General Pétain.
 May 18—President Wilson signs the Selective Service Act, and orders General Pershing to France. President Wilson refuses to accept Theodore Roosevelt's offer to take a volunteer army to France.
 May 19—Herbert C. Hoover becomes United States Food Administrator.
 May 23—Taxation Bill which was expected to raise \$1,857,000,000 is passed by the House.
 June 4—General Brusiloff succeeds General Alexieff as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces.
 June 5—About 10,000,000 men register according to provisions of the Selective Service Act.
 June 12—King Constantine of Greece abdicates in favor of his second son Alexander.
 June 13—Major General Pershing and staff arrive in Paris.
 June 15—The First Liberty Loan is oversubscribed. Elihu Root reaches Russia as head of American mission to the new Government.
 June 19—Russian war mission arrives in Washington.
 June 26—Major General Sibert arrives in France at head of the 1st Division, U. S. A.
 June 29—Diplomatic relations between Central Powers and Greece are severed by the latter.
 July 1—Russia begins the first offensive since the revolution.
 July 7—37 people are killed in an air raid over London. The Senate passes a bill prohibiting the manufacture and importation of whiskey.
 July 9—Militia of all States in the Union are federalized. Essential commodities are placed under Federal control by President Wilson.
 July 11—Trading-with-the-Enemy Act is passed by the House.
 July 13—War Department at Washington drafts into service 678,000 men.
 July 14—\$640,000,000 appropriated by the House for production of aircraft. Change in the German ministry.
 July 14—Changes in Russian cabinet.
 July 17—Changes in the British cabinet.
 July 18—Rioting in streets of Petrograd by the Bolsheviks.
 July 20—Drawing of the draft numbers at Washington. Kerensky succeeds Lvoff as head of Russian Provisional Government.
 July 21—Senate passes the Aircraft Bill.
 July 24—The United States Shipping Board is organized with E. N. Hurley as Chairman.
 July 25—War Industries Board is organized.
 July 31—American steamer *Montana* is torpedoed and sunk with the loss of 23 lives.
 August 1—Senate passes Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution.
 August 2—The *Seeadler*, German commerce raider, founders in South Sea.
 August 3—Czernowitz is occupied by Austro-German forces.
 August 5—300,000 National Guardsmen pass into Federal service.
 August 10—Food Control Bill is signed by the President.
 August 12—32 persons are killed in air raid on east coast of England. Coal prices are fixed by the United States government.
 August 13—Japanese mission arrives in the United States. National Army composed of drafted men is ordered to mobilize.
 August 14—China declares war on Austria and Germany. Ex-Czar of Russia is sent to Siberia.
 August 15—Pope Benedict makes a peace plea to belligerent nations. A \$50,000,000 wheat corporation is organized by United States government.
 August 19—Italians begin offensive on the Carso front.
 August 20—French begin successful offensive in Verdun sector.
 August 21—Canadians compel Germans to retreat before Lens. French drive Germans back on the Meuse.
 August 22—Germans again raid London, killing 11 people.
 August 24—French make further gains at Verdun.
 August 25—Austrian line on Isonzo front is broken by Italians who capture Monte Santo.
 August 27—President Wilson places embargo on all raw materials used in manufacture of munitions and designated for neutral countries.
 August 30—The price of wheat is fixed at \$2.20 a bushel.
 September 2—England is again raided by German airships.
 September 3—Germans enter Riga.
 September 5—Germans advance 35 miles beyond Riga.
 September 6—Austrians begin counter-offensive against Italians and win back Monte San Gabriele.
 September 7—Embargo is placed on gold export.
 September 8—State Department publishes notes showing that Swedish government was acting as intermediary for German government. One of the notes suggested that all Argentine vessels either be let alone or sunk without a trace (*Spurlos versenkt*).
 September 10—General Korniloff revolts against Russian Provisional Government.
 September 12—Korniloff surrenders to Kerensky.
 September 14—Monte San Gabriele is again in Italian hands.
 September 16—Russia becomes a republic under leadership of Kerensky.
 September 19—British break German lines near Ypres.
 September 21—Germany replies to the Pope, accepting his peace offer.
 September 22—Germany receives ultimatum from Argentina concerning submarine warfare.
 September 23—Steel prices are fixed by the Government.
 September 24—London is again raided by German aerial forces.
 September 26—General Sukhomlinoff is found



Admiral William S. Sims

On April 28, 1917, he was appointed Commander of the American Naval Forces operating in European waters.

- guilty of treason by the Russian Provisional Government.
- September 27.—Secretary McAdoo announces the Second Liberty Loan.
- September 28.—United States Government arrests over 100 members of the I. W. W.
- September 30.—Fuel prices are fixed by Fuel Administrator Garfield.
- October 1.—British cruiser *Drake* is torpedoed and sunk off Irish coast. Frankfurt, Coblenz, Treves, and Stuttgart are bombed by French airmen.
- October 4.—British begin another offensive east of Ypres.
- October 6.—Special session of Congress ends. The President signs the Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance Bill.
- October 9.—British capture Poelcapelle.
- October 10.—Mutiny breaks out in German Navy. Germans in a counter-attack win back ground from British.
- October 12.—General Haig continues his offensive.
- October 13.—German forces land on Dago and Oesel Islands in Gulf of Riga.
- October 14.—War Trade Board is organized.
- October 15.—Germans defeated at Dixmude by Belgians. French execute Mata Hari, German spy. 3,000,000 tons of shipping are taken over by the United States Government.
- October 16.—Germans occupy more islands in Gulf of Riga. French attack in Verdun sector succeeds.
- October 17.—*Antilles*, United States transport, is torpedoed and sunk with loss of 70 lives. German attack severely checked by French in Champagne.
- October 18.—Naval engagement between Russian and German fleets in Gulf of Riga.
- October 19.—England is again raided by German airships.
- October 20.—Four Zeppelins are shot down over France while returning from England. Germans carry out successful naval raid in North Sea.
- October 21.—British defeat Turks in Mesopotamia, Ostend is bombarded by Allied warships.
- October 22.—Germans land troops on Werder peninsula in Gulf of Riga sector. British maintain gains in Poelcapelle sector.
- October 23.—General Pétain opens powerful offensive on Aisne front, captures Malmaison. Naval engagement between Russia and Germany is fought in Gulf of Riga; Russians report a Russian victory.
- October 24.—Austrians begin offensive on Italian front. Germans in Riga district begin to retire. French offensive near Soissons continues to gain ground; more than 8,000 prisoners are taken.
- October 25.—French increase number of prisoners to 12,000. 10,000 Italians are captured in Austrian offensive on the Alps front. Saarbrücken is raided by British airplanes.
- October 26.—Brazil declares war on Germany. Italians begin to evacuate Bainsizza plateau. British and French continue to advance in Flanders and on the Aisne.
- October 27.—American gunners in France fire the first American shot of the war. Second Liberty Loan is largely oversubscribed. British and French continue to advance on Western front.
- October 28.—Italians are forced out of Gorizia; Italians flee in a virtual panic, Berlin reporting that more than 100,000 prisoners have been captured to date. Belgians capture the Mercken peninsula from Germans.
- October 29.—The Italian rout continues; Austrians reach outskirts of Udine and advance along the Italian coast. The U. S. Food Administration takes steps to prevent profiteering. The A. E. F. takes its first prisoner.
- October 30.—Passchendaele is captured by British.
- November 1.—Wholesalers in United States are put under special license by the Food Administration. British and French forces arrive on Italian front. Food Administration fixes price of raw sugar.
- November 2.—Austrian advance guards reach banks of the Tagliamento. American transport *Finland* is sunk by submarine with loss of eight lives.
- November 3.—British fleet breaks up German convoy in Cattegat and sinks 11 vessels. Export of flour to European countries is taken over by Food Administration. American infantry get their first taste of fighting on Western front; three Americans are killed and five wounded.
- November 5.—Austro-Germans cross the Tagliamento river.
- November 6.—Italians are in rapid retreat on 150-mile front. *Alcedo*, American vessel, is torpedoed by German submarine; 21 men are lost.
- November 7.—Colonel House arrives in England as special representative of President Wilson. Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotzky start armed revolt against government of Kerensky. British forces in Holy Land take Gaza and Khuweifeh.
- November 8.—Austro-German forces cross Livenza river and take 17,000 prisoners. Bolsheviks come into power in Petrograd and compel Kerensky to flee.
- November 9.—At Rapallo, Italy, is created the Inter-Allied Military Committee or, as it is usually known, the Supreme War Council. Allenby defeats Turks and drives them back on Jerusalem. Aland island is occupied by Germans. Austrians take Asiago on Italian front. Bolshevik revolution spreads in Russia, local soviets being generally formed.
- November 11.—Hoover announces that bread must be made of 50 per cent. substitute flour. Finland declares its independence.
- November 12.—Kerensky forces surrender to Bolsheviks; Kerensky escapes. Fuel Administrator Garfield announces lightless nights.
- November 13.—French cabinet resigns. Austrian troops cross Piave but are immediately driven back.
- November 14.—Siberia declares its independence of Russia proper.
- November 15.—Clemenceau becomes head of the French cabinet. General Allenby begins to invest Jerusalem.
- November 17.—German cruisers raid British convoy in the North Sea. Moscow falls to Bolsheviks.
- November 18.—British capture Jaffa, seaport of Jerusalem.
- November 19.—United States orders enemy aliens to register.
- November 20.—Lloyd George emphasizes importance of rushing Americans to the front with all possible speed.
- November 21.—The battle of Cambrai begins; General Byng breaks through "Hindenburg

- Line" between Arras and St. Quentin, taking 9,000 prisoners.
- November 22.—New barred zone is declared by Germany.
- November 24.—Trotzky notifies Allies that Soviet Government of Russia is about to enter upon armistice negotiations with Central Powers, and invites them to a general conference.
- November 26.—General Byng advances to Bullecourt.
- November 27.—In Petrograd, Bolsheviks poll largest number of votes for the Constituent Assembly.
- November 28.—Bolsheviks begin negotiations with Central Powers.
- November 29.—Inter-Allied War Council meets in Paris.
- November 30.—United States takes over all Dutch vessels, after reaching agreement with Holland. Rainbow Division arrives in France. Germans successfully counter-attack against General Byng.
- December 2.—Bolsheviks and Germans are in conference at Brest-Litovsk.
- December 4.—Supreme Allied Naval Committee is formed. President Wilson, appearing before joint session of Congress, asks that a declaration of war against Austria be passed.
- December 5.—Brazilian Commission arrives in United States.
- December 6.—*Jacob Jones*, American destroyer, is sunk by German submarine.
- December 7.—United States declares war against Austria. Hebron is occupied by Allenby.
- December 10.—Allenby makes triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Rumania enters upon armistice negotiations with Central Powers.
- December 11.—Austrian battleship *Wien* is torpedoed and sunk.
- December 15.—Inter-Allied Economic Congress is organized in London.
- December 16.—Armistice is signed between Central Powers and Bolsheviks.
- December 17.—All church property in Russia is confiscated. British convoy is destroyed in North Sea by fast German cruisers.
- December 18.—10 killed and 70 wounded in air raid over London.
- December 23.—Peace conference opens at Brest-Litovsk.
- December 24.—British, French, and Italians check Austrian raid in Asiago sector.
- December 26.—Admiral Jellicoe is succeeded by Sir Rosslyn Wemyss as First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty.
- December 27.—Peace terms are offered by Germans to Russians.
- December 30.—French troops successfully attack Austrians on Italian front and take 1,400 prisoners.
- January 2.—British repulse German raid in Lens sector.
- January 7.—German sailors mutiny at Kiel.
- January 8.—In an address before joint session of Congress President Wilson proclaims his famous "Fourteen Points" on which a just and democratic peace can be secured.
- January 10.—Ukrainians appear at Brest-Litovsk in rôle of an independent nation.
- January 11.—Armistice on Eastern front is extended.
- January 13.—Former French Premier Caillaux is arrested on charge of treason.
- January 14.—Thionville and Metz are bombarded from the air by British.
- January 19.—Constituent assembly of Russia is dissolved by Bolsheviks.
- January 20.—Ostend is bombed by Allied aviators. *Breslau* is sunk, and *Goeben* driven ashore in Dardanelles.
- January 21.—Peace conference at Brest-Litovsk breaks up.
- January 23.—Germans in Belgium are repulsed at Nieupoort.
- January 24.—Allies on Italian front drive Austrians from Monte Tomba.
- January 28.—Hostilities begin between Rumanians and Bolsheviks.
- January 29.—47 killed and 169 wounded in air raid over London. Italians capture Monte di Val Bella.
- January 30.—Paris is raided by German aviators. Antioch is captured by Allenby. American lines are raided by Germans.
- February 1.—Peyton C. March becomes Chief of Staff of U. S. A.
- February 4.—Bolo Pasha is tried for treason in Paris.
- February 5.—American transport *Tuscania* is torpedoed with loss of 101 lives.
- February 8.—Treaty of Peace is signed between Ukrainians and Central Powers.
- February 10.—Peace conferences completely broken off by Bolsheviks.
- February 11.—Bolshevik government announces that it is out of the war and orders demobilization of Russian army.
- February 15.—Germany renews military attacks on Russia.
- February 19.—Bolsheviks announce they are ready to accept German peace terms.
- February 20.—Allenby advances in direction of Jericho. Germans advance into Russia.
- February 21.—Germans advance along entire Eastern front.
- February 22.—Jericho falls to the British.
- February 24.—Germany's peace terms are accepted by Bolsheviks, who surrender one-fourth of the territory of European Russia. Reval and Pskov are seized by the Germans. Sea raider *Wolf* returns to Germany.
- February 26.—German aviators raid Venice. Bolshevik government calls on men and women to stem the onrush of German hordes. British hospital ship *Glenart Castle* is sunk; 200 lives lost.
- February 28.—Russian opposition to German advance stiffens.
- March 2.—Kiev, capital of Ukrainia, is captured by Germans.
- March 3.—Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is signed.
- March 4.—General Allenby continues his advance in Palestine.
- March 5.—German forces still advance in Russia, capturing Narva.
- March 6.—Rumania signs preliminary Treaty of Peace with Germany.
- March 7.—Germany and Finland sign separate Treaty of Peace.
- March 7-12.—Germans active all along the Western front.

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This hand-embroidered flag was presented to the President by the Union of French Women, on the occasion of his first visit to the Peace Conference.

- March 9.—Treaty of Peace between Russia and Rumania is made public.
- March 10.—Americans raid German lines. Secretary of War Baker arrives in France.
- March 11.—Paris and Naples are bombed by Teutonic aviators.
- March 13.—Allenby continues advance in Mesopotamia.
- March 16.—Daylight Saving Bill is passed by Congress. Abo in Finland is occupied by Germans. Germans advance further into Russia.
- March 17.—British aviators bomb the Rhine valley.
- March 18.—Heavy artillery fire on Western front is accompanied by German raids in force.
- March 20.—Dutch vessels in British waters are seized.
- March 21.—Railroads in United States come under control of government. British fleet destroys four German warships off Dunkirk. German offensive against Allies begins. British Fifth Army under General Gough is practically annihilated.
- March 22.—Germans continue to press back the British.
- March 23.—Paris is shelled by long-range gun. Germans penetrate Allied lines.
- March 23-25.—Germans push beyond Péronne, Bapaume, Croiselles, and northwest of Noyon, claiming capture of 600 guns and 75,000 prisoners. Supreme War Council decides to appoint General Foch as Commander-in-Chief of all Allied Armies.
- March 26.—British advance on Palestine front. The German back area on Western front is heavily bombarded by French airplanes.
- March 27.—British forces in Palestine cross the Jordan.
- March 28.—Lloyd George again emphasizes the importance of sending American troops to battlefields of Europe. General Pershing places all American troops in France at disposal of General Foch.
- March 29.—French make successful counter-attacks between Noyon and Lassigny.
- March 30.—In Palestine an entire Turkish army is either captured or destroyed by British.
- April 1.—Fighting on Western front gradually dies down; the Germans having advanced their center for a distance of 35 miles.
- April 4.—President Wilson signs bill authorizing Third Liberty Loan.
- April 5.—Allied forces land at Vladivostok.
- April 7.—Hamel falls to Germans.
- April 9.—Germans begin second great drive between Ypres and Arras.
- April 10-11.—Germans occupy Armentières, Estaires and part of Messines Ridge.
- April 11.—French government publishes the Sixtus letter.
- April 12.—British airplanes do great damage to the massed German troops.
- April 12-17.—During five days Germans acquire 220 square miles of territory in France and Belgium.
- April 15.—Paris is again bombarded by the long-range gun.
- April 16.—Secretary of War Baker returns to United States.
- April 17.—Bolo Pasha is executed in Paris as a traitor.
- April 19.—British retire from Passchendaele Ridge.
- April 21.—Germans attack American positions at Seicheprey, and capture 180 prisoners and kill or wound 200. Allied forces land on Archangel front.
- April 23.—British make daring attempt to block up Zeebrugge, chief German submarine base on Belgian coast, the British cruiser *Vindictive* playing a very heroic part. A similar attempt on Ostend is less successful.
- April 24.—British and French surrender Mont Kemmel in Ypres sector.
- April 26.—American troops appear on Picardy front near Montdidier.
- May 1.—British advance in Holy Land.
- May 4.—Third Liberty Loan is oversubscribed.
- May 6.—Rumania signs treaty of Bucharest with Central Powers.
- May 7.—British under General Marshall advance on Mosul.
- May 10.—Ostend harbor is partially closed by British raiders.
- May 12.—Germans are on the defensive in Lys salient.
- May 15.—Austrian dreadnought *Viribus Unitis* is sunk in harbor of Pola by Italian naval force. Further Italian gains put Austrians on defensive.
- May 18.—President Wilson delivers his Red Cross address in New York.
- May 25-June 14.—German submarines appear off American coast and sink 19 vessels.
- May 27.—Germans begin their third great drive on 40-mile front between Reims and Noyon; they capture in one day the Chemin des Dames and cross the Aisne on 18-mile front.
- May 28.—1st American Division captures Cantigny.
- May 30.—German advance reaches the Marne between Château-Thierry and Dormans.
- May 31.—American transport *President Lincoln* is sunk; 23 lives lost.
- June 1.—German offensive slows down.
- June 4.—2nd American Division appears on the Marne front.
- June 9.—Germans begin fourth great offensive between Noyon and Montdidier; the French defense is firm.
- June 10.—American troops carry out a brilliant operation in Belleau Wood.
- June 11.—Germans advance 7½ miles down the Matz river. Americans continue their advance in Belleau Wood.
- June 13.—Fierce German counter-attack against newly won American positions is severely repulsed.
- June 13-14.—French stop the German forward movement by striking hard in center of the Noyon-Montdidier line.
- June 14.—Turks capture Tabriz in Persia.
- June 15.—Austrians begin offensive on Italian front.
- June 16.—Allies on Italian front recapture most of ground lost to Austrians the day previous.
- June 17.—German attacks on Franco-American front are repulsed.
- June 19.—In Italy counter-attacks are launched against positions remaining in Austrian hands.
- June 22-23-24.—Italians reoccupy all of west bank of the Piave.
- June 22.—The *Llandovery Castle* is torpedoed off Irish coast; 234 lives are lost.
- June 29.—Italians seize Sasso Rosso and Monte di Val Bella.

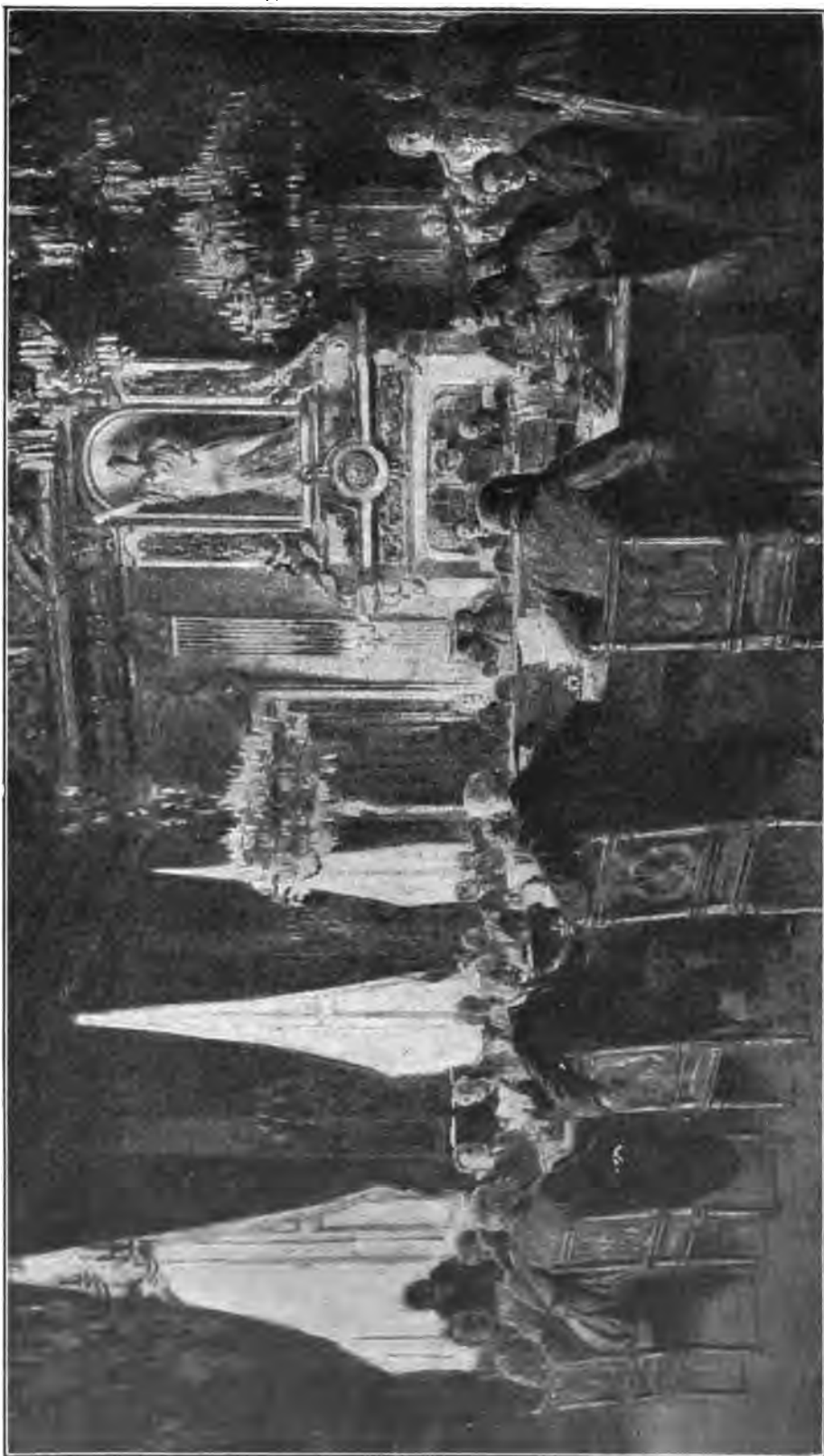


Photo by Zinn.

The Interior of a French Church after a Bombardment

This sanctuary is in Craonne, situated on the eastern end of the Chemin des Dames on the edge of the French lines, and frequently under fire.

- July 1.—American transport *Covington* is torpedoed on homeward voyage.
- July 4.—President Wilson delivers an address on his Fourteen Points at Mount Vernon.
- July 6.—Allies begin offensive in Albania.
- July 8.—Anti-Bolsheviki revolution is suppressed in Moscow.
- July 10.—Allies continue to make progress in Albania.
- July 11.—Berat in Albania is occupied by Italians.
- July 12.—Japanese battleship *Kawachi* blows up with loss of 500 lives.
- July 13.—Czechoslovaks capture Irkutsk.
- July 15.—Germans begin their last big offensive from the Marne to the Argonne. Many thousands of Americans are in front-line trenches. German offensive east of Reims is checked. Kem, on Murman front, is captured by Anglo-American forces.
- July 16.—Germans make slight gains in their new offensive.
- July 17.—British defeat Austrians on Italian front.
- July 18.—Anglo-American troops operating under General Mangin strike German lines between Château-Thierry and Soissons, and penetrate for a distance of 6 miles.
- July 19.—17,000 German prisoners fall into the hands of the Allies during crushing of the Marne salient.
- July 20.—Italian forces advance in Albania and in northern Italy.
- July 23.—25,000 prisoners and more than 400 guns are captured by Allies, who occupy entire sector northwest of Château-Thierry.
- July 24.—Franco-Italian troops make further advances in Albania.
- July 31.—Telephone and telegraph systems are taken over by the United States government.
- August 2.—Soissons is recaptured by French. Allied forces land at Archangel.
- August 5.—Germans retire to the Vesle in Marne salient and begin to withdraw in Lys salient.
- August 7.—General Plumer penetrates German lines on the Lawe river.
- August 8.—Anglo-French troops strike south of the Somme.
- August 10.—The British gain 10 miles in Somme district. St. Mihiel salient is turned over to American troops.
- August 11.—French capture Montdidier and the Lassigny plateau, having taken up to date 40,000 prisoners.
- August 14.—President Wilson signs bill providing for registration of all men between ages of 18 and 45 who were not included under provisions of first Draft Act.
- August 18.—British begin new drive west of Armentières.
- August 19.—Anglo-American troops reoccupy Mont Kemmel without opposition. French take Hamel in Somme district.
- August 21.—General Byng with 30th American Division starts powerful offensive north of the Ancre. General Mangin's army outflanks Noyon.
- August 22-23.—British advance occupies many towns north and south of the Somme.
- August 24.—British and American troops open the road from Albert to Bapaume.
- August 25.—British in Picardy strike astride the Scarpe, and break Hindenburg line between Arras and Bapaume.
- August 27.—French capture Roye.
- August 28.—Germans in retreat all along a 40-mile front. Bapaume is taken by the British. French take Noyon and cross the Ailette river. The Germans are driven out of Juvigny by the 3d American Division, thus threatening the whole German line on the Aisne. Mont St. Siméon, key position to an advance along the Oise, falls to French.
- August 30.—Germans begin a voluntary retirement from the Lys salient.
- September 1.—Péronne is taken by British.
- September 2.—British smash the Drocourt-Queant line. British and American troops capture Voor-mezele in Belgium. Neuve Eglise falls to British.
- September 5.—Germans in the Marne sector fall back from the Vesle to the Aisne in face of strong attacks by Franco-American troops. American transport *Mount Vernon* is damaged by torpedo while returning home.
- September 6.—British transport *Persia*, carrying American troops, is torpedoed off Irish coast and beached.
- September 12.—Americans commence first major operation in St. Mihiel sector, completely reducing the salient in less than two days and capturing 20,000 prisoners. Almost 13,000,000 Americans register under the new Conscription Act. The British start drive for Cambrai.
- September 14.—The Balkan front becomes active again. Allied troops under General d'Esperey strike between the Vardar river and Lake Doiran.
- September 15.—American forces continue to advance in the St. Mihiel sector.
- September 16.—President Wilson receives from the Swedish Minister a new peace proposal from Austria-Hungary.
- September 17.—The United States refuses to consider the Austrian peace proposals.
- September 18.—Anglo-American troops penetrate outer defenses of the Hindenburg line west of St. Quentin. Allies drive the enemy back on Macedonian front.
- September 20.—Allied advance in Balkans reaches to 40 miles up the Vardar river.
- September 25.—27th and 30th American Divisions cross Canal du Nord and penetrate outposts of Hindenburg line.
- September 26.—Enemy line in Balkans rolls up before swift advance of cosmopolitan Allied army. Ishtib, Veles, Strumnitza, and Prilep are occupied. British and Americans on Cambrai front take 10,000 prisoners. The American First Army, transferred to Argonne-Meuse front, launches a tremendous offensive in coöperation with French on the left. The first blow of the Americans pierces the German line and captures Varennes, Montfaucon, and many other towns and villages; 10,000 prisoners taken.
- September 27.—Bulgaria asks for an armistice.
- September 28.—Americans in the Argonne-Meuse sector reach the famous Kriemhilde line. Belgians open attack on German lines from Dixmude to Passchendaele Ridge. British fleet bombards German positions on Belgian coast. Belgians capture 4,000 prisoners and much booty.
- September 29.—27th and 30th American Divisions capture Bellecourt and Nauroy.
- September 29-30.—Belgians occupy Roulers and Dixmude. British recapture Passchendaele Ridge.



The First Great Allied Conference

The place was the Salle de l'Horloge of the French Foreign Ministry, March 27 and 28, 1916. M. Briand sits at the center of the table by the fireplace, and a little to the left of the clock. It was a council arising out of the desire for close coopération and out of the menace to the safety of the British force in Greece.

- September 30.—Bulgaria signs armistice with the Entente Powers. American troops in Argonne sector consolidate their gains.
- October 1.—Naval base at Durazzo is destroyed by American and Italian naval vessels. Damascus is occupied by British.
- October 2.—St. Quentin falls to the French and Armentières to the British.
- October 3.—Lens is evacuated by Germans.
- October 4.—Americans cross the Kriemhilde line and advance 2 miles.
- October 5.—King Ferdinand of Bulgaria abdicates. Americans widen breach in Kriemhilde line, while French on the left advance three miles along Suippe river. Dr. Solf becomes German Foreign Secretary.
- October 6.—Prince Maximilian, German Chancellor, asks President Wilson to aid in bringing about peace. *Ticonderoga* torpedoed and sunk with loss of 242 lives. Germans retreat on 28-mile front before the advance of Franco-Americans. French and American troops cross the Aisne.
- October 7.—Americans in Argonne region seize heights west of the Aire. French occupy Berry-au-Bac. Austria-Hungary sues for peace.
- October 8.—President Wilson replies to German Peace Note asking for an explanation.
- October 9.—French and Americans advance in Argonne-Meuse sector.
- October 10.—Americans finally drive Germans out of Argonne forest.
- October 12.—Turkey sues for peace. French drive Germans from the Chemin des Dames. Second American Army strike northwest of Verdun.
- October 13.—Laon and La Fère are occupied by Franco-American troops. Durazzo on Adriatic is occupied by Italian troops.
- October 14.—President Wilson answers Germany's note of October 12th. Allies again attack in Flanders. French in Aisne region pierce the Hunding line.
- October 15.—American forces in the Argonne region after repulsing counter-attacks cross the Aire river and envelop Grand Pré. General Ludendorff urges that Germans request an armistice.
- October 16.—British capture several towns in the Lys valley. Ostend, Lille and Douai are evacuated by Germans and occupied by British. British and French together with 27th and 37th American Divisions attack from Le Cateau to the Oise and carry the Selle river and part of Le Cateau. The French army in Montenegro occupies Ipek. Serbians enter Krushevatz.
- October 18.—Franco-British troops capture Wasigny and Ribeaupville in Le Cateau district. On Argonne-Meuse front the First American Army seizes Bantheville. The Aisne is crossed by Fourth French Army.
- October 19.—Belgians capture Zeebrugge and Bruges. French break through the Hunding line. The Italians begin an advance on the entire front.
- October 20.—Germans retreat from the entire Belgian coast. In the Argonne Americans advance beyond Bantheville.
- October 21.—Tournai and Valenciennes entered by British forces.
- October 22.—An Allied attack on the Lys canal nets 11,000 prisoners.
- October 23.—British attack on 20-mile front from Le Cateau to the Scheldt and advance 4 miles. British also advance between Tournai and Valenciennes. American forces break through last German line, known as the Freya Stellung, in the Argonne-Meuse region.
- October 24.—British, French, Italians and the 302d American Regiment of Infantry cross the Piave river.
- October 25.—French attack between the Oise and the Aisne on 25-mile front. Allies on Italian front are in full pursuit of Austrians.
- October 26.—Germans are retreating towards Hirsion, important railroad center and supply base. American First Army bombards the Mézières-Metz railway. Aleppo is entered by General Allenby.
- October 27.—With her armies everywhere in retreat Austria sues for an armistice.
- October 28.—Austria-Hungary sends a note to the United States seeking an armistice. Americans suffer a check east of the Meuse.
- October 29.—Austria-Hungary again asks United States for an immediate armistice. In the meantime the Austrian troops are in rapid flight, having already lost 35,000 men.
- October 30.—Turkish army on the Tigris surrenders to the British. Turkey capitulates.
- October 31.—British and Americans deliver from the Germans several more towns in Belgium.
- November 1.—Americans in the Argonne-Meuse sector begin the last phase of campaign by striking for Sedan. Italian army reaches the Levenzia; 50,000 Austrians are in Italian hands. Superdreadnought of the *Viribus Unitis* type is sunk in the harbor of Pola. Terms of armistice granted to Turkey are made public.
- November 2.—Americans advance 2½ miles on a 14-mile front in the Argonne, capturing Fosse.
- November 3.—Italian armies occupy Rovereto, Trent, Udine, Trieste and Pola; total number of prisoners captured on this front exceeds 100,000. Americans continue to advance on the Meuse and the main German railroad is destroyed by their gun fire.
- November 4.—Germany is notified that her peace plea is accepted. British and the 27th and 30th American Divisions advance on 30-mile front and take 10,000 prisoners and 200 guns. Armistice terms are presented to Austria.
- November 5.—Armistice terms are given to Germany by Marshal Foch.
- November 6.—American army enters the outskirts of Sedan.
- November 7.—Germans in full retreat from the Scheldt to the Aisne. United States celebrates the armistice before it is actually signed.
- November 8.—The German Peace Envoys are received by Marshal Foch. The French reach Mézières.
- November 9.—British capture Maubeuge. The Kaiser abdicates. British battleship *Britannia* is torpedoed off Gibraltar. Americans continue to advance east and west of the Meuse. Many of the German States depose their rulers and become Republics.
- November 10.—American army despite heavy resistance captures Stenay.
- November 11.—German armistice is signed at 5 A. M. (Paris time) at Senlis. The terms take effect at 11 A. M. (Paris time).
- November 12.—Emperor of Austria-Hungary abdicates.

November 13.—The Allied Fleet enters the Bosphorus.
 November 14.—American prisoners are released.
 November 17.—Germany begins to evacuate territories she has conquered during the war. Hungary becomes a republic.
 November 18.—American army begins to demobilize.
 November 19.—Metz is entered by the French.
 November 20.—Third American Army enters Luxembourg.
 November 21.—Most of German Fleet surrenders to Allies in accordance with terms of the armistice.
 November 28.—Strassburg is entered by French troops. German Kaiser renounces his rights to crowns of Prussia and Imperial Germany.
 November 29.—American Commissioners to the

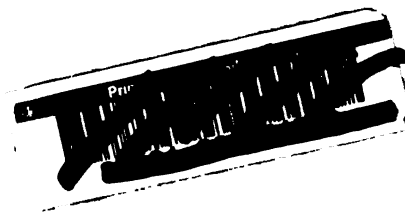
Peace Conference are announced. They are: President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, Henry White, Colonel Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss.
 December 4.—President Wilson and party sail for Brest.
 December 6.—Cologne bridgehead is occupied by British troops.
 December 8.—Coblentz bridgehead is occupied by American troops.
 December 10.—Mayence bridgehead is occupied by French troops.
 December 11.—Armistice terms are extended.
 December 13.—President Wilson arrives at Brest.
 December 24.—Allies determine not to send a large military force into Russia.
 December 26.—President Wilson is acclaimed in London.

GERMAN CRIMES AND CRUELITIES

The Peace Conference, after investigation of German military and naval methods, drew up a long list of crimes against the laws and customs of war and against the laws of humanity, that could justly be charged to the enemy. According to a writer in the *Transcript*, Boston, the list was as follows:

Murders and massacres, systematic terrorism.
 Putting to death of hostages.
 Tortures inflicted on civilians.
 Starvation of civilians.
 Violations of women.
 Deportation of civilians.
 Internment of civilians under barbarous conditions.
 Forced labor of civilians compelled to do work connected with military operations.
 Usurpation of sovereign rights of the State during military occupation.
 Compulsory enrollment of soldiers taken from among the inhabitants of the occupied countries.
 Attempts made to denationalize the inhabitants of the occupied territories.
 Pillage.
 Confiscation of property.
 Illegal or exorbitant taxes and requisitions.
 Depreciation of the monetary system and emission of false money.
 Devastation and destruction of property without cause.

Impositions of collective penalties.
 Intentional bombardments of unfortified places.
 Destruction, without cause, of monuments and religious, charitable, educational, and historical edifices.
 Destruction of merchant ships and passenger ships without warning or the taking of measures to secure the safety of the crews and passengers.
 Destruction of fishing boats and food trains.
 Intentional bombardment of hospitals.
 Attacks on and destruction of hospital ships.
 Infractions of the regulations of the Geneva Cross.
 Use of noxious and asphyxiating gases.
 Use of explosives and expanding bullets and other inhuman weapons.
 Order to give no quarter.
 Bad treatment inflicted on wounded and prisoners of war.
 Use of prisoners of war on unjustified labor.
 Abuse of the white flag.
 Poisoning of wells.



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